



Young India

A Weekly Journal

²⁸⁷
Edited by George Joseph

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No. 1

The Editorial matter published to-day, was written for our last issue—a day before the sessions of the Congress—but it reached the office too late for publication in the same.

Notes

The editing of a weekly journal in India has several disadvantages which are common to journalism of this type all the world over—only it comes to us here with an added intensity. One of these is the impossibility of being strictly up-to-date. For instance these lines are being written a whole week before the date which the present issue of *Young India* bears. But there are consolations; the kind of guidance that this paper offers to its readers is not such as will suffer by a margin of a week or so. These observations are opportune and necessary in reference to the subject-matter of this note. We observe that Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar has put forward a very interesting series of suggestions for the framing of a fresh programme of work for the Congress in the new year. They are a combination of mass-demonstration and work in the Councils tempted by a mild faith in the constructive programme. The elements are these;—a demonstration before the Yeravda Jail on the 18th March by representatives from all the Provinces, each of them sending a thousand,—the whole thing to be called a pilgrimage; a single day's hartal on the railways; a Committee of the Congress, on which no member of the Legislatures will sit be put in control of the conduct of the Socialist members of the Councils. So much about the political planks. As for the constructive programme lip-loyalty is not wanting but there is evidence of little more. The first word we shall venture to say about the programme is that it is not Non-co-operation; but that is not necessarily a conclusive objection. In fact Mr. Iyengar seems to be conscious of it because he says quite frankly that he comes to the solution of the problems free of passion and prejudice, the prejudice especially in favour of old ways. But we are prepared to consider the scheme on its merits. The programme is admirable and we undertake to frame an alternative half-dozen of them with a little trouble. But the genuine difficulty in India is not the lack of a programme. Why, the history of Indian politics is the history of unfulfilled programmes. Our lack is not subtlety or scientific imagination; what we want is an executive will. It would be an admirable thing if Mr. Iyengar could take up the business of putting his programme actively through; but we venture to say with all respect that the gift of performance is not in him. What is more,

we cannot think to-day of anyone in India with sufficient executive energy to organise a nation-wide effort. The success of the 1921 struggle was not primarily due to any irrefragable intellectual soundness of the particular programmes which were put before the people. But there was at the head of it an incarnation of volcanic energy and tenacious working will. Our objection to new programmes is that there is not any one now about with sufficient work enough to make it a reality. We may be asked whether the nation is to be perpetually spoon-fed on the Gandhian programme and whether the people are to have no redemption or freshness of effort. But this is a purely idle question. If at any time, there should be creative energy enough for conceiving and putting into execution vital work, no formula in the world can resist it. But till that day comes, the pastime of sketching imaginative programmes will have no other result than mental diversion and paralysis in action. It is in the light of this handicap that we would perpetually and persistently adhere to what is known as the "no-change" policy. As far as it has escaped dispersion owing to the suicidal cry for change the prestige and strength of 1921 is still available. The only thing to do is to persist in the old ways, the very persistence furnishing evidence to the world of national steadiness.

The unfortunate decision of the Sikh leaders to defend themselves has done irreparable harm. We were promised startling disclosures as the result of the cross-examination of witnesses and the production of documents on behalf of the defence but they are yet to come. In the meanwhile, all the available space in the newspaper press is filled with accounts of technical objections raised by the lawyers on both sides. The Akalis are steadily pursuing their original policy of defying the "law" which declared them "unlawful"; but there is not sufficient publicity, because the non-Sikh press feels that it is doing its duty by the movement sufficiently in publishing summaries of the case. We need not now refer to the time and money spent on the litigation, time and money that should have been made available for other and more solid purposes. But this complaint apart, the situation is truly remarkable and exhilarating, and the country's attention should be drawn to it incessantly. The Prabandhak Committee and the Dal in spite of all declarations to the contrary are existent as functioning bodies and are fulfilling the duties entrusted to them at the time of their creation. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have said that

the fact of the continued existence of the proscribed institutions in spite of the Government is a much more remarkable demonstration of freedom than a sensational experiment in Civil Disobedience. With all respect, we think it a true saying. When all is said and done, the essence of Swaraj is the doing of things of which popular judgment approves, regardless of what a foreign government thinks of them. In the particular affair of the Sikhs, the Government has declared the organised social and religious life of the community illegal; in spite of it, however the life is not interrupted and refuses to own itself extinct. During the course of the week, the question came to a head again in an intensely critical way. Our readers will remember our anticipating sometime ago the possibility of the Akalis attempting to take possession of the few Gurudwaras that have so far not come into their hands. The object was two fold, partly to carry out the reform of the Gurudwaras irrespective of interference by the Government, and partly with a view to testing how far the officials would be prepared to obstruct the Committee in its activities. The Akalis proceeded to take charge of a shrine a short while ago and the Mahant promptly applied for Police protection. Protection was afforded and as a consequence, fifteen Sikhs were arrested. The reply of the Prabandhak Committee was prompt and decisive. Within a few hours of the arrest, five hundred volunteers presented themselves ready to offer disobeience. Local officialdom was in a difficulty. The policy of the Government is at present to avoid wholesale arrests at all costs and the avowed purpose of the Sikhs is to force the hands of the Government, and bring the masses of the Dal into action. For a moment it seemed as if the hour for which the leaders had been praying had come. But the Government had no intention of being caught napping in the Guru-ka-harg fashion. There was only one way of doing it, and it was done. The invaders were allowed to remain in possession. The exact technique of the official reticement is worth noting. The Mahant "compromised" with the Akalis, the terms being that the shrine was to come under the discipline of the Committee and that the Mahant be assured a reasonable competence for the rest of his life by the Committee. The moral of it is obvious. Either the officials encouraged the settlement or they did not. If they did, it is a clear confession of defeat. If on the other hand, the Mahant's negotiation was initiated by him, it shows that being conscious of the impotence of the Raj, he thought it wiser to settle with his adversary quickly.

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So Mr. Das has declined to form a Ministry in Bengal. Though Lord Lytton has been praised by various folks for his share in the comedy, We cannot find it in our heart to compliment his Lordship. It is impossible to believe that the Governor of Bengal was ignorant of the circumstances under which the Swarajists were returned to the Council. They went in on a programme which made it essentially impossible for them to hold office in the Government. For Lord Lytton to invite their leader to form a Ministry bespeaks unpleasant depths of political cynicism. Mr. Das could not have accepted the Governor's offer without gross dishonesty, moral and constitutional. His

Lordship's mind in the matter can therefore be understood in only one of two ways. He either expected the Swarajists to form a Ministry or he did not. If he did, he evidently thought that Indian politicians were capable for power and pelf of breaking the most solemn pledges to the electorate. If, on the other hand, he thought that Mr. Das would decline the offer, he was playing with the Government of India Act. Neither of the alternatives was creditable to him. But it may be suggested that the event justified the cynicism. We shall deal with that aspect presently; but the blame of it was with the Swarajists and does not absolve the Governor. We are prepared to believe that the Government will fight us hard and that we should learn not to ask for quarter in the struggle. Torture, jails, persecutions, even death, we must harden ourselves against; it is all part of the day's battle. But there are certain devices which are forbidden which may be comprehensively called bribery and corruption. It is hitting below the belt; or to use another and more accurate phrase, it is against the laws of war. We do not say that the laws of war are never broken by belligerents or that there is always a present remedy for such breaches, especially where the offender happens to be victorious. All the same, the world has established certain conventions in war and it is a dangerous thing to disregard them. We venture to think that Lord Lytton has erred gravely in attempting to corrupt the Swarajists.

(Continued on Page 6.)

Caste in the West

(By C. F. Andrew.)

General Smuts did right in his speech at Maritzburg when he declared, that the colour line, which the white race is now drawing everywhere, is simply a question of 'caste'. We are told frequently that there is no caste outside India, and that the caste system is peculiar to India; but General Smuts has openly declared, that it belongs to the West as well,—and he is right. The caste system of Kenya and South Africa and elsewhere is rapidly building up a new inhuman barrier between man and man with more stringent rules of untouchability than many of those which existed in India of old. Not only as in India must there be no contact at a furlong's distance, but the 'White Australia' policy is such, that an ocean of many thousands of miles must be always kept between the white race and Asiates. Not only must a compound or quarter or street, be kept for a single caste (such as the Brahmin quarter or street in South Indian towns of Malabar), but a whole continent must be kept as the White man's quarter, in lands like Australia and Canada. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say, that the new caste system is far more terrible in its inhumanity than the old. It also covers a vastly greater area of humanity.

The missionaries, who came to India, declared emphatically at once against the caste system which they found in India. They declared with vehemence that it must find no place within the Indian Christian Church. So far, so good. But where and when did they make a protest against the new caste system, with its white race idolatry, in the West?

The essential factor in the caste system in India is marriage. Where there is intermarriage, caste, in its true sense, cannot be said to exist. The caste system of the West has proved true to type here also. To the English race, a man is an outcaste, who marries into a non-European race. Even to live, as another race lives, and to adopt their food and dress, is to 'go native' and to incur the danger of being excommunicated from the White race. It is this new caste system, so rapidly covering the world, that is the greatest menace to mankind to-day.

I have just been reading a book, in which a young and generous Englishman, coming out to the British Embassy in China, meets, on the voyage out, a Japanese Lady, belonging to a Samurai family, and marries her. He then breaks the news to his superior, named Mr. Mellingham, and the following excited conversation occurs:—

"But a Japanese! Marry a Japanese!", exclaimed Mellingham, "I suppose you know what that means to you at the Embassy. Ruin, my dear Sir, absolute, stark, black ruin! If you persist in this monstrous folly, you'll be dismissed from the service like a shot. Did you know that?"

"It certainly occurred to me", said Barrenger, "and I am prepared for it. Is there anything else you have to say against my marrying this Japanese lady whom I love?"

"But think of it—the shame and disgrace!" cried Mellingham.

Barrenger laid his hand on the table and leaned forward speaking slowly and quietly. "There will certainly be disgrace", he said, "but it will not be mine. There will certainly be shame, but I have nothing to be ashamed of. The shame and disgrace will belong to you, to you people who will outcaste me... and yet I should not reproach you on that score. You have never sat down to think out the rights and wrongs of the matter. You are simply carrying on a tradition made in the days when your grandfathers came to the East to spread the light of civilisation with opium, wars and gunboat policies, a tradition bad and vicious from the start, thoroughly worn out now but still carried on."

"What do you mean?" said Mellingham.

"I mean this. Your grandfathers and mine came frankly to impose themselves on the East by force, and they made no secret of regarding the yellow man, as they called him, as the inferior thing,—about half-way between a European and a wild beast. They were horrified at his barbarous ways forgetting that the blood was hardly dry on their own judicial scourges in Europe. They never troubled to enquire into past history. It was of no interest that the East had produced the most glorious art in the world, when the highest nobles in the West could neither read nor write: that the East had been great in the past and would be great in the future, by its own efforts, not by such culture as might be picked up from a swarm of money-grubbing Europeans. It was enough for them that he was the yellow man, eternally inferior to the white man."

"Is that all you have to say?" said Mellingham.

"But you people to-day," continued Barrenger, "you are wiser in your generation. Yours are more liberal ideas. You mix with the yellow man in a certain discreet, non-committal way. You have begun to invite him to your festivities. You have written the invitation cards with formal politeness. That was the way of showing that you regarded them as 'equals.' But now, when one of your number proposes to give further and perhaps more genuine proof of equality, namely by intermarrying with them, what happens? You, personally, Mellingham, are horror-struck. That's because you heard it first. When the rest of the white community hears it too, they will be horrified also. Some will say, 'Poor fool! Gone native.' Others will say, 'Poor—Idiot! Gone mad!' Some will even wax melodramatic about it and call me a renegade, a traitor to the white race."

"I—I really don't know what else you can expect," said Mellingham. These, Japanese, are of course a remarkable people in their way; very cultured, very clever, wonderful history and all that. But to intermarry with them,—no! it isn't done. It can't be done. However admirable we may think them, they are not the sort of people to whom we can marry our sons,—or our daughters. They realise that!"

"Do they?" replied Barrenger, "and how much longer do you think they will go on realising it? Take heed! You come to the East with your gun-boats, and you set up your selfish of the Superior Race. For eighty years you have held it by strength. Now the yellow races grow strong. The younger, Japan, has already grown strong enough to frighten you. Therefore you hate him and hold up his elder brother, China, as an example to the world of how the White man should be received. But now even the big brother, China, grows restless. That is because he is groping for his own lost soul. Soon he will find it..... Your priests in Europe and your missionaries out here are still preaching the religion of the brotherhood of man."

"H'm, I think the discussion has lasted too long. Then I am to understand, that you are determined to acknowledge this marriage?"

"I was never more determined on anything in my life," Barrenger replied.

"H'm. Then I shall have no alternative, but to report the matter to,—er, to higher authorities. This is monstrous! It's,—it's unheard of!"

It appeared to me, as I read this passage, that every word in it referred to India, and to the attitude of English society in India towards any one who had 'broken caste'. The stage of sham recognition of 'equality',—which is no equality at all, but mere patronage and condescension, mingled with wholly selfish diplomacy—this also is true of a certain attitude in India to-day. What is needed is reality, not a mere pretence and show; sincerity not hypocrisy.

Young India

3-1-24

The National Pact

I

It is a curious thing; but it is the truth that the talk about a National Pact and its provisional definition in Bengal have precipitated just the kind of trouble it was designed to avoid. Communal divisions which were causing distress in the North of India and were so far absent from Bengal have assumed serious shape. Mr. Das, with a generosity that seemed extravagant, made large promises to the Muslims; and the Hindus are in a state of rebellion. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal has put himself at the head of the revolt, and the orthodoxy of Benares has ranged itself on his side. The consequences are hard to prophesy, but the affair has an ugly aspect. It strikes us that Mr. Das in his desire to buy the friendship of the Mahomedans underestimated the force of Hindu opinion or overestimated his capacity to control that sentiment. Perhaps the difficulty would not have been great if pains had been taken to consult Hindu leaders in time. As it is, the mischief is done; and it will take Mr. Das all he could to undo it. Apart, however, from the unfortunate incident in Bengal, the idea of a National Pact is sound and from a purely political point of view, necessary. Precedents in pact-making for the protection of sectional interests may be lacking, but that fact need not bother us overmuch. It is a unique problem that concerns us and we must necessarily reach forward to new solutions. Popular sovereignty is an unchallengeable truth; it does not however follow that the English electoral system is the final word in representative government. Parliamentarianism is the definite contribution of England to political science. There was a time when Continental Liberalism uncritically accepted its machinery and standards. Now it is acknowledged that the English system was the product of the oligarchical element in society and government. Russia, in spite of fanatical equalitarianism that is the essence of democracy has repudiated Parliamentarianism; Mussolini, one of the active energies of our time, has invented a scheme which may be good or bad, but is certainly not English. Similarly, it is time that we tackled our problems unopposed by a sense of what England has done or not done. It is impossible for any one who will deal with facts and not with theories in books, to deny that the basis of Indian life is religion and society; and that we are controlled by the organisations erected for their stable maintenance. That is what caste and religion mean. And if an attempt is made to make allowance for these overwhelming facts in a scheme, we shall not regard it as an act of folly. On the contrary, we should greet it as a sign of wisdom.

It is not only reason that points in that direction. All recent experience confirms a priori considerations. We know that it was a Pact that began the genuine

political history of our time. The Lucknow Settlement of 1916 was a creative act. It meant the coming into Nationalism of the seventy millions of Muslims. It meant the conversion of the Congress from a sectional into a national body. The subsequent developments of national energy would have been impossible without Mahomedan co-operation; and we cannot imagine such co-operation, but for Lucknow. Even to-day, the Congress is not able to speak in the name of the whole nation (Instead of a vast majority of it), because there are sections of the population who distrust the Congress or are indifferent to its doings. There are 4 millions of Christians, 3 millions of Sikhs, 1 lakh of Parsis and a handful of Jews. Compared to the 33 crores of India, these figures are insignificant. In themselves, the numbers are those of famous nations, and their friendship and co-operation are well worth regard. We are zealous for the good name of the Congress, and it is the business of all true men to remove blemishes and weaknesses. The bringing into the Congress of these Uitlanders of nationalism will be a high act of statesmanship. The settlement of a Pact of fundamental rights will be a considerable inducement for their adherence to the Congress.

II

The draft of the Pact as made by the Committee of the Congress has been published through the Associated Press. Detailed criticism is impossible; but on the whole, it strikes us as conceived in a satisfactory way. Two observations may be ventured, however, with confidence. There is confusion with reference to fundamentals. Lala Lajpat Rai's Committee had confined to it the business of drafting a Pact of unity among the communities. But it has gone beyond the terms of its reference. It has dealt with extraneous matters also. For instance, the clause relating to liberty of religious worship etc. belongs really to a Declaration of Rights. We have no objection to a Declaration of Rights; in fact, we agree with Mr. Vijnaraghavachar that such a declaration of inalienable civic rights is necessary. But the interests of neither the Pact nor the Declaration will be served by this scrappy manner of treatment.

III

Similar looseness of thinking is visible in clause (12) which runs as follows:-

While cherishing feelings of the most friendly nature towards all the nations of the world at large, it is further resolved that the people of India should participate in the formation of a Federation of Eastern countries to be established for purposes of mutual help in trade and commerce and the emancipation of the East from economic exploitation and domination by Europe and with a view to encourage and support Oriental culture and generally to maintain good and friendly relations between the various nationalities all over the East.

Here again, we wish to make it clear that we are completely at one with the Committee about the need of a firm and intelligible Congress policy in the field of foreign affairs. We also agree that it is the clear duty of Indian Nationalists to make friends with Asiatic peoples, because they and we are threatened

with European Imperialism, and that therefore it is best for them and us to hold together. But we fail to see what it has to do with the Pact. Asiatic federation is no doubt a matter of grave importance. All the same it is an affair of foreign policy. Logically, therefore, it is wrong to mix up the two things. But the proposal has more than a logical defect; it is marred by practical unwiseom. As far as we are able to understand it, a National Pact will be one of the permanent Charters of the Swaraj of the future to be carefully and anxiously considered before settlement and not to be departed from save perhaps for the single reason of avoiding civil war. On the other hand, the only certainty about foreign policy is that it is uncertain. No government can afford to build on the prospect of permanent friendships; in sober truth, a perpetual foreign friendship is as wild a chimera as perpetual motion. We submit, it is perilous to embody in the same document two inherent incompatibles. The consequence will be this. It will be impossible for the minorities whose rights are recorded in the Pact to look upon it as a Charter of their liberties. The fate of the document will depend not on a in-tractable need of the nation's life but on balanced judgment about the play of foreign forces. We do not see, either, how we can blame the minorities for their scepticism. We suggest therefore that the pure elements of the Pact may be taken apart, and embodied in the form of a completed statement. The literary form also calls for amendment. If the Congress thinks that features relating to Fundamental Rights, call for considered statement, it will be an excellent thing to entrust Mr. Vijnaraghavachariar with the task. The pronouncement about foreign policy need not assume the shape of a solemn document. It may well remain as a resolution of the Congress. There may be a message of greetings to the Nations of the East, and the Working Committee may be instructed to take steps to give executive reality to the policy. We are conscious that there will be some difficulty in the task of the Committee; we are equally certain that it is possible to exaggerate it, and that it is not beyond its competence.

IV

So much about the confusions. We shall now proceed to give reasons why the final settlement of the question must be put off for another year. The primary operative clause of the Pact is this:—

It is hereby resolved that all the communities and committees represented by the signatories to this document shall enter into an agreement in terms of the following resolutions which shall be known as the Indian National Pact.

Obviously, the signatories to the Pact are to append their names in a representative capacity. We say it is impossible for a member of the Congress who belongs to the minor communities to bind his people to its terms. The reason is clear. The minority communities have their organisations, and till they are given an opportunity to declare their views, it would be idle for anybody to represent them or to hold them to the conclusions of the Congress. The Hindus and Mahomedans are in different case. The proposal of the agreement, such as it is, came from

them. Not that the need for caution may be omitted even by them without peril. Mr. Das is now in a position to give evidence. But the other communities will be in an impossible position. The right thing to do will be for the Congress to be content with framing a provisional Pact and forward it to minority organisations for their opinion. After their views are known their claims should be considered; and then it will be time to deliberate on the question finally. The Indian Christian Conference, the Sikh League, the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha, the Jewish Community, and the Anglo-Indian and European Association must be consulted. Without some such procedure, the Pact will have no reality.

Notes

(Continued from page 2)

But the curious part, indeed the tragic part of the business is that the Swarajists proved such willing victims to the wiles of the enemy as to nearly justify his cynicism. The capital fact is that Mr. Das and his party agreed to form a Ministry under certain conditions. We have had occasion to analyse their true significance recently. We are convinced that the conditions were illusory and that they were not beyond the power and inclination of the Bureaucracy to accept. Their acceptance and the consequent formation of a Swarajist Ministry would have made it impossible for the country to distinguish between the politics of Mr. Das and that of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee. It would have meant the suicide of the Swarajist leader as a nationalist, fighting politician, the same evolution overtaking him as led the Liberals to their doom. But we should have refused to distress ourselves over the inevitable disaster. Serenity is one of the fundamental needs of revolutionary politics. But, closer analysis yields something more than a complex of personal elements; and it is just the 'more' that is grave. The truth is that the Swarajists are attempting to destroy the authority of the Congress by negotiating over its head with the Government. Negotiation with the bureaucracy for national freedom by any person or party without the imprint of the Congress is a dangerous process. The danger is due to a fact evident from repeated experience. Whoever has tried it has always managed to ask for and be content with something less than the Congress wants. It is an old phenomenon in Indian politics and the result has ever been the same:—popular repudiation. In satisfying their conscience they usually managed to satisfy the Government also; but popular instinct invariably regarded adjustability to official policy as the very element of abomination. But the Congress has so far retained in its hands the true representation of the national will. We are fairly certain that the Swarajists will not succeed in doing what the Moderates, the Liberals, the National Home Rulers and the rest of their tribes failed to do.

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For mark the Swarajist departure. The Congress declared Non-co-operation with the Government on three specific issues:—the Punjab, the Khilafat and Swaraj. What it meant was this:—(1) The Congress Sub-committee's report in the matter of the Punjab oppression should be accepted by the Government; (2) Indian Mussulmans must be satisfied as to the justice of

Britain's response to the religious requirements of Islam; (3) The Government of India and the Cabinet should agree to give statutory or other legal effect to the Constitution that India might choose to frame through her representatives. If these three things are done, India will be happy and willing to co-operate with the Government; but till then, Non-co-operation will continue. The Swarajist policy is far otherwise. They have altered the vital conditions that govern national policy. They say that they and the nation will be willing to co-operate with the Government if three other things are done:—release of political prisoners, abolition of repressive laws, and the grant of Provincial autonomy. We would pause for a moment to consider the meaning of the contrast. The Punjab stands as the symbol of national wrong and national humiliation, wrong that has not been righted, humiliation without stonement; that is thrown overboard. The Khilafat lies at the root of Islamic loyalty to Indian Swaraj; but that is thrown overboard. Swaraj, the affirmation that it is for India to settle her national destiny and that England has no right to change a jot or tittle of the settlement, is also thrown overboard. We submit that the Congress demand is great and revolutionary and the Swarajist demand is small and a betrayal of national honour.

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We also submit that the Swarajist descent down the Ganges of neo-Moderateism was really inevitable. When the cry of the Councils was raised a year ago, the honest, uninformed, instinct of opposition was summed up in one word:—"This is against Non-co-operation". The Swarajist's defence was shaped by the legal habit of making a distinction. It was said that there was a principle of Non-co-operation as distinct from the programme; that the principle was sacred, inviolable, and the programme was flexible, temporary. Now it turns out that the operation is sacred, inviolable and the conditions precedent or subsequent are flexible, fleeting. There is only one further step to take, and we prophesy that it will soon be taken:—the quality of Non-co-operation will be pronounced adjustable. It will be said that Non-co-operation is the thing; whether it should be continuous or responsive is a matter of detail. From that stage to the final identification between responsive co-operation and responsive Non-co-operation will be a short and wholly unnecessary step. We do not say that the Swarajists at Gaya anticipated the several stages of their subsequent evolution; but it is an inexorable logic that has pushed them along. Surely those cannot be blamed who, Cassandra-like, seeing from afar the slow march of fate, could foretell the coming doom, but could not stay its course.

To Subscribers

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Manager

Young India

The Outlaws of Borsad

[We publish below the joint statement of Messrs. Vallabhbhai Patel and Mahadeo Desai addressed to the Editor, *The Bombay Chronicle* on 23rd December, 1923 in reply to the allegations of the Government regarding the Outlaws of Borsad:—]

1. Mr. Jennings refers to so called "confidential official documents improperly and illegally obtained" by one of us. We can only assure you that those documents, however, "confidential" they may be, were the most relevant ones in the case—even more relevant than the formidable array of those with which the Director of Information has endeavoured to enlighten you—and we should have failed in our duty if we had not exposed the hollowness of the Government case as revealed by admissions of their own officers. We are, however, in a position to show that the documents that the Director of Information has ventured to publish believing them to be harmless also help to give away the whole Government case.

2. We may accept that the Superintendent of Police who has signed the impressive document on which the Director of Information relies, is an officer with a distinguished record. But we are afraid, the record was won by him elsewhere than on the field of Kaira, and he has not been long enough to give evidence of that record except perhaps in the preparation of that document of 77 paragraphs—a document based on the reports of officers who were solely responsible for the maladministration of the past several years. We do not know the order that he and his gallant band have restored, but if any, it is due to a variety of causes for which Government can take no credit whatsoever. One of them is the capture of the dacoit Alia which we make bold to say was not due to the bravery of the police, and another is the capture of Mirkhan by Baroda State Police. A third reason is the posting of the Satyagraha Volunteers in the Taluka which has gone a great way to relieve the distress. But any relief of restoration or order for which the Government can take any credit is more than counterbalanced by the disorder and misery caused by the punitive police imposed on the Taluka, and the abnormal concentration of police force in one part of the District has rendered other parts insecure.

3. We see that the Director of Information has accepted the charge of inefficiency of the Police, but has tried to make it out as the result entirely of the lack of will on the people's part to support the Police and of the lack of courage to help themselves. A study of the report of the Superintendent of Police will demonstrate the utter worthlessness of the excuse. It should be observed that the report relates to the whole district, and no less than a score or more of the cases described are of events that happened in Talukas other than Borsad. We shall only point out the numerous instances in which the people have not only tried to help the police, but have risked and lost their lives:—

(1) Para 6. D. S. P.'s Report. The unfortunate man who was crucified to a tree and riddled with bullets was an informer.

(2) Para 7. "The murder in the case was the outcome of assistance rendered to the Police by the deceased man's family."

(3) Para 9. "A Mahomedan who had given evidence against dacoits" was attacked and left with his nose severed.

(4) Para 10. "The deceased was a witness in a murder case."

(5) Para 12. Babar shot Bakore in cold blood suspecting him of being in league with the Police.

(6) Para 13. At village Bedwa the dacoits met with resistance, they fired at the villagers, killing two.

(7) Para 14. A Patidar villager who had the temerity to oppose the dacoits' was stabbed with a knife.

(8) Para 18. Babar Deva murdered a Police informer at Banjeda.

(9) Para 29. Four villages, all in Borsad Taluka, were raided by dacoits armed with deadly weapons, but the "raiders decamped." (Surely not out of good will, but because they saw that discretion was the better part of valour)

(10) Para 32. "The people having collected, two shots were fired." (Did they collect there to witness a *tumasha*?)

(11) Para 34. Four villages were raided but there was only one case of assault and one of extortion.

(12) Para 37. "A tailor opposed the dacoits and as a result of his temerity received several wounds."

(13) Para 37. Babar wreaked vengeance on a Police informer who was brutally wounded.

(14) Para 58. A potter was cruelly stabbed in his chest. Surely not because he was rich, but because he was either an informer or because he dared to offer resistance.

(15) Para 60. Suspected informers done to death.

(16) Para 61. The villagers of Sunav "turned out and followed" Babar Deva.

(17) Para 71. Three vegetable sellers were attacked and shot dead. Certainly not because their treasures were full.)

Now there are several points worth noting regarding these cases. (a) They are taken from a report specially prepared to make out a case for the imposition of punitive Police, and which takes no account of the numerous people who furnished information or dared to resist the dacoits and laid down their lives. (b) It also takes no count of cases in which information was given to police without any subsequent action by the police. (c) It takes no count of cases cited by the Director of Information in his letters as special correspondent to the "Times of India" in October last. The people have dared to give information despite of the fact that "Babar swears vengeance against his informants," and "it is stated that his hatred against police informers is so intense that he does not spare even his nearest relatives." Reference is made therein to the way in which Babar Deva murdered his mother and his uncle whom he suspected of having given information against him.

It is the Taluka of Borsad which was the scene of these deeds of daring which the Commissioner of the Division describes as one in "which the failure on the part of the people at large to give information or co-operation to the police has been conspicuous." If the record given above is one of "demoralisation" and "lack of courage" and "lack of will to help" a fresh dictionary will have to be issued by the Director of Information.

To these records of brave resistance we shall only add the cases of scores of villages which have out of their own strength remained immune from the attacks of dacoits and marauders and which because of the organised defence are capable of putting up such that they were free from the scourge of the punitive Police, and even of the assistance of the ordinary police which claims to afford them protection.

In concluding this paragraph we shall only make a passing reference to the plea of the Director of Information that the people should have been capable of greater resistance because of the "lethal weapons" that the villagers have always ready to hand. What shall we say regarding the prowess of the policemen who inspite of their swords and guns have not been able to capture dacoits who escaped in one instance because it was dark, or in another because the way lay through surrounding fields and standing crops, whilst the poor villagers were fighting. For all they were worth with their "lethal weapons" against dacoits armed with "guns, dharias, bows and arrows!"

5. But the Director of Information would even acquit the people of the charge of deliberate failure to inform the Police, if his Government can find the wherewithal to pay for the cost of the punitive police. "The only question" says he, "is whether the police force should be paid for "by the public of the whole Presidency or by the inhabitants of the small tract whose lawlessness had ordered them necessary." The question is not that. The only question is whether a people should be condemned unheard, whether the character of a vast majority of the peaceful inhabitants of a Taluka should be so shamelessly impugned; the only question is whether a Government that admits (para 3 of D. S. P.'s report) that the continued success of dacoits' depredations has "completely cowed down the law-abiding sections of the district" can conscientiously parish the section cowed down.

6. But we have touched only the points raised by the Director of Information's reply. Whilst he has questioned our right to publish certain damaging documents he is indifferent to the most serious charges that we have made against them. Why is it that whilst so many informers have been shot or murdered, in cold blood, no police has been touched? Why is it that inspite of so many informants having been murdered, the Police upto a few days ago failed to capture the arch dacoit? The charge of the public against Government is that they allied with a dacoit who was known to be a murderer, provided him with arms and ammunition and allowed him to go unchecked on his career of murder and loot. They have come to believe that all co-operation with such a department of police was futile.

The Government have been culpably indifferent to the charge we have noted above. Whilst all the documents—published and unpublished—are contrived to throw the whole blame on one dacoit Babar Deva and on the so called "demoralised" public, no mention is made of that miscreant Alia in any one of these reports though his career of crimes has been no less dastardly than his brother dacoit. It is we who repeat with all the emphasis that we command a guilty silence. The last, though not the least, charge which has also been left unanswered is that the Government imposed the police, knowing that it was useless to do

so, and that the public did not need it. The District Magistrate in his letter No. 184, 13th April 1928,—one of the 'confidential document' we have 'illegally' obtained—was emphatically of opinion that "the continuance of the additional police is not desirable in either of the villages," that "the police parties never move out of the village, and their presence does not reduce the number of men otherwise required for the police of the Taluka," that "they do not even serve the purpose of preventing crime, as the murder of Shikhei in Jogan in day-light proves, to say nothing of the attack made on the similar police parties in Golal." He also frankly confessed that "from the application I have received and from the statements of a deputation of non-Dharaia residents of Jogan who recently came to see me, it appears that they do not need such protection (i. e. the protection of the punitive police), and "would much prefer to be without the police altogether than to have to put for them."

7. The question then, the public will ask, is where shall we fix the responsibility for the general state of criminality in the District—we are here concerned with that in the Taluka, and what has been done to remedy it. We have not the slightest doubt that the Government have to thank themselves for it, that they are reaping what they have so sedulously sown. They have chosen to fix the label of 'criminal' on a virile, industrious, agricultural community and having once condemned it, they have daily driven it to a life of despair by the measures they have devised out of their own desperation. Their most handy weapons have been the Criminal Tribes Act and the notorious security of the Criminal Procedure Code which are so framed as to lend themselves to almost indefinite abuse or which an ingenuous overzealous officer finds easy to abuse. "Well thought out and carefully calculated solutions were suggested to meet the situation, and these received the strong support of several district magistrates, but," mourns the officer, "unfortunately for various reasons they were negatived and so owing to continued criminality on the part of the Dharalas the work of reiterating these proposals like a Penelope's web continues." While one officer is prepared to admit that the "ultimate cause of this abnormal amount of crime is partly an economic one," he feels, "it is not one that can be easily removed," another thinks that "the attentions shown to these people have not been adequate, that the leniency with which they have been treated up-to-now has been utterly misplaced," and that "in lieu of improving them the half-hearted and completely inadequate Hazri measures taken up under the Criminal Tribes Act have resulted in their retrogression," and consequently presses for measures "indicative of determination and strength" under the Criminal Tribes Act. "It will now generally be admitted" says the D. S. P. "that after nearly a decade's trial this Hazri measure has proved completely abortive." We think the officer is mistaken. The measure has borne enough fruit in the shape of increased crime. The remedy has been worse than the disease, but rather than radically alter the remedy it has been always thought proper to intensify it. If poison aggravates the malady, one way is to make the dose stronger, and despatch the patient, another is to alter

the dose altogether and put him on the way to recovery. It was no wonder that proposals for a more determined use of the "Criminal Tribes Act" were long negatived. It is a wonder that they should have been countenanced at all.

If anything was needed to complete the ravages of the application of the Criminal Tribes Act, the security sections supplied it. Imagine a district in which in one single year there should have been no less than 1800 cases under the security sections! What is the poor wretch to do if he is to be put into jail on the slightest suspicion? Better, he thinks, to court jail by defiant crime than to be ever the object of police suspicion and police attentions. The economic aspect has never been faced and the District Magistrate fears that it may not be possible to face it at all. Even temporary relief as suspension of payment of land revenue in a year of failure of monsoon has been too frequently denied and a Deputy Secretary to Government naively suggests "that the force to be employed should be as strong as the general population can pay for"—not under usual conditions, not if they can afford—but "under pressure"! In almost every year of famine there is the cry of 'false annawarces' and the full measure of revenue is exacted where it should not be.

Having refused to face the economic aspect of the case, and having been unable to tackle the question of moral reform of the community the Government have naturally not looked beyond the limits of the Criminal Tribes Act and the security sections and the final desperate act has been the imposition of punitive police. As has been noted above, the District Magistrate was of the opinion that the punitive police had failed to serve any useful purpose and that no villager wanted it. But the Police was imposed with a vengeance and the people are not yet free from their oppression.

8. We do not think we need discuss here what in our opinion would be the proper solution of the case. We shall only say that the little experiment of posting trained experienced Satyagraha volunteers in every village of the Taluka who will take to every home the message of non-violence, truth and khaddar is already proving successful and if the Government retires,—as we think it ought, with good grace,—from the area, we shall gladly share with the people of the village the responsibility to keep peace and order.

9. It is beyond our purpose here to narrate the long tale of woe of the Borsad peasantry, the way in which the punitive police has terrorised them, the way in which attachments are carried out, and how the life of the people has been rendered insecure by those who profess to keep them in security. We can only describe that condition of things as atrocious.

10. It has been our duty in the circumstances detailed in the foregoing paragraphs to advise the vast majority of the innocent people of Borsad to refuse to pay the unwarranted impost and to resist with all their might and power of endurance, the attempt to cast an unmerited slur on their character.

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The Great Test

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

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No. 2

Notes

The following Press Note has been issued by the Government of Bombay:—

His Excellency the Governor has made special enquiries through the Member-in-Charge of the Home Department who has at His Excellency's request during the past few days personally visited the Kaira District, into the necessity of maintaining the extra police force at the expense of the people of the Borsad taluka. His Excellency has considered the results of these enquiries in Council and has come to the conclusion that it is necessary to maintain, for some time to come, a substantial police force over and above the normal force of the taluka for the protection of the people and for organising further operations for the suppressing and hunting down of the outlaws. At the same time he has decided that a case has been made out for remitting the collection of the extra charge at present involved. It is true that the past supineness of the people generally has been due largely to the outrageous and inhuman methods of some of the well known dacoit leaders. Further, the partial failure of the late rains has rendered it difficult for some sections of the people to raise funds to meet the cess for the payment of the extra police force. The Governor in Council has therefore resolved that the cost of the extra police which have already been drafted in shall be met during the current year from general revenues and that the Legislative Council shall be asked to vote funds for the continuance of operations during the next financial year.

The Governor in Council believes that the people of Borsad who have already experienced the benefit of security as the result of the presence of the extra police force will respond to this policy of liberality by cordial assistance and co-operation in the further operations necessary for suppressing the violent crime from which their taluk has so long suffered.

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While it is fairly possible to estimate the results of the last session of the Congress, there is, and by the very nature of the case can be, little assurance of strict accuracy. In the old days, when the annual congregation was the whole of its activities one knew where one was at the end of the session. Now however the case is different. The resolutions of December are the bare indication of the sweep of public opinion; the All India Committee and the Working Committee are expected to watch the situation

continually and to take executive action in the general light of Congress resolutions, and in reference to daily-changing concrete facts. From this point of view the salient aspects are fully clear. First, there is the Compromise Resolution. Shorn of phrases, all that it means is that the Delhi Compromise is maintained. In September, the Congress decided to leave the Swarajists undisturbed in their appeal to the country. Now we have decided to stand by the logical consequences of that determination. We have no doubt at all as to the rough human wisdom of the Coorgada Resolution. The Delhi Compromise was a bitter pill to swallow; but it was clear then, and is clearer now that it truly represented the mood of the country. The No-Changers, who were bitterly opposed to it based their objection not on any illusion that the common folk were not thoroughly sick of wrangles that led nowhere, but on the hop that their strength that led to resistance might itself be the breeding of greater strength in others. The interval between Delhi and Coorgada proved something more than the thirtieth of people for "Unity" at all costs, even of honour. It demonstrated that the feebleness that was at the root of that desire led to their trooping to the election booths, which they had ignored at the command of a strong man, but a short while previously. Apart from the logic of the thing, there was a consideration of honour which Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel did well to emphasise. The Delhi resolution had consequences that could not honourably be repudiated. The country and the Swarajists had taken the Congress at its word, and the No-Change leaders came under the burden of a triple responsibility. First was what they owed to themselves as men of honour and leadership. It was bad enough to have performed the somerset in accepting Maulana Mahomed Ali's leadership against their better judgment, but it would have been a species of insanity to have performed yet another acrobatic feat in the course of a few months. Then there was the duty to the Swarajists themselves. In orthodox eyes, they may be heretics and deserve no better than the stake. But the stake is a drastic measure and there should be no confusion about it. The mixture of blessing and commination is an unintelligible confounding of substance. Heretics may or may not be gentlemen; but there should be no doubt as to your way of dealing with them—it should be gentlemanly and above all suspicion. But besides the combatants themselves there is the public, whose approval and right leadership you are seeking to achieve. After allowing them to be led to the polling-booth, the politicians have no right to

Intervene with them at a critical moment and drag them into fresh controversy. Controversy is futile. If it is in the power of the Congress to lead them into a spell of active work, well and good; else, the public will sit down quietly to watch and see the issue of the Council experiment.

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The mention of the Councils brings us to the second most important fact in current politics. We may not like it, the weakness and corruption that is in the whole business of Parliamentarianism; but there is not a shadow of doubt in the fascination that the Councils exercise over the popular mind. The very fact of this fascination and the wide range of its appeal make it democratically a factor that cannot be ignored. To do the Swarajists justice, it must be conceded that they are handling the situation with judgment and competence. This tribute is especially due from us, because we have not hesitated to speak our mind, whenever we thought that the Party and its leaders, great and small, were going wrong. In recent weeks, we have been disconcertingly frank about the mess into which the Party had got in Bengal and Madras—the Pact and the Lytton-Das negotiations and the co-operative activities of the Swarajists in the Madras Council. The gathering together of the leaders in Coonoor has done a considerable amount of good. We may be forgiven for guessing that it is the firm and clear leadership of Pandit Motilal Nehru that has effected the change. Whosoever may be the guiding hand, the results are clear. The Party has now given an idea of what it intends to do as a minority. It will be remembered that throughout all the controversy initiated by the Civil Disobedience Committee's report, the Swarajists had consistently refused to state what they would do in the Councils in case of failure to be in a majority. In the Election address, there was a slight indication; but now we see where we are. The crucial test is whether the Party in the Councils or the Assembly are strong enough in combination with other groups to form a majority and thus beat the Government. Where they are, the policy of the Party is to sustain these other groups, Independent or Nationalist, to the point of their prevailing against the Bureaucracy. Where on the other hand, the Swarajists are too few to bring about this result, the Party proposes to non-co-operate with the Government and other parties with equal impartiality, their only function being to watch the situation and to improve the striking hour. As for other legislative functions, they intend to take no part in them at all. They will not accept office, they will not serve on Legislative Committees, they will not be on the panel of chairmen nor take part in their election except for the single purpose of preventing all election by employing their votes as to make it impossible for anybody to get a majority. They are allowed to ask questions; but it is subject to the restriction that the interpellations must not be for giving publicity to grievances or to get them redressed. The instruction in reference to the Punjab and Madras where the Party are small in numbers, is that the members should non-co-operate altogether, except to the extent of marking attendance to prevent the seats being

rendered vacant. It will be seen from the above summary that the policy is carefully thought out; in fact one may be forgiven for describing it as Machiavellian. It will be ungracious to quarrel with it, and we do not mean to quarrel. But it does not mean that the weakness of it is not visible to the discerning eye. They may for present purposes be indicated in two words; risk of indiscipline and lack of contact with the popular mind.

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Besides the Compromise and the tactics of the men in the Councils, there are two factors to be reckoned with. We do not mean the Constructive Programme; that will call for a word next week. What we mean are the Ali Brothers and the probable triumph of the English Labour Party. When all is said and done, India is essentially a country of kings and the domination of personality. Men and women want truth and justice to prevail; but the manner of its coming is through individuals, not specific institutions or principles. Sir George Lloyd was quite right in saying that India was a country which delighted in the creation of idols and their worship. That is why the conception of *Ramrajya* is more intelligible and appeals to us more than a dead thing like Swaraj through institutions, democratic or otherwise. It is for this reason that the personal power of the two Brothers counts vitally. Surendranath, Tilak, Gandhi, and now these. The exact thing they are going to do is difficult to prophesy and must necessarily be controlled by the circumstances of the outside world. Of one thing, however, we may be sure:—their force and energy are bound to result in far-reaching effects. The exact formulas with which they have started the New year do not count. They are meant to meet contingencies essentially temporary in their nature and therefore dead to-day. The task till now was to prevent the outbreak of civil war, as they saw it. That danger is past. It is possible for them to apply themselves to the problem of the next positive policy to follow. In our humble judgment, they will presently find that neither policy nor action can be effectively undertaken or fulfilled without an instrument. The only instrument in their hands can be the Congress. We need not now go into the reason; but there is no doubt that the political organisation of the country is feeble. The prestige of the Congress is still clearly high; and curiously enough, the last official Elections helped to demonstrate it. But it was the exploitation of a past name. It should be our business to re-construct the Committee and put them on a permanent and automatically efficient basis. The Bezwada organisation was live and efficient. Still it was intended to work out a specific end—the maturing of a revolutionary programme within a limited time. We could afford to concentrate on the task with the abandon of the atmosphere of war. Now the revolutionary need continues, but with a difference. It is no longer a matter of winning Swaraj within a year; it is to win Swaraj, if it takes ten years, twenty years, the life of this generation with the certainty of bequeathing it as an uncompleted task to our children. Even that

Intellectual conviction will not relieve us from our duty. It is in this dry light of reason, in this mood of cold-blooded resolution, that we should approach the work of re-construction. Money, members, and a permanent National Service on a reasonable basis of wages prepared to carry out the policy of the Congress in a spirit of loyalty,--these are the primary needs. When they are met, the Congress may confidently frame policies and define national ends and insist on their being carried into execution.

* *

It is one of the many humiliations of our life that the fate of our people is dependent not on our energy or indolence, but on the chances of a General Election in a foreign country. Its significance is this: we are so helpless and incapable of sustaining sacrifice that the utmost of which we are capable is far less in value than the balance of what is essentially an English faction fight. The matter stands as follows:—The Conservatives are in a majority as a party, but the majority is not big enough to enable them to prevail against the combination of other parties in order to form a stable government. It is practically certain that the Ministry of Mr. Baldwin will be beaten as soon as Parliament meets next. The chance of forming another administration will then be offered to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the Labour Leader. Strictly speaking it will be impossible for him to form a Cabinet, the combination of parties against him being more formidable than the one which *ex hypothesi* will be strong enough to overthrow the Conservatives. The result will be a theoretical absurdity leading to the breakdown of Parliamentary Government in England. Whatever may be said of the faults of Englishmen, they are the last people in the world to allow their national institutions to break down for a logical reason. There is always a method in their madness. The method in this case will be to suspend the extreme implications of the party system in favour of the need for some government or other. Probably, Mr. Macdonald may be permitted to carry on till either he or the parties opposed to him decide that the moment was ripe for the further gamble of a general election, in which event, Mr. Macdonald will dissolve or the Liberals and Conservatives will oppose to overthrow him. But that that is still far away, and the question of practical importance is the effect of a Labour Government on the fortunes of India. Prophecy is the professional need of an astrologer and the inexcusable rashness of amateur politicians; all the same, there is no harm in careful anticipation. Our anticipation is as follows (March will show whether it is intelligent or idiotic):—The accession to power of a Labour Government will be signalled by a revelation in Indian affairs to what may roughly be called the Montagu policy. It is not because we cherish more illusions about the Labour Party than other conglomerations of publicists that we anticipate this development. But it is young as a party, and is new to responsibility; so it is likely to be in a hurry to improve the world and to celebrate its advent by the creation of a new heaven and a new earth.

* *

We are disposed to go a little further. When Mr. Montagu invented Biafry for the salvation of India, his collaborators happened to be the Liberals. We imagine that the legal representatives of the Liberals (lately deceased) will be the Swarajists. Mr. Das is already reported to be willing to form a Ministry on terms. The terms do not seem to be particularly impossible. In the matter of Provincial Autonomy, the Moderates themselves are understood to have been playing with it as the next stage in the Reform Scheme of periodical advances to the goal of Responsible Government. As for the release of political prisoners, it is one of the commonplaces of political demand-mongering; we do not believe there is a single politician except, perhaps, Mr. Omar Hyat Khan who is opposed to the release of political prisoners. Then there is the repeal of what are known as repressive laws. Our view is that they are not repressive at all, except in the sense that they are essential to the existence of a repressive government. The present Raj cannot subsist for any length of time without the use of "repressive" laws. All that is meant, therefore, by the demand for their repeal is that people do not want to live under a tyranny, a wish in which everyone will join. The analysis of the Swarajist demand is useful partly to suggest that there is nothing revolutionary in it and partly to show that it is the kind of thing that Labour politicians were fond of dallying with in the days of their nonage. As there is no great harm in the Swarajist demand because it is characteristically Moderate, it is quite conceivable that Labour might aspire to rally the Swarajists as Mr. Montagu rallied the Liberals and Lord Morley the Moderates. The intellectual affinity of the three is absolutely unmistakable.

* * *

It looks highly likely that a Labour Government is going to succeed Mr. Baldwin's Ministry. There is intriguing of various kinds to prevent the accession of Mr. Macdonald to power. But notwithstanding them all, the consummation, of which Col. Wedgwood despaired but a short while ago is on the point of fulfilment. The consequences of them to India are interesting speculation. Labour's attitude to India while in opposition is well-known. If power in power is permitted to have any relation to professions in opposition, we may look forward to the revival of Montagulism in the India Office. But it is not at all clear that there need be any such assurance. Why, the peculiar circumstances under which the next Government will come into power makes it improbable that "realism" will be repudiated. That is one possibility. But there is an alternative, which is quite as nearly plausible. Mr. Macdonald's tenure of office is necessarily precarious, being at the mercy of any passing combination of Liberals and Conservatives. Permanency can be secured (if at all) only after another General Election. The section of the electorate which will return him to power will not be the sections normally voting—Liberal and Conservative. It will be mainly working class re-inforced by non-working folk who are anxious to go forward to novel state policies. It is an increasing section that holds this view, and a vitally-minded one. Their loyalty can be retained only by a bold policy. It is task of the imagination, the tactic that builds up effective defence by a bold and uncompromising attack. In the special matter of Indian administration, we are the more disposed to anticipate such a development, because of

the personality of Col. Wedgwood. The coming into power of a Labour Government is more difficult to prophesy than the certainty of Colonel Wedgwood's being in the India Office in such an event. In the India Office, the personality of the Secretary of State counts for nearly everything. Even in an office less dominated by personality than the India office the gallant Colonel will be difficult to suppress. In the present case, he may be trusted to have his way right through. We have clear anticipations, but we shall reserve our mind in the matter for the time being. On the whole, we think there will be a bold policy.

The Great Test

The Congress has given a clear and unqualified mandate for concentration on the constructive programme. It remains now to be seen whether the workers will be loyal to the Congress and carry out the mandate. The next few months are without any exaggeration, a critical period in the history of our national movement. Success or failure depends on how we now respond. These few months will be marked by no excitement or demonstration; yet during this period we shall be put to the severest test. Will India rally round the banner of Non-co-operation again and show that steady work and strength which will at once render foreign domination impossible and plant Swarajya on unshakable foundations? This is the question upon the answer to which the history of our movement now depends.

Our workers, not the most cruel caviller will deny, have these four years stood the most trying strain bravely and patiently, with faith and courage and steadfast purpose worthy of the glorious motherland. Now will they be tried more sorely than ever. It pleases Him that rules nations that we should pass through a further ordeal to prove our claim to freedom. Our sufferings and privations are at breaking point. 'How long?' is the cry of many a weary soul. Gladly would they welcome others taking their place in the struggle so that they might put their knapsacks down and rest their weary flesh for a time. But this cannot be. The last and greatest trial we must go through, and if it pleases God successfully,

Constructive work and nothing else now. Other things however tempting, however speedy-looking and attractive shall not take us out of the path of construction which the Congress with one voice has ordered. It is not without deep and anxious thought that such restless souls, spirits that thirst for freedom immediate and quick and would never count the cost like the All Brothers have asked in clear and unanimous terms for concentration on the constructive programme. No distraction of any kind should be permitted to imperil the quick fulfilment of the programme. The cottage of silent work should be given the fullest play.

"I am tired with three years of politics. Let me go to my village. I shall take a Parchamai boy into my house and sit at the spinning wheel. Let me go," said a weary fighter yesterday. "God bless you" said I, "It is the very thing wanted."

Sincere souls instinctively find the truth which logic and reasoning often fail to reach. Now is the time

for every Congress worker to be an example to others like my weary friend. Select your village and spin all your time. Let the people see in your action the faith that is in you, that Swarajya shall be won through the charkha even as Bapu promised us. Sit in peace and spin. You need not go to the people, for the people will come to you. In your village you will verily see Swarajya building itself round you like King Arthur's palace built to music.

I look upon the Cocanada Congress as a Congress that opened the Charkha year—a year that will see Bapu's desire fulfilled. Ask no questions about the wage value of spinning, no querries about economics and politics, but get up in the morning and spin religiously for at least a half hour. Do this for the sake of Congress whatever be your politics, whatever be your day's task. To me this is the great message of the Congress that met and dispersed at Cocanada. Set up the Charkha. All the communities touchable and untouchable will gather round it. The sweet music of it will dispel all jealousies and all anger.

"Even if I fall in everything else," I remember the Master saying one day, "if I restore the ancient cloth of India to her people, I shall have fulfilled the mission of my life." Let us prepare this fulfilment as our great welcome to him upon his release from prison.

C. R.

A Correction

I am reported in most papers to have said in moving my resolution at Cocanada that the Council boycott was alive and not dead, as in the case of schools and courts. A misplaced fullstop has altogether reversed what I said. I said that the triple boycott was alive and not dead. I pointed out that in the case of schools and courts, the boycott was there as long as we sought to maintain national schools and arbitration courts, though we suspended aggressive propaganda. I then proceeded to say in a new sentence, that as in the case of schools and courts even in respect of Councils the boycott was there, because dissociating ourselves from the Government Legislatures we sought to make the Congress a true and powerful national assembly.

An Appeal

Sisters and Brothers! You are aware of the proceedings of the Indian National Congress at Cocanada and the resolution adopted there. I know that many of my comrades were dissatisfied and thought that the resolution was not strong enough. I desire however to point out that the resolution is clear in respect of four matters: one, the immediate work before us is constructive work, two, the fundamental basis of our programme, viz. the triple boycott is affirmed; three, we have been just and fair to the Swarajya Party; four, we have secured essentials without sacrificing peace.

The Cocanada Congress has given a definite and clear lead to concentration on constructive work. Let us take it up and put forth immediate, sustained effort this year. Let us not allow doubts and disputations to take up our time and energy. The charkha is the one immediate programme. In the fulfilment of this one programme lies our loyalty to Mahatmaji. C. R.

Young India

10-1-24

Christendom in India

The Address of Mr. K. T. Paul, the General Secretary of the Indian section of the Young Men's Christian Association to the Annual Conference of Indian Christians held in Bangalore was a remarkably refreshing document. Mr. Paul is no politician, and that very fact enabled him to view the political problem with a mind free from all catchwords. It may seem presumptuous in a Christian to say so; but the peculiar virtue of the speech was that it struck a note essentially foreign to the thought fashionable amongst Indian Christians. Of one thing we are sure: barring Mr. Paul and a few others who may be mentioned, and who may be counted on the fingers, Indian Christians are away from nationalism. We do not say that it's a sign of settled hostility; there is widespread indifferentism which when roused to expression tends to be pro-Government and anti-nationalist. It is this background that makes Mr. Paul's address a thing of joy. He is a nationalist.

In regard to basic things, the reading of history, vision of the future, the security of his people under Swaraj, he is irrefragably sound. But when he comes to deal with the functions of his co-religionists in our politics, we fail to see eye to eye with him. His advice is that Christians should take part in politics but with an ideal detachment. They should be in politics but not of it. He passionately warns Christians against the plums and prunes of politics, and sees in them things to be avoided if their share in public life is to be a blessing and not a curse.

We grant that Mr. Paul points to a supreme detachment. It is magnificent but it is not politics. We shall respectfully urge on Mr. Paul two lines of thought. The first is this. In politics, as in everything else, there is such a thing as responsibility. Suppose a Christian statesman in India individually or with the suffrage of the Indian Christian community urges on the country the pursuit of a policy, and he succeeds in converting the nation to his view. We say it would be impossible for him to run away from the consequences of that policy in action. Nationalism to-day leads to loss and imprisonment; we are confident that Mr. Paul will not ask a Christian to disown his political convictions because of the shadow of the jail that looms in the background. But suffering need not necessarily be the lot of a politician who has the ear of his people. In a normal state of society, it is the burden of government that comes on him. What we are labouring for—Mr. Paul and all servants of the country—is the establishment of this normalcy. Surely he will not say that the assumption of responsibility which carries with it under modern conditions the receipt of a salary, should be avoided because of his horror of the corruption of "plums and prunes". We say it is impossible. If the substantial advice is that Christians should keep out of politics altogether the preaching

of abstinence in the matter of responsibility will be irresistible. But the invitation is far otherwise. As far as that is concerned, Mr. Paul, and before him Dr. Datta, have burnt their boats. We suggest in all humility that you cannot eat your cake and have it.

But there is something more than the logic of Mr. Paul's thought and that brings us to our second observation. If we may say so, what we are going to say was missed by him, because he has been an administrator and not a politician. It is one of the elements of realistic politics that the average person who comes into politics does so because of a subtle hedonism in it. There is a good deal of suffering and disappointment, which is not without a delicate charm. Beyond it there are prizes which are more tangible and the secret of whose satisfaction is not hid from the common herd. The appeal is not of the highest, but none the less real and forcible. If a permanent self-denying ordinance is imposed on the Christian community and its leaders, it is almost mathematically certain that Indian nationalism will go forward to its appointed fate free of Christian co-operation. We do not suggest that nationalism will not taste victory. Not at all. But it will not be a partly Christian achievement. That is not the way our vision shapes itself. The co-operation of Indian Christendom in the national task will be free and equal, tainted by no base sordidness on the one hand nor pretending to an impossible measure of idealism which will break down at the first practical test leading to bitterness. Rather will they have a share in the common effort. They will have their part in the inevitable need of national humiliation. When the day of fulfilment is on us, they will not be denied their prize.

The Debate at Cocomada

[The debate in the Cocomada Congress centred round the following resolution. Below are the speeches made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in moving the resolution and in replying to the debate.]

Resolution:

This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation Resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.

Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation Resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the policy of the Triple Boycott, this Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that Boycott remain unaltered.

This Congress further declares that the said principle and policy form the foundation of constructive work, and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of Civil Disobedience. This Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committee to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's speech

In moving the resolution he said:

The Congress is determined upon Non-co-operation. We have to decide what part of the Non-co-operation programme we should work during the year, and in what manner we have to act under the leadership of Maulana Mahomed Ali during the next twelve months.

Constructive Programme

We all know what he wants us to do so far as he himself is concerned. He has told you already that we must concentrate on the constructive programme adopted at Bardoli, not merely in policy, but in day to day work, with strenuous effort. I therefore want you to accept that programme of work and if you do so, one part of the proposition that I place before you must be approved. You must decide upon carrying out the constructive work which is part of the Non-co-operation programme.

A Declaration of Policy

Another part of the resolution which I place before you is a declaration that we still adhere to the principle and policy of the triple boycott. I must be brief and therefore go straight to the point. I want you to adopt the principle and policy of the triple boycott as inaugurated and enforced by Mahatma Gandhi. I do not want you by this resolution to adopt the triple boycott in the sense of going to the platforms and immediately and aggressively calling on lawyers, school boys and councillors. We must keep that principle, as understood and enforced by Mahatma Gandhi, as the basis of the constructive programme. This foundation of the constructive programme is necessary to be declared once again because I feel that the atmosphere in the country has been disturbed by what we have been talking and doing regarding the Councils. That declaration of policy is the reaffirmation of the Congress policy as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi and forms the second part of this resolution.

Delhi not Disturbed

Another part of the resolution is a clear expression of our determination not to undo what we did at Delhi or to disturb those who acted under the Delhi decision. It does not mean that we adopt that policy for the future. It only means that we do not disturb what has been already done. These are the three things that form this resolution. I have given them to you in the order of their importance according to my opinion.

Avoid a Battle.

Another important consideration I must place before you for adopting this resolution in the form in which I have placed it. It is that the resolution will be supported by Mr. Das and his friends from whom we have had the misfortune to differ. Why does he give his support? Because he does not want a battle now, but simply wants you to accept facts as they are. He does not want you either to adopt his programme or to reject it. He recognises the fact that the Congress has the same policy to-day as it had before.

I don't think I need add anything more, except a few words with regard to the alternative resolution you have before you on the agenda paper. I want to know whether you want a stronger resolution and to fight a battle for it with all its consequences, or

whether you will have this resolution which contains the substance of what we want without the evil effects of a battle. I certainly prefer the latter. I want you to agree with the policy with which my name has always been associated. I want you to rely upon yourself and not upon others in carrying on your work. But we ought to do nothing to prevent other people from assisting us. You might take it from me that even where union is not possible we might at least avoid the aftermath of a bitter war. If we proceed with work and forget the passion for war we might get even union. I shall not detain you further but proceed to read the resolution in English. Mr. Venkatappiah who will follow me will read it in Telugu. (Here he read the resolution in English.)

Duty of Provincial Committees

I don't place before you a more complete and detailed programme of constructive work, because in the present state of want of homogeneity in India each Provincial Congress Committee will have to consider what particular items are more urgent and necessary and possible. The detailed programme of work will have to be considered by the Executive of the Congress in consultation with each P. C. C. But one thing is clear that we give a mandate to the Executive to concentrate their attention on constructive work and work out the details. The words and phrases of this resolution have been thoroughly thrashed out in the Subjects Committee and that Committee has recommended the resolution in the form in which I have proposed it. I want you therefore, as a National Assembly of men intent on business, to accept this resolution without further doubt or discussion. Some persons ask me whether this resolution contains a ban on the Councils. We do not ask the Councillors to go out of the Councils. It is for them to go out if they like. What was decided at Delhi remains without being extended or reduced by a single inch or fraction of an inch.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's Reply to the Debate

Mr. Prakasam was saying to you that dissociation from legislatures would mean dissociation from our friends who are in the legislatures. I do not agree. Like Dr. Subrahmanyam I say we have nothing to do with the legislatures and we should not look to them for help; but we have not come to say, we ought not to say, that we dissociate ourselves from the gentlemen in the legislatures. We never say that even as regards the Government members therein. We ought to dissociate ourselves from the institutions, not the men. I am really surprised at the misinterpretation-phobia. I put the proposition in a clear way. I claim the utmost right of dissociation from the legislatures in this resolution not only from Councils but also from courts and schools. It is quite another thing for me and the Congress organisation to decide whether we will take an aggressive propaganda or not in the future. Mr. Das seconded the proposition without any speech or word: do you think that Mr. Das is not one who would claim his own interpretation if there was room for misinterpretation? Still there were speakers claiming that the amendment was the Non-co-operation resolution and that my resolution was the expression of the death of Non-co-operation. I am surprised that men who stood by me faithfully and with the conviction of their own judgement could imagine that

to-day I have signed a warrant for the death of Non-co-operation. Without asking for any explanation they condemn my resolution in that manner.

Pandit Sunder Lalji's whole speech was this and nothing else; and my friend Ramaswamy Naicker's Tamil speech was also this. Let me assure you that I accept almost the whole of the amendment to which they give their support, but my complaint is that they give the go-by to the Delhi resolution. That is why I cannot accept the amendment. We may claim the maximum faith in the programme of Non-co-operation. But how can we ignore what we did at Delhi? We must either have the courage to move a resolution rescinding and cancelling that resolution of Delhi or we must accept it and place before the Congress to-day a resolution that we reaffirm the old triple boycott. What we say is that we do not cancel the Delhi resolution, but our future policy and programme continues to be the same. Comment was made on calling the Delhi resolution a Non-co-operation resolution. Dr. Pattabhi Seeta Ramayya's whole speech was based upon this single word Non-co-operation.

I tell you that because the word Non-co-operation is there my position is stronger and safer. Why are you afraid of the Delhi resolution? It is because you say it is another form of Non-co-operation. If it was not a Non-co-operation resolution why should you be bothered about the Delhi resolution? But if it was a Non-co-operation resolution, is it not your duty to say that in spite of it our policy is the same as before? Can anybody say that the policy of triple boycott which we affirm is not the triple boycott inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi but the triple boycott as inaugurated by anybody else? We reaffirm the policy of the triple boycott as interpreted by Mahatma Gandhi. Not that Mr. Das or any of his party accepts that interpretation as correct, but they say they would not fight us over it here. He accepts the fact that you and I are committed to that policy and continue to be committed to it. If you want to accept Mr. Das's interpretation you must join the Swarajya Party. You won't do it by accepting the resolution. Speaker after speaker gave a brief picture of the difference between the Swarajists' programme and the old Non-co-operation programme. Take it from me that if you vote for the proposition I have moved, you may sleep soundly with the knowledge that you do not accept the Swaraj Party's programme. You confirm the policy which we had before the Delhi decision. But you assure our friends who differ from us that what was done in Delhi is not to be undone now. If we want to keep the prestige of the Congress we must maintain the integrity and the unity of the institution. We ought not to undo what we did with open eyes unless there is grave reason for it. There would have been grave reason if we were prepared to take up now an aggressive triple boycott programme. But what you want is not an aggressive whirlwind programme but only a foundation for your constructive work. I remind the speakers that an aggressive whirlwind constructive programme would be out of place now.

The subject of boycott of bye-elections was also introduced. A boycott to be effective must be impersonal. Boycott of a particular bye-election would be as

ridiculous as a hartal in one of our streets when all the other streets are open to traffic and trade. Boycott of bye-elections would not be useful to the nation. Let us not therefore bother about bye-elections and let us leave it to the Congress organisations to decide such things from time to time. Let us now decide about principles.

When I moved the proposition to you I dealt briefly and only with general principles. Details ought to be left to Committees and it would be impossible to consider here the legal language, etymological and other aspects which were introduced by the opposers of the resolution. I am sorry I was compelled to enter into some of them in reply. One word more. Fear of misinterpretation is born of weakness and must be put aside. If you believe me there is Non-co-operation in all its force in this resolution and there is authority and mandate for constructive work. That is what we want for the year. I beg of you therefore to give your acceptance to this proposition and reject the amendment. If we commit a mistake thereby, mistakes can always be corrected. Let us go according to our present convictions. (Cries of Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai.)

Congress Resolutions

(Calcutta 1923)

I Resolutions regarding the death of Shriyuts S. Kantari Ranga Iyengar, Asvini Kumar Dutt, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Pandit Prajap Narayan Bajpeye, and Haridev Narayan Singh.

II Amendments to Congress Constitution

III Indian National Pact

Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Congress do call for further opinions and criticisms and submit further report by the 31st March 1924 to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration, and that Sardar Amar Singh (Jhabbal) be included in the Committee in place of Sardar Mehtab Singh who is in jail.

IV Volunteer Organisation

This Congress is of opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of the national work on the lines laid down by the Congress, it is necessary to have a trained and disciplined body of workers. This Congress, therefore, welcomes the movement for the formation of an All India Volunteer organisation and calls on the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained volunteers in co-operation with the organisers of the movement and keep control and supervision over it, while giving it freedom of internal management and administration.

V Congress Administration

Resolved that this Congress hereby calls upon its Working Committee to prepare and submit at as early a date as possible to the All India Congress Committee for its consideration, a scheme of organisation of separate Congress Departments for more efficiently, expeditiously and uninterruptedly carrying out the various items of the programme of constructive work under its supervision and control;

That the Working Committee should also submit a scheme of National Service of paid workers who would carry out the work of the various departments and provide adequate and efficient Central and Provincial Secretariats and local office establishments;

That this Congress authorises the A. I. C. C. to adopt these schemes with such modifications as it may deem necessary and to put them into force at the earliest possible date.

VI The Main Resolution

(Printed in this issue under "The Debate at Coonoor")

VII Kenya

This Congress sends the greetings and sympathy of the Nation to the Indian Community in Kenya and while adhering to the opinion that unless Swarajya is won for India, the sufferings and grievances of Indians abroad cannot be properly remedied, it authorises Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to attend the forthcoming Indian Congress in Kenya and study the situation and advise the Indian Community there, as to what steps they should take in carrying on their struggle against the insults and injustices imposed upon them.

VIII Ceylon Labourers

This Congress appoints a Committee consisting of Sjts. M. A. Arulandam, A. V. Dias, Periasundaram and L. Muthukrishna to investigate into the conditions of life to which the South Indian Labourers in Ceylon are subjected and to make a report to the Working Committee.

IX Indians Abroad

In view of the humiliating treatment accorded to Indian labourers in various parts of the British Empire, this Congress advises the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a small Committee to examine the matter in all aspects and report to the All India Congress Committee.

X Akali Struggle

This Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent activities, and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsees and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle, including assistance with men and money.

The Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

XI Sjt. V. D. Savarkar

This Congress condemns the continued incarceration of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, and expresses its sympathy with Dr. N. D. Savarkar and other members of his family.

XII Khaddar Board

It is resolved that an All India Khaddar Board be formed consisting of Sjts. Jarnalal Bajaj (Chairman), Vallabhbhai Patel, Mahatma Gandhi, Revashanker Jagjivan Jhaveri, Velji Nappu, Belgaumwala, Shaukat Ali and Shankarlal Bunker (Secretary), with full power to organise and carry on Khaddar work throughout India under the general supervision of the All India Congress Committee, and to raise funds (including loans) therefor, in addition to the allotments that may be made from the general funds. The Board shall hold office for three years, any vacancies to be filled in by the rest of the members. A report and statement of accounts shall be presented to the A. I. C. C. at its annual meeting and whenever else called for. The Board will act as central authority on behalf of the A. I. C. C.

with regard to Khaddar work, and in co-operation with Provincial Congress Committees. It will supervise and control the Khaddar Boards established by Provincial Congress Committees and organise new ones in co-operation with the P. C. Cs. where they do not exist.

XIII This Congress resolves that its next sessions be held in Karnatak.

Te Deum for Borsad

It is not in a vainglorious spirit that we should offer our congratulations to the people of Borsad and their leaders. Let us thank God in all humility that in this trial He has given us a speedy victory. The justice of the cause, the simple and manly programme of suffering that was adopted and above all the absolute determination of the people unalloyed by any mental reservations to carry it out to the bitter end, have brought victory as a natural and necessary consequence. The triumph of justice and the success of Satyagraha are one and identical. The people of Borsad have won because their cause was absolutely true and just. Satyagraha is admissible and possible only where the cause is true and just. In other cases it will only be a base imitation and no better than physical violence. It may seem to succeed for a time but is bound ere long to wither away. But where the cause is just, as at Borsad, success is certain. The Government of Bombay deserve to be congratulated for quickly realising this. They have put aside their prestige and proceeded bravely to set things in order. The victory of Satyagraha is complete where even the vanquished does not feel the sting of defeat but feels that he is acting solely under the compelling force of Justice. We too shall not wrongly stress our triumph but offer thanks for justice.

The penal cess is cancelled and the cost of the special police is to be part of general administrative charges. This being done it becomes more easy for all to consider whether the special police force is necessary, and if so whether the men and officers now employed are efficient. When once a man or government makes up its mind to be just and is on the path of right conduct there is every hope of complete reforming.

It is too much to expect so great and sudden a change in the mentality of governments as is involved in a radical reform of the criminal race. But as a special case if definite and liberal terms are offered as an ultimatum it is possible that the absconding criminals of Borsad may prefer surrender to living a continual life of hunted beasts. The gallows need not be the only solution for error on the part of brave and capable human beings. The chain of wrong on either side complicates the issue. But if we look back to the history of any crime we generally reach a point where a strong human motive which may not be justification but is certainly a moral explanation calls for human solution instead of the all too easy remedy of the hangman's rope.

C. R.

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A Beautiful Address

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

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The Nation in Agony

Innumerable are the ways in which the Lord tries us. As if the Cross was not already too heavy for us to bear, came the news on the morning of the 13th: 'Mr. Gandhi operated on ~~for~~ acute appendicitis last night. Had a very fair night and condition this morning satisfactory.' News previously received had hardly prepared us for this. Indeed Mahatmaji's ill-health has been a matter of great public anxiety not for a week but for months. Nearly two months ago, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel wrote to the Chief Secretary to Government, and to the Superintendent, Yeravda Jail, asking for a statement of temperature taken four times every day, for a fortnight, for inspection by two of the most reputed medical men in Ahmedabad who treated Mahatmaji during his last serious illness. Mr. Vallabhbhai had also enclosed along with his letter the medical opinion of these two gentlemen who requested him to obtain from Government a statement of the nature referred to above. Mr. Vallabhbhai got no reply. Some days ago we again heard that Mahatmaji was regularly having fever, and that he was complaining of acute pain in the abdomen. On the 10th therefore, Mr. Rambal Gandhi wired to the Superintendent, Yeravda Jail, inquiring about Mahatmaji's condition, and he wired in reply the next day: 'Your father has slight fever; no cause for alarm but you are at liberty to visit if you wish.' Next day came another telegram from him: 'Your father has been transferred to Sassoon Hospital, Poona to-day.' There was absolutely no reference to the cause of the sudden 'transfer'—not 'removal'—nor any indication of the ailment. Next day came the stunning news referred to above. It is most painfully surprising how a slight fever could develop into conditions making a most serious surgical operation absolutely essential, how a Surgeon in charge of the biggest jail in the Presidency could not discover until the day of Mahatmaji's removal from Sassoon Hospital that an abscess on the appendix was developing. Or did he know all that was happening, and simply wanted to spare Mrs. Gandhi the agony of the news? No. It is the Surgeon of the Sassoon Hospital that apparently raised the first alarm, took Mahatmaji away to his hospital in his own car and decided on an immediate operation.

What happened afterwards has been succinctly told by the Rt. Hon. Shrinivas Shastri in his statement to the Press reproduced elsewhere.

Swami Anand from our office was there until Monday evening. He had the privilege of seeing Bapu thrice after the operation. His first sentence was an expression of profound gratefulness for the careful service that he had been receiving from everyone in the Hospital and to the gladness with which everyone had surrounded him. It is not without an effort that he can speak the little that he does. As you approach his bed, you can scarcely see him lying in it. But for the imperishable smile that expresses the soul of imperishable worth encased in the little body of which you can even count the all too few bones, all about is sadness. The weakness is such that complete recovery of the lost strength is well-nigh impossible, and to the extent that it is possible it might take months. It is a mercy that we are now able to say he has been saved for his people. The latest telegram despatched from Poona at 11-24 A.M. to-day gives the following re-assuring news:

Bapu feeling better. Had sound sleep. Took yesterday rice along with milk and fruits. Temperature, pulse normal. Rapidly recovering, less exhaustion while talking; voice stronger, clearer. Ba, Ausayabai, Devadas, Mehtooradas attending regularly.

If a calamity like the one through which we are passing can have a redeeming feature it is this that the nation has, after twenty-two months now, had words to hear from the lips of the beloved Master. The first message was the one which has been recorded by Mr. Shastri. It contains heart and good cheer enough to last us throughout the struggle however prolonged it may be.

The second is one which we should treasure as much as the first, but one which we ingrates least deserve: "I am deeply touched by manifestation of deep affection shown to me by my countrymen during the critical period of my health. They need have no anxiety because every possible attention is being given me by medical authorities here."

And that brings us to the other redeeming feature, viz. the great Christian service Col. Maddock and his assistants are rendering to him who is nearer to Christ than anyone breathing on God's earth. We cannot be too thankful to them. Are not we all children of the same Father? Let us all sing Hallelujah!

Notes

Our remarks about the Constructive Programme, as promised last week, will be few. The Programme is of action and all we can offer in this place is counsel. There is a species of counsel which is itself action; but we are not so foolish as to imagine that what is now said in *Young India* is invested with dynamic energy. In the absence of that, the plain duty of all who believe in the programme is to abandon speech, and to go about the business in utter silence. Mr. Rajagopalachari has said, that what we want is not stimulants, but efficiency and diligence; it is a true saying. There is however a supplement to it. Diligence and efficiency come themselves in the presence of a greater and more vitalising quality—faith. As long as the main business of politics was to worst the Council-goers, the *mantra* of the Programme was well enough. That pre-occupation, which was perilously like an occupation, is now gone. We want something more than the fact of Mr. Gandhi's faith in it to save us alive. Our loyalty to him is undoubted; but unless the loyalty is founded on conviction we become as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. It is one thing to do as he does; but we must have his power and his faith. The serious thought is whether he should have us attempt his task without his faith. It was only Sri Ramachandra that could wield the mighty bow of Siva. It is not everybody that can assume the responsibility of staking their all on the fate of the success of a programme which the large world does not understand.

* *

Besides the Compromise Resolution in the Congress, there was one perennial which went the way of previous decisions. It was the proposal to change the Creed of the Congress, defining or limiting national objective from Swaraj into Independence. The matter has come up for debate every year since 1920 when the Constitution was framed. But the proposition has been thrown out continuously in spite of gallant efforts. The moral of it to those anxious to effect the change should be obvious, and we can point it out without being suspected of ulterior motives, because we happen to be in favour of the change on its merits. Taking it all in all, the general mass of people are not ready for the change that seems to its advocates to be desirable. The reason of opposition may be unsatisfactory, judged by any standard of policy or of logic. But there it is, and it will be idle to ignore it. Clearly, efforts to bring about the change by convincing the Congress have failed. Why should we not allow ourselves respite from the controversy? Allow public opinion to develop in silence and then perhaps, we may find one early day (earlier than we hope) the country's pressing for the change. The open session of the Congress will then be ready to accept it with ease. Untutored folk may well get tired of persistence and the reaction to it is not always surrender; it may be disgust.

* *

We have already observed that the evolution of the Bengal Pact was marked by unhappy history, misfortune that we deplore because we are genuinely sympathetic

with the idea of Facts. Mr. Das was guilty of no graver mistake than being in a hurry; but haste in a politician can be as grave an error as dilatoriness. Hindu Bengal is indignant and seriously alarmed, and if our insights are right, the popularity that was the lot of Mr. Das in the middle of the election is no longer at his command. To add to his troubles the Moslems are none too enthusiastic because of the declaration that the Pact is not finally settled but was a considered suggestion. The Anglo-Indian Press, which does not love him, is jubilant over what it considers a capital blunder. In view of all this, it is not surprising that the Congress should have, on an amendment moved by a Bengal delegate, thrown out the Bengal Pact for consideration. As for the draft of the National Pact made by Lala Lajpat Rai's Committee, we are glad that the Congress found it possible to substantially accept the suggestion we made last week. Our proposal was that the Draft should be treated as provisional and that final decisions should be deferred pending discussion by the public. The resolution was that public opinion should be invited and that the matter should be finally disposed of by the All India Committee in a suitable manner. It is something gained that no hasty decision was taken. We do not think that it was a sense of the gravity of the issues involved that led to this result. The decisive fact was the scare caused by the consternation caused by the venture of Mr. Das. One would therefore have wished the Congress to indicate its gratitude to the framers of the Bengal Pact by showing it special consideration. But the house was too angry and the pent-up anger against Mr. Das was given full play in the deep-throated energy with which his latest political creation was condemned. We think it was unjust and injudicious. Constitutionally speaking the reference of the Bengal Pact to a committee would have been censure of Mr. Das and to spare; but it was not to be. We believe there is nothing to prevent the All India Committee or the Pact Committee from considering the clauses of the Bengal settlement and arriving at their decisions. In any event, we hope that the questions raised by Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Das will be deeply pondered in consultation with all important parties. The following bodies must certainly be called upon to give their views; the Sikh League, the Indian Christian Association, the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha, the European Association, the Anglo-Indian Association and the Jewish League. Then the Committees will have a fair idea of the position.

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* *

The passing of the Kenya Franchise Bill by the local Legislative Council has more than one lesson for us. The thing on the surface, the legalisation of robbery that is at the bottom of Imperialism, is there for every one to see. The Indian members of the Council saw it so clearly that they absolved themselves of all responsibility in the matter by solemnly withdrawing from the sitting and making their position clear to the whole world. If we may say with all respect, we think the course was proper and dignified. The position of the Indians being made absolutely evident, it is for the British Government to ponder over the consequences. It is natural to assume that the Governor and the Colonial Office are able to carry on in spite of the non-co-operation of the Indians;

there is no doubt as to the assurance of Englishmen in this respect. But we believe that it is inherently impossible. The essence of non-co-operation is that it is hard for any Government to rule men without their co-operation. The co-operation may be forced for temporary periods by force; but force is in its nature incapable of sustained application, and Governments have finally to rely on voluntary assistance from the community. Take, for instance, the very affair in Kenya. Does anybody imagine for a minute that the Cabinet in England would have cared to grant Indians and Arabs the representation summarised in the White Paper, if Englishmen felt they were strong enough to administer the Colony without grave inconvenience, in their absence? We think not. It is not in the nature of Englishmen or others to confess to non-existent weakness. To those who will suggest that the scheme of Indian representation is a piece of conscious hypocritical superfluity, we shall make a present of the case from the United States of America. The States are reckoned to contain 150 millions of human beings, of whom between 20 and 30 millions are coloured folk. In spite of a civil war and a famous Constitutional Amendment in that behalf, the Negro and his descendants are in fact disfranchised. As for the injustice of the situation, there will not be a fair-minded man out of America who will be inclined to deny it; and the case is really harder than that of the Indians in Kenya. All the same, the good people of the States, politicians and voters, darlings of the universe, correctors of a world gone perversely wrong, are not in the slightest degree disturbed by the servitude of millions. The reason is there plain for those with eyes to see. The disfranchisement causes not a scrap of practical discomfort; that is all. If at any moment the politicians find out that the vote of the Negro or even the presence of the hated individual in the Congress or the White House is necessary, they will be prepared to swallow the professions of generation and adjust themselves accordingly. Then we shall hear plentifully of the wickedness and injustice of keeping out the negro, who is notoriously a brother. There will come into being a new Americanism and the Ku Klux Klans of that future will be ready to murder and punish by quick and unerring method the fallers-off from the new doctrine of grace. But at the present moment white Americans are able to keep up the social and body politic in being with the co-operation of Negroes as porters, labourers, agriculturists, bottle-washers, agents of bosses. The grant of the limited franchise similarly in Kenya means that the Government cannot get along without it. If the Indians decide practically that they are as satisfied with it as Lord Delamere is, it will be an excellent family arrangement and both parties to the compact will get on beautifully. If on the other hand, they should prove in the ensuing months that they have sufficient grit, strength and self-respect to reject the proffered prize of dishonour, the Government will be forced by its constitution to seek forward to new offers, new settlements.

But we have said the inferences were many. Think of this first. Dr. Sapru came back to India in the halo of an uncertain glory. The Government said that his was a great achievement. But as far as non-official judgment was concerned, no two interpreters agreed; some said this and some said that. Mrs. Besant thought and proclaimed, as is her way, with loud voice, that India had won; the *Bombay Chronicle*, that the Indian representative was knocking his head against a stone wall. As a matter of fact the words were just ambiguous enough to account for the conflict of views. But now it is clear that the equivocation was no more than literal; the reality was, and is, that Dr. Sapru was himself fooled or was fooling India. The Franchise Bill is through at a sitting and the declaration at the Imperial Conference that India would never accept the conclusion in the White Paper as final is without the substance of truth. For the time being the White Paper is the last word on the subject. When in course of time, it becomes a scrap of paper, the conversion will be achieved not by declarations in a dozen Imperial Conferences, but by the positive action of India, at home and abroad. In the meanwhile, is it too much to hope that Dr. Sapru or whoever that has to say the conclusive word will see the wisdom of dropping the whole futile business of Itinerant Committees?

* * *

It is not often that political anticipations are fulfilled with signal swiftness. Last week, in discreetly admiring the latest programme of the Swarajists, reference was made to the Achilles' Heel of the case. We doubted whether there would not be rebellion in the camp. Within a day of our writing, the leader of Swarajists in the Madras Council promptly and publicly challenged the authority of those who framed the programme. The objection to the programme was put on the technical incompetence of the gentlemen who met in Coonoor; the true reason of the objection however is much deeper. It is not without significance that Mr. Das departed from the Congress demand and put forward his notion of what was good for the country in the abortive negotiations with Lord Lytton. It is not without significance that when Dr. Moonjee was invited by Sir Frank Sly to form a Ministry, what he said in reply was that responsive co-operation was not yet the policy of the Swaraj Party. There was nothing said about his being a Non-Co-operator, or of the Party's being Non-Co-operator. Both the incidents are of an intellectual piece with the rebellion of Madras against the inconvenient fidelity of Pandit Motilal Nehru to the original definition of policy. Apart from the accustomed diplomacy of phrase with which all publicists are familiar, the spirit of rebellion is working itself out. There is grim pleasure in noting one remarkable fact. The Party came into being as the result of a gross act of rebellion against the Congress. Last year, there was no one in the national assembly strong enough to rise in majestic wrath and to marshal the indignation of the country against revolt in high places. The spirit that brought the party into existence has gone on thriving on what it fed and is to-day in process of turning round to rend the original authors of its being. There is an element of

poetic justice in the development, which is in the spirit of grand irony. But let that pass. The problem is of more immediate practicality than those of the comic spirit. Now that the revolt is on the Swarajists, quick and drastic decisions must be taken. The rebels speak of the possible reversal of the Coochabam decisions. If we are not altogether mistaken as to their genesis, we are pretty certain that the chance of reversing or materially modifying them is small. But as it happens, the objectors are of stern, ambitious stuff and are not likely to give up their position. The inevitable conclusion will be the resignation of the dissidents or their final expulsion from the ranks of the Party. Up to this point, there will be very little difficulty. In fact it is then that the true constitutional problem will emerge. It is one thing for a member of the Legislative Council to resign from a political group with which he can no longer co-operate. It is an altogether different thing for him to resign from the Legislature itself. Party connections are no doubt useful to get a man into the Legislative Chamber; but it is the way of all Legislators to develop the fearful habit of forgetfulness about pre-election promises and associations. As far as we can see, there is nothing to prevent Legislators from transferring their allegiance from parties, and still remaining as members of Councils. Of course, there is the risk of the electorate calling the erring ones to account at another election; but that is nearly always three years away; and there is never yet man born of woman who will be withheld from peccadilloes because of the threat of punishment in the remote future; else the world will be a happy place. It becomes a pure gamble and the recusant goes into the risk in the spirit of a gambler.

There is some guarantee against this manner of political apostasy in countries with a more effective public opinion or rigid discipline than is available in India. But there is no such thing here, and therefore the less said about it the better. If the Swarajists, we mean the men at the top, have any serious intention of saving themselves from public ridicule and the fulfilment of the prophecies made about the corruption of the Councils, they must act quickly. Will they?

Mr. Shastri's Statement

The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri P. C. has issued the following statement to the Press with regard to the state of Mr. Gandhi's health.—

I was called suddenly to the Sion Hospital yesterday night to see Mahatma Gandhi. In view of the profound interest that the matter would have for the public I venture to make the following statement:—

Dr. V. B. Gokhale came to me about 8-45 p. m. just as I was finishing my dinner and told me how the Yeravda authorities had removed Mr. Gandhi to the Sion Hospital where he was in charge. He was about to be operated upon for appendicitis. As the case was serious the patient had been asked whether he would like any doctor friends of his to be sent for. He had mentioned Doctor Dalal of Bombay and Doctor Jivraj Mehta who was in Baroda. Both had been wired to and attempts had been made, but in vain, to get at Doctor Dalal by means of the phone. Meanwhile, in view of the patient's temperature and pulse, it had been decided to perform the

operation immediately and he was asked whether he would like to have any friends brought to see him. He mentioned me, Doctor Phatak of the Non-co-operation Party and Mr. N. C. Kelkar. Doctor Gokhale and I started at once and took Doctor Phatak on the way, Mr. Kelkar being away at Satara. On my entering the room we greeted each other and I enquired how he felt as to the operation. He answered firmly that the doctors had come to a definite conclusion and he was content to abide by it. In reply to further inquiry he said that he had full confidence in the medical men about him and that they had been very kind and very careful. Should there arise any public agitation, he added, then it should be made known that he had no complaint whatever to make against the authorities, and that so far as the care of his body went their treatment left nothing to be desired.

Then I enquired if Mrs. Gandhi had been informed of his condition. He said that she did not know the latest developments but she knew that for some time he had not been well and he expected to hear from her. He then made enquiries of my wife and of my colleagues in the Servants of India Society, viz. Messrs. Devadhar, Joshi, Patwardhan and Kunzru. "Have your frequent journeys out of India benefitted your health?" asked the Mahatma.

Doctor Phatak then read a draft statement to be signed by Mr. Gandhi conveying his consent to the operation. After hearing it once, Mr. Gandhi put on his spectacles and read it himself. Then he said he would like the wording changed and asked Colonel Maddock who was in the room what he thought. The Colonel said that Mr. Gandhi knew best how to put it in appropriate language, his own suggestion would not be of much value. Then he dictated a longish statement which I took down in pencil. It was addressed to Colonel Maddock who was to perform the operation. The letter acknowledged the exceeding kindness and attention which he had received from Colonel Maddock, the Surgeon-General and other medical officers and attendants, and stated he had the utmost confidence in Colonel Maddock. It proceeded to thank the Government for their considerateness in allowing him to send for his own doctors, but as they could not be got in spite of the best attempts made by Colonel Maddock and as delay would in the opinion of the Colonel involve serious risk he requested him to perform the operation at once. When it was finished I read it out to him once. Then he called Colonel Maddock to his side and I read it again at his desire. Colonel Maddock was quite satisfied and remarked "Of course, you know best how to put it in proper language." He then drew up his knees in posture for signing the paper which he did in pencil. His hand shook very much and I noticed that he did not dot the "i" at the end. He remarked to the doctor "See how my hand trembles. You will have to put this right." Colonel Maddock answered "O we will put tons and tons of strength into you."

As the operation room was being got ready, the doctors went out and I found myself nearly alone with the Mahatma. After a remark or two of a purely personal nature I asked him whether he had anything particular to say. I noticed a touch of eagerness

as he replied, as though he was waiting for an opportunity to say something. "If there is an agitation," he said, for my release after the operation, which I do not wish, let it be on proper lines. My quarrel with the Government is there and will continue so long as the originating causes exist. Of course there can't be any conditions. (Italics are ours.) If Government think they have kept me long enough they may let me go. That would be honourable. If they think I am an innocent man and that my motives have been good, that while I have deep quarrel with the Government I love Englishmen and have many friends amongst them, they may release me. But it must not be on false issues. Any agitation must be kept on proper non-violent lines. Perhaps I have not expressed myself quite well but you had better put it in your own inimitable style." I mentioned the motions of which notice had been given in the Assembly and added that though Government might in other circumstances have opposed it, I expected that they would take a different line.

I then pressed him again for a message to his people, his followers or the country. He was surprisingly firm on this subject. He said he was a prisoner of Government and he must observe the prisoner's code of honour scrupulously. He was supposed to be civilly dead. He had no knowledge of outside events and he could not have anything to do with the public. He had no message.

"How is it then that Mr. Mahomed Ali communicated a message as from you the other day?" The words were scarcely out of my mouth when I regretted them. But recall was impossible. He was obviously astonished at my question and exclaimed "Mr. Mahomed Ali! A message from me!" Luckily at this point the nurse came in with some articles of apparel for him and signalled to me to depart. In a few minutes he was shifted to the operation room. I sat outside marvelling at the exhibitions I had witnessed of high-mindedness, forgiveness, chivalry and love transcending ordinary human nature; and what mercy it was that the Non-co-operation movement should have had a leader of such serene vision and sensitiveness to honour! The Surgeon-General and the Inspector-General of Prisons were also there. I could see from their faces how anxious they were at the tremendous responsibility that lay on them. They said that the patient had borne the operation very well indeed, that some puss had come out and that it was a matter of congratulation that the operation had not been delayed any longer. The patient had had morphia and was expected to sleep soundly for sometime longer when we dispersed.

I learnt from the doctor this morning that the patient's condition was thoroughly satisfactory. I have read out this statement to Doctor Phatak who approves of it and adds that his inquiry as to a message elicited the same sort of answer.

Poona, Jan. 13, 1924

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The African Cross

If the white people of South Africa bore a grudge against the British Empire, or had entered into a secret conspiracy with Indian Nationalists to work up anti-Empire feeling, they could not improve either in quality or speed upon the satanic work that they have been doing. All sense of decency and even outward respect for the pledged word are blown to the winds, and race-war, naked and unabashed is declared.

The strain is too great and the patience of the oppressed Indians must soon break down. We were not keen for opening a campaign in Africa at the same time as the great campaign in India is going on. But the violent tyranny of General Smuts allows no time. Perhaps he thinks this is the very time to isolate the people of Africa from their brothers and sisters in India and make his plan of extermination a settled fact. May God guide aright our fellow-countrymen and women in the distant land!

Non-violence is the essential condition of all plans. All other things can be adjusted from time to time, improved, or altered or added to, if this one condition is preserved. If battle is forced, the gauntlet must be taken up.

While the Indians in Africa carry on their struggle, relying upon God and their own brave hearts, we in India ought to know that the battle is one and indivisible, and is really to be fought and won here in the motherland. We cannot continue a minute longer as slaves in the motherland, if we want the race of Indians to be respected anywhere in the world. Time is here of the essence of the matter. Here, in the old country is the fountain of honour, equality and freedom for India's children abroad. The fountain is poisoned here at the source by slavery and dishonour. We cannot help our brothers and sisters abroad as long as here we have not set things right. Nothing can be achieved by merely watching the hours pass as some of the best among us are doing. Insult and tyranny are lashing us out of the sinful indifference which we have allowed to smother the souls that God gave us.

How far are you prepared to go?

This is the one question, the question which Maulana Mahomed Ali asked at Cocanada. "The length of the barrel counts for little. It is the charge behind that matters." The charge is our sacrifice. Not words, not brains, but the amount of pain and suffering which you and I can budget for. This is the one and only question for all Conferences, Congresses, Federations, and Committees. Let us settle and answer this without camouflage, and we can foretell the decision ourselves, whether win or lose, win speedily or win late. "In politics," said Mahomed Ali at Cocanada, with equal truth and humour and quaintness of phrase, "the enterprise can be undertaken only upon the principle of unlimited liability."

Are you then prepared to go as far as the battle may take and not look back? Otherwise, "Let us ring down—the farce is nothing worth," and devote ourselves to the realisation of the petty things which alone befit a nation of slaves, as the Maulana bitterly said at Cocanada.

C. R.

Young India

17-1-24

Prepare for Bapu's Release

It is easy to buy foreign cloth; as easy as it is to commit any other crime;—but we may not therefore commit the crime. Self-restraint has a pleasure of its own, which can be realised only by those who exercise it. It may be somewhat difficult to find the Khaddar that suits the particular purpose for which I want it. The breadth may be less than what I want. The length of the *dhoti* or the *saree* may be more or less than the requirements of my case. More than all it may be much thicker than I would like it to be. It would be temptingly easy to find the exact dimensions and quality in foreign cloth; the more so, because my wants and my tastes have been themselves built on the foreign supply. Even after everything else is settled more or less satisfactorily, the price would certainly point again to the foreign article as cheaper.

Let us learn, however, to stand all these temptations. We should remember that if we can afford it, the costlier stuff may indeed be the cheaper in the end. Even if the beauty and the durability of good-hand-spun do not appeal to us, let us remind ourselves of the source of the cloth we buy, the families to whom the money that we pay goes. If but we think about it, the faces of the half-starved women and children of our peasantry should appear before our mind's eye as we go shopping. If I buy a yard of Khaddar, the money I pay goes to help such a family to make both ends meet and to struggle against debt and economic bondage for some time; to give hope and shed light where darkness and despair ruled and to encourage those who have taken to spinning to continue to spin.

"Gandhi is in prison. Nobody cares for my yarn now," many a sister has said to herself; and many a wheel which lived and sang in joy for a brief time in the great days of 1921, has gone into melancholy silence again. Every yard of Khaddar that you buy rouses a fresh wheel from sleep and gives hope to a poor and unfortunate sister in the village. Khaddar is certainly cheaper; if all this is taken into account, then foreign cloth that may cost a little less.

The choice we make when we buy cloth has far-reaching effects. It is not merely a question of size, colour or thickness. The right choice automatically sets the wheel moving and the flow of yarn from the poor woman's family to the weaver going. If we make the wrong choice, it adds to the weight of the chains that bind the half-starved families to poverty and bondage, although it may give better dividends to some rich mill-owner here or abroad.

Khaddar is the only wear for thoughtful and good people; all other is, if not positively wicked, at least thoughtlessness and indifference. Let us strive this year to make Khaddar universal. If we do, as day follows night Mahatmaji will be with us again; and what is more, on his face will blossom a joyous smile of sacrifice and work that fulfilled their purpose.

Every good family should have at least one Charkha at home. Every girl should learn and practise the simple art of spinning. Boys and parents cannot better occupy their leisure-moments than at the family-Charkha. Reader, if you are finding time to read this paper, surely you could find a few minutes for doing something better, something which Mahatmaji is silently wishing you should do, all the time he is in jail deprived of liberty for our sake. When he comes out, would you not like to stand blameless before him? That is why you should at once get a Charkha and spin. This year the Congress has resolved that we should make up for all lost time, all past sins of omission. We should revive religion and prayer. The very best prayer, the very best religious service, besides being the most valuable national service, is a half-hour at the Charkha before the day's work, and before the day's eating and drinking. The busiest lawyer, the busiest merchant, the most bookish student and all girls can certainly find time for this.

I cannot hope that these words may reach the village folk, or even more than an infinitesimal fraction of the reading townsfolk. But I may beg of all that read this, to tell others and more than that, to set an example to others. It is the duty of Congress-workers to carry out the resolve of the Congress by taking the message of the spinning wheel to the villages and to put forth unceasing effort to make every home adopt the Charkha as an extra child on behalf of Bapu. Let us try with all our might this year to attain a standard of fulfilment of our programme that will bring united mass action within actual view. The Spinning Wheel is the Key of the situation in every way. Is there a braver or more restless spirit than Maulana Shaukat Ali? And he has, not without meaning, accepted a chief place in the Khaddar Board.

The Constructive Programme is identical with the spinning wheel. All the other items really flow from it in natural sequence. If we take care of the Charkha, all else will automatically shape themselves around it.

C. R.

God's Family

I had the pleasure of attending one of the *Hari-Kirtans* of Rev. H. A. Popley of the V. M. C. A. It was one of those priceless things that reveal the fundamental unity of the human race. The gulf that divided East and West suddenly closed (at least for the time) as this Englishman's voice produced the familiar Indian *ragams* with the same fervour and the same ecstasy whichadden our own musicians and find irresistible way to our hearts. Music is a thing of nature whose touch can conquer all dividing vanity and falsehood, and reveal the kinship of the whole world.

Have you seen an Indian nurse fondling the white baby in her charge and the child kissing and clinging to her? Have you seen a little white child smiling and opening its blue eyes wide with pleasure when the ayah's dark baby comes to join it in play? I never could tire looking at the beautiful frontispiece in an edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that was with me—Little Eva hanging the wreath of roses round the good Negro's neck and sitting down on his knee laughing. These scenes and Rev. Popley's music are of one kind, bright glimpses of the united family of God's children.

"I have a right to ask", wrote Mr. Andrews in his recent beautiful article in *Young India*, "the right of love, that English people, my own countrymen, may be as dear to you as they are dear to me. I ask you to believe from me that their hearts are warm with love as mine is, and not cold and hard."

Surely, Mr. Andrews has the right, as no other man

has, to appeal for love on behalf of his people. And we cannot fail to respond, in spite of all the wrong and all the stubbornness born of delusion. If but God wills it, the mists must clear one day, and free heart must meet free heart in the sunshine of natural Love, and the past wrongs shall be forgotten even like an ugly dream.

C. R.

A Beautiful Address

Moulana Mohamed Ali's address was too long to be reprinted in *extenso* in *Young India*; and it is difficult if not impossible to present a thing of real beauty in parts. The Aligarh *Jamia Millia* Press has issued it in handsome book-shape in English, Hindi and Urdu. It is hoped that no time will be lost in rendering it into other languages also. It is undoubtedly the most readable Presidential Address that we have had for many years. In fact it is a literary piece of the highest order, scintillating with versatility and the humour that are Mohamed Ali's own. It is as full of shrewd advice as of deep and pathetic feeling that knows no limitation in sacrifice. Especially as a historic retrospect of Mussalman political development it is of unique and permanent value.

The first part of the address is a masterly exposition of Mussalman feeling and outlook leading organically up to the present times. At the same time the history of Mohamed Ali's own mind is beautifully intertwined in it. This must be so as All Brothers represent the best type of Indian Islam and their psychology must typify the psychology of the great community to which they belong.

After the Mutiny the Mussalmans, from whose hands the rule of India passed finally to the English, despaired to take advantage of the education provided by the new Government, and kept sullenly from all contact with the culture of the new rulers. As a consequence of this when the Congress movement was started on western lines, the Mussalmans did not participate much in a political agitation which was the outcome of and a superstructure based upon the new English Education. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan advised the Mussalman Community not to let their energy spend itself in political agitation but to engage themselves in educational work.

When the Minto-Morley Reforms came the Muslims demanded separate electorates. This demand was the consequence of Hindu-Muslim separation, not the cause of it. According to the Mowana, separate electorates, paradoxical as the proposition may seem, on the whole hastened unity. Mohamed Ali in those days stoutly stood for separate representation, but not as one who had no dreams of a united India.

In the controversy that raged round the representation of Musalmans "as a community" I had taken my full share; but no sooner the Muslim claim had been recognised in practice in the elections to the enlarged Councils in 1910, I decided to launch a weekly journal of my own from the seat of the Government of India in order to assist my community in taking its proper share in the political life of the country. I was particularly anxious to help it to understand that

while endeavouring to satisfy the pressing needs of the present, which would inevitably bring it now and then into conflict with other elements in the body-politic, it should never lose sight of the prospects of the future when ultimately all communal interests had to be adjusted so as to harmonise with the paramount interests of India.

I had long been convinced that here in this country of hundreds of millions of human beings, intensely attached to religion, and yet infinitely split up into communities, sects and denominations, Providence had created for us the mission of solving a unique problem and working out a new synthesis, which was nothing less than a Federation of Faiths! As early as in 1904, when I had been only two years in India after my return from Oxford, I had given to this idea a clear, if still somewhat hesitating expression, in an address delivered at Ahmedabad on the "Proposed Mohamedan University." "Unless some new force,"—this is what I had said on that occasion—"unless some new force, other than the misleading unity of opposition unites this vast Continent of India, it will either remain a geographical misnomer, or what I think it will ultimately do, become a Federation of Religions." I had noted the strength of the centrifugal force of Indian communities; and yet hope and faith and the deep yearning for freedom had even then made me realise the latent centripetal force of Indian unity. The lines of cleavage were too deeply marked to permit a unity other than federal; and yet, as I had observed in the address from which I have already quoted, the cleavage was not territorial or racial in character, but religious. For more than twenty years I have dreamed the dream of a federation, grander, nobler and infinitely more spiritual than the United States of America, and to-day when many a political Cassandra prophesies a return to the bad old days of Hindu-Muslim dissensions, I still dream that old dream of 'United Faiths of India.' It was in order to translate this dream into reality that I had launched my weekly newspaper, and had significantly called it "The Comrade"—"comrade of all and partisan of none."

An important new element that contributed to the growth of Indian unity was the aggression of Western Nations against the Muslim States of the world, and the consequent disillusionment of Indian Muslims with regard to their reliance on the foreign Government.

Then came the annulment of the partition of Bengal. The Partition was not the result of the clamour or the agitation of the Mussalmans of East Bengal. But it had come to them as a blessing. Their condition had begun to improve and ambitions and hopes had been roused, when, came the Annulment of the Partition. The decision to reunite was right, but it certainly convinced the Mussalmans of the futility and danger of dependance upon a foreign Government for support against sister communities. They now realised that at a much smaller sacrifice of their interests, they could purchase lasting peace and even secure the friendship of their neighbours and fellow-countrymen. A year after the Durbar Announcement the Council of the Muslim League changed its creed emphasising the ideal of Self Government for India.

European aggression against Muslim States went from bad to worse; until, when the Great War came, it reached its maximum and even the Holy Places of Islam were attacked, and the Khalifa's Empire was dismembered. The change in the Indian Muslim's mind was thus completed. The time also was ripe for Hindu-Muslim rapprochement. The weaker community had become fairly strong, and union was felt to be advantageous. It was at the All Brothers' suggestion that Moulana Mazhar-ul-Haque the veteran Congressman, was elected president of the Bombay Session of the Muslim League in 1915. The rapprochement that was brought about that year, was completed in the following year at Lucknow.

From this point events led to a more and more thorough realisation of oneness of interests and National honour:

But it was not only a case of safeguarding Muslim communal interests without leaning for support eternally on a foreign Government and harbouring suspicions against sister communities. Mussalmans would have been more than human, or less than that if they had been indifferent to the continued injustice done to India and Indians collectively. Having been taught by their political preceptors in the past that Government could never for long leave a wrong unredressed, they had followed the policy of "wait and see." They had waited long, and yet all that they saw was a series of wrongs done to India--wrongs which remained unrepented and unredressed. Their patience was at last giving way and they were beginning to enlist as Congress members in annually increasing numbers. This was a hopeful indication of their realizing that they had to protect not only their comparatively petty communal interests but also the larger Indian national interests, which were as surely theirs to protect as those of sister communities. They now realized more than ever that by being Muslims they could not cease to be Indians. The Congress sessions of Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi had progressively justified the National appellation of the Congress. But it was reserved for General Dyer to break down entirely the barrier that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had for temporary purposes erected more than thirty years previously, and to summon the Mussalmans of India to the Congress held at Amritsar in 1919 as the

unsuspecting Herald of India's Nationhood. The bullets of his soldiery made no distinction between Hindu and Muslim, and clearly Providence had so designed things that a community even more loyal than the Mussalmans, namely our brave Sikh brothers, should also dye the sacred soil of their religious capital at Amritsar with their own blood along with that of Hindu and Muslim martyrs.

Much of the suffering undergone at Jallianwala Bagh was, however, of a passive character, not invited nor cheerfully borne, and the terror that the proceedings of the administrators of Martial Law had created, seemed at one time to have paralysed the people of the Punjab soon after they had discovered their national identity through common suffering. But the Punjab was not left to sorrow alone. More than one patriotic Indian proceeded to the Punjab; but I feel confident they themselves would be the first to admit that I do them no injustice when I declare that the most historic event that took place during those eventful days was the "Coming of the Mahatma!"

Of Mahatma and his work, there can be no truer analysis or review than the following:—

But it was reserved for a Christian government to treat as a felon the most Christ-like man of our times and to penalise as a disturber of the public peace the one man engaged in public affairs who comes nearest to the Prince of Peace. The political conditions of India just before the advent of the Mahatma resembled those of Judea on the eve of the advent of Jesus, and the prescription that he offered to those in search of a remedy for the ills of India was the same that Jesus had dispensed before in Judea. Self-purification through suffering; a moral preparation for the responsibilities of government; self-discipline as the condition precedent of Swaraj--this was the Mahatma's creed and conviction; and those of us who have been privileged to have lived in the glorious year that culminated in the Congress session at Ahmedabad have seen what a remarkable and what a rapid change he wrought in the thoughts, feelings and actions of such large masses of mankind.

There is no subject on which there have been so many misrepresentations and misinterpretations as on the attitude of the Ali Brothers towards the creed of non-violence. Moulana Mohamed Ali clearly sets forth his position in the address:

I would like to re-state here the position of men like myself with regard to non-violence. I am not a Christian believing in the sinfulness of all resistance to evil, and in their practice even if not in their theory the vast bulk of Christians and all Christian States are in full agreement with me.

As a Mussalman and follower of the Last of the Prophets, I believe that war is a great evil; but I also believe that there are worse things than war. When war is forced on a Muslim, and the party that does so has no other argument but this, then as a Mussalman, I may not shrink, but must give the enemy battle on his own ground and beat him with his own weapons.

But I have agreed to work with Mahatma Gandhi, and our compact is that as long as I am associated with him I shall not resort to the use of force even for purposes of self-defence. And I have willingly entered into this compact because I think we can achieve victory without violence; that the use of violence for a nation of three hundred and twenty millions of people should be a matter of reproach to it; and, finally that victory achieved with violence must be not the victory of all sectors of the nation, but mainly of the fighting classes, which are more sharply divided in India from the rest of the nation than perhaps anywhere else in the world. Our Swaraj must be the Raj of all, and, in order to be that, it must have been won through the willing sacrifice of all. If this is not so, we shall have to depend for its maintenance as well on the prowess of the fighting classes, and this we must not do. Swaraj must be won by the minimum sacrifice of the maximum number, and not by the maximum sacrifice of the minimum number. Since I have full faith in the possibilities of the programme of constructive work of Non-Violent Non-Co-operation I have no need to hanker after violence. Even if this programme fails to give us victory, I know that suffering willingly and cheerfully undergone will prove to have been the best preparation even for the effective use of Force. But, God willing, the constructive programme will not fail us if we work with a will and accustom the nation to undergo the small sacrifices that it entails.

After this clear exposition of his attitude towards Non-violence, the following parable of the convict-warder gives to the dullest imagination, the full meaning of Non-Co-operation:—

Much has been said and written about Non-Co-operation and, if our opponents, or even some of our friends, would not understand its significance even now, I cannot hope to enlighten them in this address. I will, therefore, content myself with saying that briefly it means that if we may not resist evil, at least we will not assist it. It is true we expect that if the Indian nation is prepared to make such sacrifices as Non-Co-operation entails, this foreign Government would be absolutely paralysed. But although we do contemplate such a result, it is little more than incidental. Our movement even though its name suggests that it is of a negative character, is in reality not so. It is essentially of a much more positive character. It does not directly aim at the paralysis of others; its direct aim is to remove our own paralysis. Every item of the Non-Co-operation programme with which I shall presently have to deal, has a strong constructive as well as a destructive side, and we shall stand or fall according as we succeed in our construction or not. But if we do not destroy, or, in other words, if we continue to avail ourselves of all that the Government has constructed for the continuance of its own existence and use it for our destruction, we shall neither stand nor even fall but shall absolutely cease to exist. Even if our direct aim was to paralyse the

Government it was entirely compatible with the purest ethics, and even the doctrine of Love associated with the name of Jesus Christ and now of Mahatma Gandhi. And I maintain that such a paralysis of Government is clearly possible. Friends, very early in my career as a gaol-bird I was struck with the system of co-operation followed in Indian gaols. Every prisoner gets a remission of a few days at the end of every month for "a clean bill of health" during the month; but some of the prisoners who succeed in winning the confidence and favour of the local gaol authorities are made watchmen, convict-overseers or convict-warders and besides enjoying other privileges during the rest of their prison-life, they earn a more liberal remission of their sentence every month. Every one in this Pandal who has passed through that gateway of freedom called prison—and I trust there are a good many present here to-day,—is familiar with the work of the convict-overseers and warders who share the duty of keeping watch and ward during the night with the paid warders employed by the gaol administration. As a rule the few paid warders pass the night enjoying tolerably sound sleep or at the very worst doze out their period of sentinel duty. But at the end of every half-hour the gaol resounds with the cries of the prisoners who keep the real watch and ward. 'All's well!' is repeated from every corner of the gaol, and so long as this continues the paid warders can sleep the sleep of the just. And this, my friends, is the parable of co-operation. We have lost our liberties and are kept enthralled through the services of others who are as much deprived of their liberties as we ourselves except for a few petty privileges that they seem to enjoy. Meanwhile the few foreigners who keep us in servitude can enjoy sleep and repose because the co-sharers of our servitude repeat from time to time from every corner of India's vast Bastille the reassuring cry, "All is well!" The only difference is that whereas the convict-watchmen, overseers and warders can in this way at least secure their release from prison while before their fellow prisoners over whom they keep watch and ward, our co-operating friends who are our comrades in slavery cannot look forward even to an earlier release. In fact they have lost even the sense of slavery and slavishly hug the very chains that keep them enslaved. As I wrote in the prison itself:

"Leave off worrying for me, O, heedless fool; weep over thine own captivity; that which thou deemest to be an ornament is nothing less than a chain."

Maulana Mahomed Ali's present politics are the result of bitter experience. He has changed far away from the angle where he stood in 1911 and even in 1914. Admitting this frankly and explaining the causes that led him to his present position, he makes the following irresistible appeal to his co-religionists:

And here I appeal to the experience of my co-religionists in particular who are being diligently diverted from the path to which their history during the last sixty years and more has guided

them. Granted that Non-Co-operation has failed, and that co-operation with our non-Muslim fellow-countrymen is a vain hope, a snare and a delusion—though I am far from granting it except for argument's sake, still we have got to suggest an alternative policy. I ask them not to accept my lead but to be in their turn my guide themselves. Whither could they lead me, that is now the question! If Non-Co-operation with our foreign masters and co-operation with Indian fellow-slaves of other faiths is not possible, what is the alternative that they have to place before us to-day? Are we to "progress backwards" till we begin to walk on all fours? Shall we co-operate with our foreign rulers and fight with our non-Muslim countrymen as we used to fight before? And if we do that what hope have we of any better results than we achieved for ourselves in the settlements after the Tripoli and the Balkan Wars, or, nearer home, in the un settlement of a "settled fact" in Bengal? No, friends, that book is closed and into it we shall look no more. You have no alternative better than Non-Co-operation with the foreigner and co-operation with our neighbours, nor have I. And it is futile to waste our time in worrying over the impossible.

Dealing with the question whether the Musalmans can have any grievance now after the Treaty of Lausanne, Maulana Mohamed Ali winds up with the following forceful appeal after pointing out that the religious issue of the Jazirat-ul-Arab is still unsettled:

But after all, the issues that are our common national issues far exceed in number those that concern the Musalmans alone. All that the Treaty of Lausanne has done is to declare that the Turks have not lost their Swaraj as we had done more than a century ago, and as they themselves were within an ace of doing. The Khilafat Committee's demands, and in particular the religious requirements with regard to the Jazirat-ul-Arab, still remain unsatisfied. But even if all this had been done, could the Musalmans give up Non-Co-operation with Government and co-operation with other Indian communities? In the first place, that would be an unspeakably shameful breach of faith with their non-Muslim brethren of whose help they have so willingly stated themselves. And, in the next place, Indian Musalmans would be proving that while they were so anxious for the security of the Turks' and the Arabs' Swaraj, they were indifferent to their own! Well could it, then, be said of them: "Hast thou arranged the affairs of the earth so well that thou meddlest in those of Heaven as well?"

Even the most suspicious Hindu must be satisfied with the above, if not moved to repentance for baseless suspicion.

The Address deals very fully with the most important subject of Hindu-Muslim dissensions. It is natural that the generous soul of the Maulana should be roused to bitter anger, seeing what contemptibly

petty causes have disturbed the unity that is of such precious moment in our national fight:

Believe me it is not by tawdry, tinseled rhetoric that I hope to settle such vital issues. But, although the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity is vital, and, in fact, the most vital that we have to settle, the issues which disturb that unity are contemptibly petty. Nothing makes me more ashamed than the pettiness of these issues, and I confess I find it difficult to refute the calumny of our enemies that we are unfit for Responsible Government when I contemplate their potency for mischief side by side with their pettiness. Far be it from me to sneer at the modes of worship of my fellow-men; but I feel unspeakably depressed when I think that there are fellow-countrymen of mine, including my own co-religionists, who would jeopardise the recovery of our lost liberty, including religious liberty itself, for the sake of the satisfaction they seem to derive out of cutting a branch of pipal tree overhanging a public thoroughfare and interfering with the passage of a pole of ridiculous length, or out of beating tom-toms and blowing trumpets before a house of worship at prayer-time while moving in a procession. Friends, if we cannot acquire a better sense of proportion let us be honest, at least with ourselves if not with others, and give up all thought of freedom. We must not talk of Swaraj even within the Empire, let alone out of it. What is Kenya to slaves like us or we to Kenya? Why need we hanker after a place in the King Emperor's palace when we are not even fit for a place in his stables? And what is it to us if the Holy Land of Islam should attract many a cashio and *cafe chantant*, or the new warden of the Musalmans' Holy of Hollies should become one of the long tale of impotent potentates maintained by an Imperial Government only to be pushed off their ancestral thrones whenever they should forget themselves and think that God has made them men and not merely puppets in an Imperial show. If *cams* and pipal trees and noisy processions are our "hotiron's utter sum" then all our Congress and Khilafat Committees are mere mockery.

"Let us ring down—the race is nothing worth."

Let us close this chapter of childish make-beliefs, and taking the first train back home, let us devote ourselves henceforward to the realisation of the ideal of petty self-concern which alone befits a nation of slaves. Let us at least not take the sacred name of Liberty in vain. Let us add our confession to the claim of our opponents, and admit that God, Whom the great religious teachers of the East in which all the existing religions have had their source, had taught us to regard as just, has yet been so unjust to a fifth of mankind, that He has made them totally unfit for self-rule, and has sent it to His White creatures hailing from Europe to correct His mistake, and carry on for all time the administration of India. But if we do not want to drag our spiritual ancestors into the mire along

with ourselves and to blaspheme a just God, let us elevate ourselves to the height of our ideals and lift the masses instead of sinking down to their low level.

The Moulana makes a great and earnest appeal for toleration. "Toleration," says he, "is not the indifferentism and absence of strong convictions which often pass for toleration, but a far more positive principle in life which co-exists with beliefs passionately held."

The Moulana points out, no National Pact can deal with all the situations that may arise. The best remedy is the creation of the correct split in which the different communities exercise their rights. We must remember, as the Moulana says, that Swaraj has yet to be won, and before it is won, we have no sanctions to enforce our decisions. We must depend exclusively upon persuasion and example:

I know how sacred a cow is in the eyes of my Hindu brothers, and who knows better than my brother and myself how anxious our absent Chief was to secure its preservation? His action in so selflessly leading the Khilafat movement was no doubt characteristically generous and altruistic; but he himself used to say that he was trying to protect the cow of the Musalmans, which was their Khilafat, so that this grateful community, which had learnt from its Scriptures that there could be no return for kindness save kindness, would be induced to protect his own cow in return. This was, however, only Mahatma Gandhi's way of emphasising his love for the cow. And even before he so picturesquely called the Khilafat our cow, my brother and I had decided not to be any party to cow-killing ourselves. No beef is consumed since then in our house even by our servants, and we consider it our duty to ask our co-religionists to act similarly. As for sacrificing cows, my brother and I have never done it, but have always sacrificed goats, since a sacrifice of some such animal is a recognized religious duty. Much can be done in this way, and we have learnt by experience during the three or four years following the Hindu-Muslem 'entente' and co-operation that it is not difficult to reduce cow-sacrifice, even before Swaraj is won, to insignificant proportions.

But, much as I desire that even ordinary cow-killing throughout the year for the purpose of providing food should be altogether discontinued or at least reduced to similarly meagre proportions, I am only too conscious of the fact that in looking forward to an early realisation of my wishes I am hoping against hope. Musalmans in India who can afford to purchase the dearer mutton eat beef only on rare occasions. But for the poorer towns-folk among the Musalmans it is the staple food.

Nevertheless I appeal to my co-religionists even to-day to discontinue the use of beef and not to wait until Swaraj is won when their sacrifice would be worth much less. The Joint Family system of India and not the free competition of the Manchester School must be our social and political

ideal for India's different communities. But if there is to be competition among the communities that form the Indian Joint Family, let it be a competition in forbearance and self-sacrifice, and I maintain that the community which willingly surrenders more of cherished rights and strongly entertained sentiments for the sake of sister communities and the peace and harmony of India will prove the most invincible in the end.

Referring to adjustment of communal shares in representative institutions and in the administration, which also is a cause for communal dissensions, the Moulana appeals that claims of greater efficiency and superior educational qualifications should not be made in order to cover the injustice of monopoly, nor should personal ambitions stalk about disguised as communal interests. Even pure motives are suspected, but that is our Karma, for injustice done in the past. There is no use in "losing our temper over unmerited suspicions, or hustling those who entertain them and try'ing to jockey them into an expression of confidence that they do not yet feel in us." This is shrewd advice to all those who would demand more confidence than what is voluntarily given, which is after all the real measure of what has been earned.

Dealing with rowdyism and outrages figuring so largely in the reports of Hindu-Muslem disturbances, Moulana Mohamed Ali's observations below are noteworthy:

But in referring thus to communities we are apt to forget that it is not communities that cause suffering to other communities in the course of popular affrays, but rowdy elements of India's population which cause injury to the peace-loving. The *badmashes* belong to no community but form a distinct community of their own, and to it all is glad that comes to the will. I was greatly impressed by an article contributed by Lala Lajpat Rai from his American exile during the War when Hindu middle classes had suffered greatly in some districts of the Punjab from the depredations of Muslim *badmashes*. There was great danger of inter-community strife, but the Lalaji hastened to point out that the Hindu sufferers had not suffered because they were Hindus but because they belonged to the middle classes. It was a case of the Haves and the Have-Nots and not a case of the Hindus and the Musalmans.

Similarly the Moulana very rightly points out that we should not misjudge while communities, merely because a Hindu or Musalman is found by the third party to do dirty work, "Like *badmashes*, traitors belong to no community, but form a tribe of their own." So also, says he, a Minister's favouritism one way or another, should not be cause for condemnation of the community to which he belongs. "Obviously they are members of a foreign Government whatever caste-mark they may bear."

Moulana Mohamed Ali deals with the subjects of Sangathan and Shuddhi and while freely and fully

admitting the right of peaceful conversion makes some shrewd remarks dealing with conversions obtained by pressure.

There is no subject over which greater injustice has been done to two noble and loyal sons of India than on the subject of hypothetical Afghan invasions. The following extracts from the Presidential address should be read over and over by all those who have still any doubts on the subject:

As for myself, if India ever needs a humble soldier to resist an aggressor, be he the Muslim or non-Muslim, your comrade whom you have to-day called out of the ranks will gladly fill his place in the ranks. He certainly will be no deserter.

I have heard that my Madras speech of 1921, which had been considered in official circles to be highly treasonable, although it embodied nothing more or less than the sentiments, my brother and I had expressed in a letter we had addressed from the Belgaum gaol to the Viceroy, had not found much favour even in Afghanistan. And I do not wonder that our Afghan neighbours feel a little hurt when they are so often described as if they were harbouring designs on India. If only we knew how difficult His Majesty the Amir must be finding the task of organising his kingdom and developing its resources without the assistance of foreign personnel, we would not talk of the possibility of Afghan aggression. Afghanistan is enough to keep him and his government fully occupied without the additional worry of the problem of how a Kabul pony can swallow an Indian elephant. If the Afghans are hurt merely because I explained my own position in the event of a hypothetical aggression from Afghanistan, what must be my own feelings in having to explain that position? Because I am a Muslim I have not ceased to be an Indian, and it is surely humiliating to any Indian's national pride to think that his fellow countrymen regard his country and theirs as an easy prey for any foreign assailant, no matter how weak.

Nearly fifty pages of the address are devoted to the subject of Hindu-Muslim Unity, and the final passage sums up the situation in the Moulana's own inimitable way.

One thing is certain, and it is this, that neither can the Hindus exterminate the Musalmans to-day nor can the Musalmans get rid of the Hindus. If the Hindus entertain any such designs they must know that they lost their opportunity when Mohamed bin Qasim landed on the soil of Sind twelve hundred years ago. Then the Musalmans were few, and to-day they number more than seventy millions. And if the Musalmans entertain similar notions, they too have lost their opportunity. They should have wiped out the whole breed of Hindus when they ruled from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Chittagong.

As for myself, I am willing to exchange my present servitude for another in which my Hindu fellow-countrymen would be the slave-drivers instead of the foreign master of my destiny, for by this exchange I would at least prevent the enslavement of 250 millions of my co-religionists whose slavery is only another name for the continued existence of European Imperialism. When at Lucknow in 1916 some Hindus complained to my late chief, Bal Gangadhar Tilak Maharaja, that they were giving too much to the Mussalmans, he answered back like a true and far-seeing statesman: "You can never give the Mussalmans too much." To-day when I hear complaints that we are showing great weakness in harping on Hindu-Muslim unity when the Hindus show no desire to unite, I say, "You can never show too great weakness in our dealings with Hindus." Remember, it is only the weak who fear to appear too weak to others. With this observation I take my last leave of this question without a proper and lasting settlement of which we can effect nothing.

The Moulana has some very caustic but just remarks about the Imperial Conference and the Moderate's attempts to win equality by discussions and representations. "The length of the barrel counts for little. It is the charge that matters." Patriotism, the Moulana observes, must be a matter of unlimited liability. "Liberty can neither be won nor retained on the principle of limited liability."

After dealing with the subject of Council Entry and the Swaraj Party, the Moulana expresses his own view as regards the work before us. He emphatically holds the view that we should concentrate on the Constructive Programme:

I preach to you the gospel of work. It is not as easy a gospel to practise as it is easy to preach, and that is why we have more critics than workers. But work well done furnishes an exhilarating experience which the sterile pleasures of criticism can never equal. As the Sanskrit poet, referring to the creative effort of poetry says, "Little does the barren woman know of the pain and anguish of a mother's labours and less still of the indescribable joy of motherhood at the sight and touch of the new-born babe". Through labour alone shall a Free India be re-born.

You will no doubt ask me what should be our work; and my reply after the most careful consideration is that we cannot better the much-maligned Bardoli programme. If we continue to give up each item of work on finding difficulties and obstacles in our way, we shall never accomplish anything.

C. R.

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Notes

The week has marked a fresh incident of excitement in the Akali struggle. The Government has repeated its experiment of October. It has arrested the members of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee once more. The places of the members who were arrested at first were taken by new men, and it was they who were conducting business all these months. The Government and the people knew well who they were; and in fact there was no kind of attempt to bide the fact. Still, the authorities elected to allow them to freely go about their business. Apparently the original policy was to strike at the brain of the movement in the hope that it will go to pieces in the absence of directing minds. But it miscarried. The movement far from going to pieces thrived exceedingly. The present stroke is the official acknowledgement of what was obvious to everybody else long ago. Even now it is not clear what the intentions of the bureaucracy are. It is hardly possible to imagine that the official hand will be stayed for another three months. We do not suggest that the Indian Government is on the point of surrender. Not at all. But the policy so far pursued of waiting for the Akalis to get disorganised, merely because of the official refusal to enforce the law can hardly go on. There are several reasons; but we shall be content with noting two. The facts are against such a continuation of policy. The proceedings against the editors of the Sikh papers for sedition show that the end is in sight. Take again, the 'march' at Bhal Peru. The Akalis are in action and the Government dare not refrain from arrests. It is a repetition of the tactics at Guru-ka-Bigh. The breach of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in Amritsar and Lahore may be ignored without bringing Government visibly to an end; but similar indulgence cannot be extended to the breakers of the law of property at Bhal Peru. It is a cynical saying but true, that early English law, while prepared to allow even murder to be compounded, visited offences against property with the capital sentence, never allowing a chance of settlement between the parties. That old spirit is yet imbedded in Indian law; and there is not one Englishman who will tolerate interference with the law of property. Independently of any individual system of jurisprudence, it stands to reason that the marching up and down the streets of Amritsar in defiance of a minor police law is not quite the same thing as walking away with somebody else's property, though it is only firewood. This brings

us to the root of the affair. The Gurudwaras belong either to the Mahants or the Prabandhak Committee. But the Government by its foolish notifications has precluded itself from accepting one of the alternatives. But that is the only alternative that is in accord with the facts. The Committee is every day exercising rights of property, and it is open to ingenuous individuals, Mahant, Udasi or anybody else, to make fools of the officials. That is what has happened at Bhal Peru and the officials have no choice but to arrest. It is only a few that are being taken in charge every day; but they have the offending Committee to thank, for the small mercy. If for any reason the Committee elects to send a hundred a day instead of a bare twenty-five, the position of the Government will be made impossible in a few weeks.

It is not only the existing facts that are forcing the arrests. Now, it is clear to the people also that the Akalis have sufficient staying power to stand spell of inaction or masterly inactivity on the part of the officials. The basis of the policy was the probability of demoralisation, because of the absence of excitement. But there has been no destruction of morale, and it is clear to the general body of the Akalis that a quiet and steady procedure has in it the certainty of success. The official answer to it can be only one—arrests on a large and, if necessary, unslowing scale. Since this is the very thing the leaders had been praying for all the weary weeks, just for once in a way, devil and angel may rejoice together. There can be only one issue out of present difficulties! the withdrawal of the notification under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and trusting to the great gods that the difficulty about Nabha will find solution through the lapse of time. It may be objected that this is the course of perfection. But it is not; it is the issue of very necessity. To add to the plausibility of the proposal, there is the fact, of a new governorship. Sir Malcolm Hailey has not succeeded to the Gadi yet; but his getting there may well be made to put on the appearance of being providential. If in the meanwhile, the Government wins, well and good; if not what easier, than for the new governor to assume the pose of the *ma-bap* of his people and to start his rule with the gesture of forgiveness. Sir Malcolm is not now credited with this species of indulgently paternalism. He is however a clever man and the atmospheric suggestiveness that has led a Tory Governor in Bombay to release Savarkar and to behave sensibly in Borsad is infectious. On the top of it all, a Labour Government is soon to be in power, we dare say that.

There is quite a rush of legislators who are making themselves responsible for resolutions asking for the release of Mr. Gandhi. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the first, Babu Bipin Chandra Pal and Dr. H. S. Gour following in hot pursuit. We confess we do not like the spectacle at all. We should like to have Mr. Gandhi out, and so would the whole of India, excepting a few intellectuals that are completely out of touch with the genuine life of the country. His coming back into active work again will be a positive and unqualified advantage. We should not particularly mind either the manner of his release. We should not in the slightest degree object for instance to his freedom being achieved by the Swarajists, much as we dislike them and their politics. But our definite impression is that the Legislators are in too great a hurry, and whatever chance of success there is in the venture is in peril of being spoilt. It should either be done well or not at all. Try to realise what is happening. A new Council has been elected, but it has not come together. The opinions of some of them are known, not of all. The attitude of the Government in the face of the new situation is altogether unknown or of the strength and direction of its hold on sections of non-official membership. More than all, we are absolutely, in the dark as to the undefined thing known as atmosphere. For instance there are the Moslem members; in the last Assembly, they acted continuously with the officials. Especially in this matter, when Mr. Sesbagiri Iyer moved his resolution, he found to his dismay that he was wholly without Muslim support. These are all factors to be reckoned with, and we do not want a good thing to come to grief. What we would therefore desire is that the whole matter may be put off for the time being. We are fairly confident that if the subject is tactfully and delicately handled there can be a nearly unanimous non-official vote. There is one more consideration. The Swarajists themselves attach a good deal of importance to it and constitutional propriety demands that shaping and tactics must be left in their hands, they being the most numerous political group. Individual members who have already given notice do not stand to lose anything by withdrawing it. Whether the Swarajists put it in their 'Demands' or do something else with it, it is really their business, and complete liberty should be given to them.

* * *

The progress of the Khaddar Board in the Southern Presidency is interesting. We are not yet in the path of the storm; but there is a visible stirring of the depths. Of one thing we are unfailingly glad. There is no overwhelming flood of oratory, the fatal counterfeit presentment of work. We know the men who are labouring in the cause. They are men of labour, and as long the stupefying business of rampant speech-making is absent, there is hope. Frankly it is time that Khadi was attended to. All enquiries show that never was it at so low an ebb as now. Gujarat is stocked with Khadi that simply refuses to be absorbed by the market. The paralysis of Gujarat is the paralysis of the rest of the country, because the function of that province is to take off the stuff produced elsewhere. Behar has the sovereign quality of being self-contained, but it too is affected. Andhra

is in a robust condition but the Tamilnadu is distinctly ill off. One of the most active producers informed us recently that he had been compelled to discharge thousands of his workers on account of slackness in demand. The whole work has to be re-organised from the bottom, dismissing ruthlessly every single sign of hurry. From the home cultivation of cotton to the final produced fabric, every stage has to be carefully and exhaustively studied. It has not been done so far. In 1921, we were in a hurry and there is no one to be blamed, because the importance of Khadi was not perceived, till the Bezwada Programme, which according to our notion of things marked the end of the pure programme of Non-co-operation. The thorough organisation of Khadi is now the business of experts. We are not certain that we have the experts; but to one thing we must reconcile ourselves. The experts have to be found or created. Without them, we shall lose ourselves in the morass of inefficiency. In 1922, a wise man who had left prison wrote back to his friends expounding his notion of a six-years' programme for organising Khadi-production and putting it on rock-bottom foundations, leaving it to Mr. Gandhi to undertake mass-civil-disobedience at the end of his term. The friends were hilariously contemptuous, or indignant at the cold-blooded ruthlessness with which the imprisonment of their Chief for six years was contemplated. The writer of these lines was one of the scoffers of that day; but subsequent experience suggests that the counsellor had the truth of the matter on his side and that the scoffers were all at sea. It is unnecessary to decide, nor is there the competence, whether it is six years or seven that Khadi will take to organise, but it is evident that only the patience of years will be rewarded, and not heroic quackeries. We believe that the clothing of the whole of India in Khadi will bring political Swaraj; at the same time, we shall not dismiss the possibility from our mind that the achievement of national freedom may find us but half-way on the road to a sufficiency of Khadi. To put it in a different way, Khadi will bring us Parliamentary Government but even under that Government, we may be without Khadi.

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The work of the Khaddar Board is fairly easy to define; but as we have had occasion often to remark, the trouble is to get things done, the absence of a consuming energy. The positive work of the Congress now is the constructive programme and the positive part of the constructive programme is the production of Khadi. Why should not the Congress Committees by a solemn act of suicide convert themselves into Khadi societies, making it their only business to organise Khadi. The fact is that there is no political work to do now (as politics is understood in the English language). The activities of the Council folks and the two compromises have left the Congress without the contamination of politics; to be frank, we do not regret it much. Let the Swarajists have it out with the Government, and amongst themselves. Such political opinion as there is, awaits developments in the Councils with languid, cynical interest. Its creed has room for Khadi also; but there is no undue fanaticism, fanaticism, ~~etc.~~

enough to raise men to the pitch of action, in constant use, much less in production. It is this circumstance that gives the constitutionalists their opportunity of usefulness. There will be no obstruction from the Parliamentarians; and such secessions as there are from their ranks (and they are bound to be numerous in a short time) should have something definite to turn back to in the way of positive work if Khadi is organised in the meanwhile. That psychological moment cannot be put off beyond April. It is our duty in the intervening months to set up machinery to absorb and make use of all energy that will then be available. The Board should reckon its work as well done, if it is able to set up the skeleton of the organisation in the next three months. But it must be thought out carefully and in all aspects—production, collection of raw products, cultivation of cotton, appliances, teaching, institutionalisation, distribution, finance (transitional and permanent). Propaganda there is a good deal and probably will always be. But we should like it to be understood that the elimination of verbal and advertising propaganda is the ideal aimed at. This warning is necessary, because speech also is an act, sometimes, a genuine sacrifice; but though its value is problematical, there is the risk of its being assessed unduly and the propagandist may exhaust himself by the act of propaganda.

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Now that the Royal Commission on the Public Services has resumed its activities after the Christmas recess, certain points have emerged which are worthy of note. We shall refer to one of them in this place. There is undoubtedly a conflict between the two sections of the Services, the Indian and the European, the ground of the difference being deep. But the peculiarity is that while the parties are prepared to fight on hundreds of things, they are agreed in one respect. Both want higher salaries. It is reminiscent of the effects of party government as described by socialist politicians. The Conservatives and Liberals are always professing to fight each other to the death; but the final conclusion is how most effectively and pleasantly to transfer public burdens from the shoulders of both to that of the proletariat. For observe the latest evidence tendered. The Association of European officials in Madras for various reasons, into which we need not enter now, want salaries and allowances to be increased by 30%. The Indian officers' Association claims that the Provincial Services should start on a monthly salary of Rs. 300 rising in the end to a maximum of Rs. 3000. The former's claim we understand; and we are bound to fight such extravagance. They have however an excuse. The claim of the Indians has no justification whatever. We realise their difficulty in the case. As long as they do the work of the Europeans, there is injustice in their being asked to accept lesser salaries; but the anomaly should not be made a pretext for imposing intolerable burdens on the tax-payer. Of one thing, we may be sure. Whenever India gets the power to do so, she will certainly abolish the wickedness of a system under which the most poverty-stricken people in the world are asked to maintain the most extravagantly paid administration anywhere on earth. If the Indians at present in service do not make up their mind to adjust

themselves in advance to the coming changes, there will be only one thing to be done with them, they will be scrapped. The Europeans are bound to go, and they have wisdom to recognise it themselves. It is equally clear that there will be no room for Indian officials who seek for salaries on the European scale. The poverty of the people is reason enough. But there is another fact of high psychological effect. The statesmen who are to form the governments of the future will be drawn mainly from the ranks of the politicians of to-day. They are men pledged to poverty, some comparative, some absolute. This feature of Gandhism, may be trusted to persist, because it is something more than Gandhism, it is one of the vital Indian forces that created Gandhism itself. When such folk come into power, the spectacle of their policies being carried into execution by a civil service paid on the scale advocated by the Indian Officers will be as impossible as by European civil servants. There must be a decent comparison between governments and their servants, a similarity in outlook, culture and the external circumstances of life. Khaddar-clad, hard-living, austere men can hardly go on issuing orders to folks living in palaces. We are not quite sure whether Babu Bhagavan Das is fundamentally wrong in his conception of the rulers of men being free from pecuniary obligations to the State. For on close analysis, it will be seen that the State is no more than the rulers themselves; for them to take a salary will be very nearly a breach of trust. Whether the future Indian polity will be ready to go the whole way with Mr. Bhagavan Das, we may certainly look forward to enormous reductions in the monetary remuneration of governors and ministers. We can easily suppose that under normal conditions of freedom, there will be no individual drawing more than Rs. 1,000 a month from the public funds of India. What we would therefore suggest to Indians now in the service of the Government is that they should dismiss all notions of princely incomes from their mind and persistently press whenever they get the opportunity for sanity in finance, and themselves should get ready for the inevitable day of retrenchment in their personal lives.

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According to the "Indian Textile Journal" the German Department of Labour in reporting on the census of home industries observes:—

"Spinning wheels are coming to life again in various German linen districts, as a sign of the high prices for Indian textile fabrics. No less than 240 small hand-operated linen factories have lately been opened in the rural districts of Oldenburg, Bremen, Lüneburg and further west, prompted by the reported increase of flex-cultivated area in the North German districts which is stated to be 40 per cent larger than it was last year. The estimated number of hand-operated spindles in Bavaria is 500,000. Similar conditions obtain in the Saxon and Silesian linen districts, where factory-made linen can hardly compete with hand-made qualities".

This is no doubt interesting; but it may be imagined that it is one of the consequences of the war. But it is not wholly so. The records of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society have made it abundantly clear that the spinning wheel has not yet departed

(Continued on Page 84)

Young India

24-1-24

The Meaning of Borsad

The quick and complete response of the Government of Bombay to the campaign or Satyagaha in Borsad may well fill workers with joy. It is a transaction on which everybody concerned may be congratulated. First, there are the Chiefs of the Eight, Sjs. Vallabhbhai Patel, Darbar Saheb Gopaldas Desai, and Mohanji Pandya. It adds to the prestige of Vallabhbhai and removes him finally and definitely from the ranks to high leadership. This word has to be said, because even in Dandi, he objected to being described as a leader, in spite of the fact that he had come to it with the laurels of Nagpur fresh on the brow. Mr. Pandya is himself a veteran and we imagine there was nothing new or strange to him in Borsad. But special mention has to be made of the Darbar Saheb. If we mistake not, it was his first task in the governing of outlaws. In his day, he has been a ruler, but government came to him by birth; it was in Borsad that he built up a State by the strength of his own spirit. Besides these, there are the workers, soldiers in every army of whom all that can be truly said is this; but for them there had been no victory and they are never remembered. To them, the message of consolation is the triumph and the memory of great loyalty and blinding heroism.

But the claim of victory does not rest only with the people of Borsad, their leaders and servants; the Government of Bombay may also rejoice. The Governor may be felicitated on his victory over the traditions of the office to which he has been newly called. Government in India is so rooted in error that whenever a right or wise thing is done by its agents, the act becomes noteworthy. In this specific deed, its procedure was prompt and happily conceived. As soon as it became obvious to the Government that its original orders were wrong, or being plausible, were unenforceable owing to popular opposition, they were cancelled, without an attempt to justify itself. We should like to believe that it is this kind of submission to popular opinion that will be the rule when Swaraj comes.

It is however impossible to prevent one's thought from attempting the wider application of the incident. As was truly stated, in every such skirmish is the possibility of 'training for a future and higher struggle'. The mind naturally turns back to the successful achievements of similar ends. The series are Kaira, Guru-ka-Bagh, Nagpur, and Borsad. There is one still in process of fight; that which is comprehensively known as the Akali struggle. Of these, Kaira and Borsad were no-tax campaigns, the others of Civil Disobedience. The remarkable feature is that the no-tax campaigns were more easily and scientifically handled than the others. The phenomenon should have no surprise for us. The foundations of the Government are so weak and the machinery of tax-gathering is so incomplete that the least show of firm refusal will paralyse the whole administration. We

saw what took place in Borsad. There was the trifling amount of 2 lakhs to collect and the sign of rejection came from a handful of people. But the bureaucracy of the whole district and very nearly the whole Division was tied up. The professional tax-gatherers were found unequal to the task; the police, the magistracy, practically everyone that had to do with the business of maintaining the British Empire in the area found himself in the task of raising 2 lakhs of Rupees. The ultimate result was that less than Rs 3,000 were collected. This is in spite of the fact that during the whole of the period, the Government of the Province was free from all other serious pre-occupations. The lesson to those who reckon on the expedient of no-taxes in the perpetual fight against Government is obvious enough. It is none other than this. The Government is weak, infinitely weaker than anybody imagines. Maulana Mahomed Ali's likening it to an individual who, in spite of being a tuberculous patient looks hale and hearty, is happy.

There is just a criticism to meet. It will be said that the Government surrendered because the sum involved was paltry, and the same mood cannot be expected in a battle with bigger stakes. The remark is partly true, but it is irrelevant as to the final result. The fight was over so soon, really for a single reason—the power of the people and the desire to avoid continued demonstration of the weakness of machinery of the Government. Even in a bigger issue, the contending forces will be the same, excepting perhaps that instead of the police, the soldiers may have a hand in it. But we venture to think that the presence of even the soldiers will not make great difference, if the people continue to be as brave and non-violent as in Borsad. A larger tax, or all the taxes of the Government, as the stake in the next fight will have no greater significance than this; that the fight will be longer. The real meaning of Borsad is this: there is strength in any Taluka in India which is greater than that of the Sikhs; also the tax-collecting machinery of the bureaucracy cannot gather 2 lakhs of rupees without the willing collaboration of the payers of the tax. Both are lessons, for the officials and the Congress.

Mahatma's Prison-Chela

Without a day's delay after taking charge of the office of secretary of the All India Khadi Board, Sjt. Shankarlal Bunker has set to work. He is out on an all India tour. At the time of writing, he has finished Andhra and is in Tamilnad. His indefatigable energy is yoked now to the cause, and there is little doubt the result will soon be felt in a changed atmosphere throughout the land. He came from Mahatma's cell in Yeravda with a special message,—the call of the spinning wheel. Since his release from Yeravda, he had been silently working in Bardoli. But even silent intensive work wants a favourable atmosphere in the country all round. He felt this more and more as the air got thick with talk of Councils and votes, until finally he came out of his seclusion just before the Coconada Congress. To spin, to weave, to wear,—all three to be co-ordinated in the same rural area,—this is the policy which Shankarlal Bunker wants to see put into practice. If Khadi is not merely to be another fashion in dress, it will not do merely to produce it somewhere and press it on the buyers. If a mere boycott of foreign cloth were our object, production somewhere might meet the end, provided the cheaper than foreign cloth.

But if Khadi is not only to deal a blow but also to organise the nation for self-government, if it is to be the constructive agency that will transform a moribund mass into a living people who can give non-violent battle to arbitrary rule, and also rule themselves peacefully, Khadi has to be organised on a co-operative self-contained rural basis. The spinner, the weaver and the wearer should be neighbours all acting together. Then will Khadi be truly a part, and the chief part of national construction, and Shankarlal Bunker's tour will be fraught with great results for Khadi and for the constructive programme generally. The people cannot give Mahatma's prison-Chela a better welcome everywhere than by setting the charkhas a-turning before he arrives to see them. C. R.

The Khadi Board on Tour

Mr. Shankarlal Bunker, Secretary of the All India Khaddar Board, with other members Sjs. Jamnalalji and Maganlal Gandhi have now been for some weeks touring in Andhra Desha and Tamil Nad. From there they proceed to the north. They are carrying home to the masses the message of Mahatma Gandhi and the spinning wheel. They wish to impress on all, those living in urban as well as in rural areas, the Khadi Ideal—the ideal of *Vastra-Swatantrya* (Self-sufficiency). They want the people not only to increase their capacity to produce Khaddar but also to make all necessary arrangements for the consumption of that increased output as far as is possible by the producing areas themselves. They desire that men and women should cut on their own Khadi locally produced, and not send it off to neighbouring provinces taking it away from the reach of the vast mass of the poor peasantry. The following speech of Mr. Shankarlal Bunker at Madras gives succinctly the subject matter of what they have been saying to the people:—

The last session of the Congress called upon the country to take to the constructive programme. The carrying out of this programme is essential, if the country desires to offer Satyagraha. And as Satyagraha alone can help us in this struggle, we have to make up our minds to carry out this programme throughout the country. The main plank of this programme is Khadi. Mahatma has repeatedly told us that true Swaraj can only come through Khadi. Khadi alone can develop those qualities in the people that can really lead us to the realisation of true Swaraj. Khadi stands for simplicity of life. It alone can discipline the nation by making it industrious and self-reliant. Khadi alone can help us to build that national organisation which can lead us to the attainment of our goal. But this Khadi cannot be the commercialised product that we find it at the present day. There must be a different ideal behind it. That ideal can to a certain extent be expressed by the term self-sufficiency. Influenced by this ideal the citizen will take to carding and spinning and use the cloth made from his own yarn to the exclusion of other cloth. In fact you have to pursue in the matter of clothing the same method which you pursue in the matter of your food. This may appear to some to be beyond the range of practicability. But to the people of Andhra and Tamil Nad it need not appear so.

Andhra Villages

In our tour we have seen some villages in the Andhra province where 90 per cent of the population are clad in Khaddar produced locally. The cultivator stocks his cotton, the cotton is spun in his home and the Khaddar cloth is woven by the local purchaser. He does so because he finds that the cloth thus produced is cheaper and more durable. I must admit that here, the political consciousness is not the operative factor. But if the cultivator would realise his power, he will find, that this policy would really present to us the ideal we want to follow. But elsewhere I have seen this ideal worked out and there it is the political consciousness that is the operative factor. I say, therefore that it is feasible if we are only determined to work it out.

Urban Areas

But some of you may ask if that is so even in Urban areas. My answer is that it is as feasible there as in the villages. I will attempt to illustrate what I have said by an example. There is a clerk living in a suburb of Bombay, within an hour's run of the city. He works ten hours a day at his office. Two more hours are taken up by travelling. Still he finds time to spin and spin relievishly. He stocks cotton and cards it himself. He also spins and weaves his own cloth. He learned weaving in his leisure hours, and not only does he weave for himself but he is able to weave for neighbouring spinners too. What a clerk in Bombay, who has very few spare hours, is able to do for himself should not certainly be impossible of attainment for town dwellers all over. So the ideal of *Vastra-Swatantrya* can be worked up to even in big cities.

What Mahatma Does

In this connection I therefore wish to tell you what would be the message of Mahatma Gandhi—I say would be because he has really given us no message. I asked for a message, but he would not give any. But he said "You had better tell my people what I am doing here." I understand that it is because he felt that his words failed to reach our hearts. It is a matter of shame and grief for all of us. I shall however tell shortly what he is doing there.

He is spinning in the jail four hours a day. If his health permitted he would spin the whole day. He has learned carding also in jail. One might say he has nothing else to do in jail. But it is not so. He has got a hard day's work before him. He studies Urdu in order that he might be able to carry on conversation and correspondence with Muslim friends in their own language. He is also studying Vedas, Upanishads, and the Gita. Because he wants to understand thoroughly the Islamic mind he is also reading the Koran. I can tell you he is studying harder than a student would do for his examination. And yet he has time for spinning. He has granules in his eyes. He had to be operated twice for that. This troubles his vision too. Still he would not give up spinning. He would not take his meal unless he spins a certain quantity. He does this, I understand in order that his message may be more effective than it has been till now.

Our work

If we therefore really want to carry on his work we must follow him. We must take to Khadi and hand-spinning. He wants hand-spinning to be universal. We have now to organise ourselves for realising that ideal. We have to carry that message to the ryot in the innermost part of our country. We have to help him in every possible way. We must be able to supply

him cotton where cotton is not grown. We must teach him carding where he does not know that art. We must supply workers where there are none, and arrange for weaving the yarn produced. In this work we at the same time build up an organisation that can help us in the struggle to come. I trust you will take Mahatma's message to heart and help the country in this work. May God help us in our struggle!

(Notes continued from page 31)

from that island and that at fairs and rural exhibitions, it has come into prominence. This was before the coming of the Free State, but there is nothing to show that things have changed for the worse in the last two years. The resurgence of the wheel that is industriously and volubly despised by modern fashion is a fact of surpassing interest. We are assured by our economic pundits that the Charkha is a thing of the past and that all hope of its revival is a sign of lunacy, at least of mental infirmity. In reference to India the practical words of Acharya Ray are conclusive. But in its broadest aspect, the triumph of the factory is an accident, and essentially temporary. Just at the present moment, the utilisation of power in the factory happens to be economical, because the form of usury known as capitalism finds it convenient to exploit the factories. There are two paths of release. One is the break-up of capitalism and the evolution of a sane system of private property; and there is little we can wish for Europe than the Hindu Joint Property and the Indian Ryotwari Tenure. But the way of Europe's overthrowing usury from power may not be any pleasanter than in Russia; but that is a detail which is primarily that Continent's affair. The second rock on which the factory may come to grief will be the discovery of unlimited power, available to the cottager of the rural standard of intelligence (we do not say that it is a contemptible one; but we have to cater to it). If it becomes possible to draw on a still untapped source of energy, say atomic, and in such a manner as to preclude a monopoly, the cottage in Europe will become self-contained as they were in the past and as the Indian household is even now. Once there is enough power, the spinning wheel will once more come into its honoured place in the home. It is only the present absurdity of the European social system, that makes a crude contraption like the factory a dominant influence. It is fairly evident from recent advance in the science of the atom that almost any day now, the world may be in possession of all the power it is likely to be in need of. There is reason to suspect that the capitalists, into whose hands it will fall the first thing, will persuade lawyers and politicians to create monopolies for the benefit of a few. If the attempt fails, owing to the wisdom of Parliaments or the inherent nature of the invention itself, nations will have a chance of making good. When the world comes into sanity, the charkha will be there without a doubt.

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Mr. Sastri is really incorrigible. "The leopard cannot change its spots." His speeches about Kenya had almost persuaded us to believe that he had outgrown the Moderate illusion that England had it in her to go back on the clear national need which made the Kenya decision inevitable. But we now see we were mistaken. Here he is, a responsible Indian statesman solemnly making the suggestion that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald should be showered with messages of congratulation the day His Majesty invites him to form a Cabinet. The notion is fatuous; for it is impossible to imagine

that Mr. Macdonald's Indian policy, if there is such a thing, will be affected a hairsbreadth by the biggest flood there ever was of cablegrams of goodwill. But it is not merely fatuous. It is also undignified. India will not stoop to such a gesture to-day. She will not tolerate it in another, if her name is abused in the matter. With all respect, we cannot help feeling that this incident is evidence, if it was ever needed, of the inseparable gulf that is set between Liberalism and the reality of Nationalism. Of one thing, there can be no doubt. No responsible voice in our politics, no one in living touch with genuine currents of opinion, will care to address a message of this description. Unless Mr. Sastri elects to come out of the bureaucratic stronghold, where until recently he was a welcome guest, he can gain no understanding of the secret of our time. The Labour Party may mean well by India or it may mean ill; but the truth is that the fate of this country and its future is no longer within the control of Mr. Macdonald or of the India Office. That discovery was made two years ago, and no man has the right to shape counsel or decision in national affairs, who has not made that discovery also; or at least does not know of the discovery. To-day, people may be in a mood of feebleness; but the country is clear-minded enough to see that the fault lies with itself and its leaders. It is patient enough to wait for the right moment; but it is not in the mood, on that account, to look for redemption elsewhere. We do not say that the coming into power of the Labour Party may not affect Indian politics considerably, and for the better. But the vital thing is that we have to stand on our legs, and on nobody else's.

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In addition there is an irresolved complex that Mr. Sastri does not see. Along with the invitation for congratulatory messages, is his approval of what the East African Congress has done to non-co-operate with the Kenya Government. We fail to see how the invitation and the approval can be reconciled. The refusal to take advantage of the facilities that the British Government has furnished in its wisdom for adequate representation of Indian interests is defiance of its authority, and as near rebellion as non-violent acts can go. There is no trace of orthodox constitutionalism in it, and we do not for the moment desire to trace the departure from the tenets of Indian Liberalism. But the queer and irreconcileable part of the counsel is the proposed amalgam of direct action against the accredited representative of the British Government in Kenya, and the proffer of greetings to the head of that Government in England. The fact that the head of the new Government is a member of the Labour Party does not make a scrap of difference. For the time being, he is the chief executive authority of the King's Government; the offer of defiance and obedience at the same minute is an insult to the Cabinet and an act of contradiction in Mr. Sastri. The following position may be wrong; but it will be coherent and dignified:— Now that a new Government is coming into power, whose chief is worthy of the signal honour of congratulatory messages from all over the country, let us not do anything to embarrass him. He may be trusted to do the right and fair thing. Mr. Baldwin was a different person and his policies were obnoxious to us; the only thing to do then was to embarrass his administration either by non-co-operation or by strong

speeches. Now the situation is completely changed. The new Prime Minister is in full sympathy with us; he presided over the great Indian demonstration against the decision of the Baldwin Cabinet even before it was taken. He has difficulties enough of his own. It is to our interest that he should remain in power and we should not do anything which would make it difficult for him to prevail against the wild die-hards. There is nothing new in this. It was this advice that was the peculiar gospel of Mr. Sastri and his friends when Mr. Montagu was in power. They preached it continuously and consistently; and there was a fine seriousness of faith and conviction which prevented its degenerating into pure banality. It was futile, and the futility was visible to clear eyes; but it was sincere. But his policy now is ambiguous and as is the manner of all ambiguity, there is in it an unambiguous note of insincerity. It is pure bluff. Non-co-operation is one policy and co-operation is another: there can be no compromise between the two. If the non-co-operation policy of the East African Indian Congress is right, Mr. Sastri's policy of congratulating the new Premier is wrong. If his policy is right, the East African policy is wrong. It will be hard and uncharitable to say that he is trying to make the best of both worlds; we prefer to think that he is in process of conversion, but like the true Moderate he has been all through life, even the conversion is moderate. The terrible sentence against the Church of Laodicia is the perpetual judgment against Indian Moderates.

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Apparently Reuter's agency in London knows more about the situation on the North-western Frontier than a non-official in India, in spite of the seven thousand miles that intervene. There is no end to speculation and the only truth about speculation is that the chances of its being true or false are even. There is no doubt, however, that we are on the verge of war and that if certain influential people had their way with us and the British Army, the cannons would have been roaring already. Who they are, we do not know. Whether it is the Foreign Office or the India Office or the Commander-in-Chief in India, or merely the politicals that want to prevent a Labour Government in England, we cannot say. It is probable also that the facts will not be known as long as this Government exists. On a general survey of the question, one guess is as good as another and ours is this: England will not fight against the Amir now. The Treaty of Tora-Soo has torn the prestige of the Powers to shreds in Islamic countries, and if there should be a competition in the gentle art of eating the humble pie, Great Britain may be trusted to acquit herself creditably. Amongst the Powers themselves, the assault of the Ruhr has not helped England to show herself off in a favourable light. Regard being had to these facts, the Indian Government cannot afford to declare war unless it is prepared to go the whole way, unlike in 1919. The Afghan is a tough proposition, and the fight if seriously undertaken is likely to be bigger than the Boer War. We do not know whether other nations are scared to death of war of any kind; but there is no doubt England is. It does not matter what Government is in power, Labour or Tory; but wars by whomsoever declared, have to be waged by the common people of England, and that is the last thing in the world they are going to do if they can possibly help it. The Great war taught them how

expensive a game International fighting is and they are not going to forget the lesson in a hurry. The case might have been different if the beating of the Amir was an easy job. But it is not, and the Army in India knows it. It is equally true that the power of Afghanistan is growing, and that some day the Indian Government will have to fight her. What the authorities in India like is to make a clean job of it as soon as may be and they probably feel is that the anger roused by the murders on the Frontier may be profitably exploited for the purposes of a campaign that, though postponed for the nonce, cannot be finally avoided. If we look at the matter from the Englishman's point of view which is the soldier's view, the military anxiety for immediate action is right. There is one other factor to be considered. The Indian Government is conscious of internal political trouble in the immediate future. One way of avoiding it will be the waging of war. These are the factors to balance in the case. But taking it all in all, we anticipate no war.

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So far we have spoken of the subject in strict regard to the interests of England, because we are anxious to secure objective accuracy. To confess the truth, in questions of war and peace, the only interests that count are those of England. The murder of a few European Officers has brought the Government to the point of war; but the murder of a much larger number of Hindus and Mahomedans did not have the slightest influence on Government's policy. As for the notion of war, it would have been regarded as a political impossibility. But there is an Indian aspect to the case that calls for thought. The most important consideration is the development of Afghanistan. We anticipate that under the rule of the present Amir, the country will grow strong and powerful in a short while, repeating in some measure the feat of Japan and possibly beating her in the end. Imitating Japan's procedure in the earlier years of the Meiji Era, she has sent out several of her young men to European and American Universities for instruction in modern learning. When they come back, they will definitely influence the progress of their country, and we shall not advise anybody to set a limit to their services. That is in the future. Consider existing conditions. Next to Turkey under the auspices of Angora, the Amir is clearly the most powerful Prince in the world of Islam. He is independent with a measure of authority, which it did not fall to the lot of his father or his grandfather to enjoy or indeed of any of the Amirs of Afghanistan after the establishment of British suzerainty in India. The size of the Army is difficult to estimate, but there are reliable authorities who reckon that in times of war, the strength may rise to a million. The fighting quality of the individual soldier is superior to that of any other nation. These are formidable factors and they are made use of by a diplomacy which held its own with remarkable ability in 1921. The potential use of these resources against India should give our publicists pause, because they are factors to be reckoned with. But we refuse to be frightened by them. For the time being, it is clear that India is not able to defend herself against her neighbour without the assistance of British troops. But if the present system of government continues, the day will never dawn of our defending ourselves. On the other hand, it is equally clear

that if India manages her own affairs and in her own interests, she will maintain her frontiers inviolate as she has done through the greater part of forty centuries. We admit there will be no permanent guarantee of security. No State has, or can ever have, such security and it is the idlest dream of statesmanship in France, England, Russia or India to seek to be sure of such safety. It is always good to have strong neighbours, and even under the conditions of to-day we should like to see Afghanistan strong rather than weak. The first reason is based on the spiritual satisfaction of being sure that there is a neighbour that is strong enough to take care of itself, an Asiatic and Moslem country that is able to hold its own against the soldiers and diplomats of the most extended Imperial power in the world. It marks a survival in Europe's despite, which is tremendously heartening to every nation that is in the shadows. But there is a more selfish reason in the case. If Afghanistan is beaten and out, the fate of India will be a good deal worse than it is now. As long she has fight in her, it evidently becomes worth England's while to keep India decently treated. The minute we attain sufficient strength to wage our battle successfully, these external considerations do not count. Till then, these also have their place in national reckoning. Historically too they have relevance. Generation after generation, Britain goes on consolidating her Empire in the East, the only true empire she possesses. The consolidation is but the preliminary to expansion. Every check to expansion helps the growth of consolidation. The converse proposition is also true that every check to consolidation stimulates expansion; but it is true to a smaller degree. As stated above, the temptation to fight Afghanistan will be greater because of the uncertain moods of the Legislatures in India. If on the other hand, war is avoided one way of the Government of India's strengthening itself for its next attempt on Afghanistan may be the grant of Mr. Das's demands.

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The disruption of the Swaraj Party is proceeding apace. Last week, we mentioned the gathering of clouds in Madras. Deep has answered to Deep. Madras declared its intention to rebel. The Punjab has rebelled. It also threatened to publish to the world the reasons why it refused to submit to the Coochabam decision; some unpublished diplomatic stroke has managed to avoid that particular development. To make it clear, however, that the withholding of publication does not amount to surrender, the Punjab Swarajists intend to take part in the election of members to the Standing Committees. As far as Madras is concerned, the Executive Committee has met and declared that the carrying out of the Coochabam policy is inexpedient, unwise and so on. It says more, and we believe it is a true saying. It states that 'the instruction regarding Madras members absenting themselves from Legislative Council meetings' is likely 'to lead to the disintegration of the Party'. Judged by the canon of the original policy of the Swarajists, the Coochabam definition is the only possible one. But if the Swaraj Party has no inner compelling principle of coherence as its critics have consistently maintained, and it is a collection of co-operators, responsive and other, then the Swarajists of the

Punjab and Madras have an irresistible case. We had prophesied this all along, and the only reply that was vouchsafed to us was angry protests against the supposed suggestion that the no-changers possessed a monopoly of patriotism and impeccability. Well, the no-changers had no monopoly of rigid principle; but it looks as if they had the gift of political prescience. The fact that the gift was partly compounded of a healthy distrust in the face-value of wild promises should be no reproach to them. One of the earliest critics of Swarajism said that the Party will soon be the tabernacle of all the 'wails and strays'; we believe that one of the shining lights of the Party was warmly resentful at the phrase. Now it is evident that the critic was right. The multitude that found their refuge under the banners of Swarajism for the profit of the elections have now taken to accustomed nomadic habits. The wails and strays are wails and strays still. It is still conceivable that the leader who objected to the phrase may thank author for the word of pungency and truth. But the end of the chapter is still a long way off.

Now that the Conference of Swarajist members of the Assembly and Councils has approved of the Coochabam resolutions, the position of the rebels becomes difficult to maintain. It is too early to say whether the disintegration threatened by the Madras meeting will be sooner achieved than the expulsion of those who refuse to obey orders. There is one fact of significance. There is still a *locus penitentia*; the Party is to meet again in Delhi soon. Both the Party and the incipient rebels need not burn their boats yet. There is a fortnight within which to nurse their courage.

* * *

But let us do a penitential act ourselves. We had always imagined that the gesture of rebellion leading to the end of the Swarajist illusion would come from the Maharsahtras. If we mistake not, the question was addressed to Mr. Das in Delhi. He was asked whether the Maharsahtras would not break away from the discipline of the Party. His answer was nobly and finely conceived. He said that he had worked with Mr. Tilak and his followers for twenty years, and they had never once let him down. And the truth to tell, the Maharsahtras have never been wails or strays. The man round the nucleus of whose great name they cluster was too disciplined himself and exacted too rigid a discipline from others for him to have ever been the master of scattered hosts. Many features there are in them which intrigued us in the days of co-operation and are a terror at a later time, the virtues and vices of hard strong unrelenting men; but indiscipline was never one of them. To us, it is a matter of genuine satisfaction that the disciples of Tilak have justified the great and moving testimony of their leader of to-day. He is not of their race; but the fidelity and long-sighted political wisdom are certainly theirs and have been since the days of Shivaji.

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A Great Crime

Young India

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The Message

Mahatma Gandhi immediately after hearing the news of his unconditional release sent C. F. Andrews to his Ashram at Sabarmati to carry a message to those who were in residence. He wished them to understand that the news which had come of his release was a cause for greater humility rather than for rejoicing. The burden of responsibility would be greater than ever, and now they must prepare themselves in order to be ready to bear it.

How He Received The News

Mr. C. F. Andrews has communicated the following statement to the Associated Press concerning Mr. Gandhi:—

I was present at the Sasoon Hospital this morning at about 7.30 A. M. and found Mahatma Gandhi very bright and cheerful after a good night's rest. While we were talking, Colonel Maddock who has been in charge of the patient in hospital came in and announced to Mahatmajl news of his unconditional release and congratulated him upon it most heartily. He then read out to him words of official message and said that it had come on Monday night by a special messenger. Therefore he had taken earliest opportunity of coming to him as he wished to be the first man to hear news that he was now free. Mahatma Gandhi remained quiet for a few moments and then said to Colonel Maddock with a smile, "I hope you will allow me to remain your patient and also your guest a little longer." Doctor laughed and told him that he trusted that his patient would go on obeying his orders as a doctor and that he himself might have very great pleasure and satisfaction of seeing him thoroughly restored to health. Later on in the morning after dressing the wound, Colonel Maddock gave warning that recovery of the patient which was going on so well might be seriously thrown back if any unnecessary excitement or tiredness was caused in the next few days by visits of those who wished to see him. Kindest thing in the world would be for everyone except those who were nursing him to give him all the rest possible at this critical time in his recovery. It had to be remembered that the wound which had to be made while performing the operation was not fully healed and a little over-taxing of strength of patient might throw recovery back. Next fortnight would be the time when every reserve of strength

would be needed in order that the wound might be fully healed. Everything had gone well up to the present but it was imperative that no unnecessary risks shall be incurred.

Mahatma Gandhi was removed by doctor's orders into another room with an outside verandah where he would be able to get the full benefit of the sunshine and open air. Telegrams began to pour in upon him from an early hour. The first telegram reached hospital very soon after Colonel Maddock had left.

I would wish if I may be permitted to do so after all I have seen in the hospital concerning Mahatma Gandhi's health to add my own urgent request to the warning given by the doctor, for while undoubtedly Mahatma Gandhi has recovered wonderfully hitherto, he is still in a very weak condition and it must be remembered that healing of the wound has still to go on and anything that in the slightest degree might bring about a relapse must be avoided. Every day of complete rest which he can now obtain especially during the next fortnight will mean an immense difference for the future. It would be greatest kindness possible if those to whom his health is most precious would strictly observe the doctor's instructions until the recovery has been fulfilled. It will also be quite impossible for Mahatmajl to grant interviews to Press correspondents. After writing out this statement I read it over to Mahatma Gandhi himself at his own request, and he has passed it for the Press.

Notes

The death of Lenin is announced. His illness and death have so often been reported and contradicted that the first mood is one of scepticism. But the latest messages seem to have no doubt. He had long been ill and the ultimate cause is stated to be the paralysis of the respiratory centres. His death removes from the world's stage one of the masters of action. The nineteenth century gave the world Napoleon and in a secondary sense Bismarck. Then it ended in the squalid squabbles of political Liberalism. The Great war and our own day have given us three men worthy to stand by the side of anybody in political history; one of whom, counting statesmanship as the least of his gifts, is really of the order of the Great Teachers. The three names are Gandhi, Lenin and Mussolini. All are destroyers and makers. Of Gandhi and Mussolini, this is not the time to speak. Of one of them we are speaking every day. The other is, violent in speech and in our judgment, gravely misunderstood, but who in spite of rashness and prejudice is a constructor and a king. Of Lenin this should be said: what he did was really stupendous. He destroyed Tsarism but that was a small thing in view of previous Russian Revolutionary history. He destroyed also the Liberal State of Kerensky and the meaning of the performance will be perceived if we remember that Constitutionalism itself was counted as the goal of all striving for a hundred years. In other words, the Ideal State being erected, in the middle of all the enthusiasm and loyalty that it gave rise to, Lenin replaced the Ideal itself by the sweep and intensity of his conviction and built up a new State in the service of that ideal. We shall signify its full magnitude by a suggestion from our allies. Imagine for a minute that Indian Nationalism triumphs and that the bureaucracy is overthrown by a supreme effort of the nation and that the Congress succeeds the Government. It will be a parliamentary regime that will then exercise Swaraj. The enthusiasm and patriotic fervour that will be roused is not for description but for imagination. Supposing in the middle of it, Mr. Gandhi dissatisfied with parliamentarianism, its corruption and weakness and temporisation calls upon the country to overthrow parliamentarianism and to establish the Hind Swaraj described in *Indian Home Rule*. The sensation will be beyond words. The effect will be well within words. He will be assassinated. The Swarajist rebellion against the Congress will be nothing compared to it. For it will be no case of rebellion against the Congress. The Congress will by a unanimous decision declare Mahatma a rebel and an outlaw. The reaction against him will be infinitely worse than that at the time of the Bardoli decision. But in sober reality, what happened in Russia in November 1917 was something quite as strange as the picture we have drawn. That is not however the whole story. After bringing about the *compte de etat*, there was cast on him the duty of protecting the new State against the perils of civil war inside and foreign invasion. The safety of the State had to be secured with the help of a soldiery which was partially loyal to the old order and the rest of which though revolutionary wanted still more intensely to be quit of

all fighting. In one word, he created a new ideal and a new state and saved it from the whole world. The exact measure of the thing that was done will be realised if for a moment we picture what would have been the case with the leaders of the French Revolution if they had managed to save it from Napoleon. Lenin avoided twin dangers; anarchy and military despotism. The complete picture of the man is not for our time and is not likely to be available as long as Capitalism lasts.

Sometimes we think that it is practically impossible for us to get a true picture of contemporary events. It is the old phenomenon of the wood being lost for the trees. Here is Mr. Srinivasa Sastri frantic about the disasters of direct action; but the fact is that there is no kind of disaster in direct action if the operation is managed with decent commonsense. The technique is fairly familiar now and to us it is a perpetual strain on the faculty of surprise how men supposed to be observant of present-day politics can pretend to be shocked at commonplaces. Civil Disobedience and non-payment of taxes are everywhere. Borsad has passed into history. Last week Civil Disobedience was practised by no less a person than Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. In respect of a Magisterial order prohibiting bathing in the Sangam at the time of Kumbha Mela. We are prepared to believe that Mr. Knox the Magistrate was convinced of the danger of people bathing at the place mentioned in his order. A short while ago, there would have been no way of doing what the order prohibited. A law of nature would have been as easy to contravene. But at present, public opinion recognises that there is a limit beyond which official orders are of no practical effect. If they go beyond that boundary, they are simply ignored and the bureaucracy is invited pleasantly but respectfully to do its worst. For in the Allahabad case, the conflict did not arise on the question of danger or no danger. The risk was conceded to exist; the controversy was whether the public had not the right to run that risk, if open-eyed it was willing and anxious to do so. The Magistrate failed to satisfy non-official leaders that the risk was as great as he imagined. Since the bathing at the Sangam was considered by the bathers important enough to justify risk, who was the District Magistrate to sit in judgment over the considered opinion of the people most directly concerned? It looks then as if we have got hold of an automatic guarantee against intolerable injustice. The epithet automatic is deliberate. If injustice in specific cases is not really grievous, the remedy of Civil Disobedience will not be resorted to. The reason is clear. Civil Disobedience itself involves penalties. If on a fair balancing of consequences, it is seen that the submission to an unjust order will cause more suffering or inconvenience than suffering in prison, the order will be disobeyed and vice versa. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his friends disobeyed the order in Allahabad; but by the secret beauty of Satyagraha, their bravery has moved the officials to see their purity of purpose which induced the need. There is to be no prosecution.

There is a further illustration of how far the popular mind has fallen in with the fruitfulness of the weapon. Tanjore is a fertile district in the Madras Presidency. Government has recently increased the land tax there by an executive order. The people say that since additional taxation is involved, the legislative authority should be obtained. Government, regardless of popular protest is inclined to stick to its position. The Governor has refused to receive a deputation on the subject. The tax-payers moved to the last extremity are refusing to pay the additional tax. Attachments have begun and the end of the fight is still far off. But if we may judge from a passing word dropped by a member of the Madras Government, he seems to be ready to meet the recalcitrants more than half-way. We do not know much about the justice of the Tanjore tax; all that we are interested in now is the resourcefulness of non-violent direct action to meet a variety of cases. Probably the categories will increase in number and extend in range of application.

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The accession of Labour to power strikes us as a dubious transaction. Writing far away from the centre of things, one should necessarily be cautious and tentative in conclusion. The net impression, however, is interesting. The refusal of Mr. Asquith to be (in his own felicitous phrase) 'the saviour of society' made the formation of a Labour Government inevitable. But the very refusal and its consequences had a wealth of meaning, shedding a flood of light on the political temper of Englishmen. Englishmen, at least the class of them who have hitherto borne rule, tried their best to prevent Mr. Macdonald having the legitimate prize of power. They tried every kind of device towards that end. They exploited all methods of human persuasion, short of violence; prejudice, threats, panic, reason. But at the end, they found themselves worsted. Then came the acute political stroke. It might be impossible to keep Labour out; but the next best thing would be to keep Labour harmless in power. The harmlessness should be not only for to-day, but also for the distant morrow when Labour will have an absolute majority in the House of Commons. There is only one cure for curing politicians of rashness, and that is to entrust them with power and responsibility. No Party coming into office for the second time will be guilty of excessively wild promises. A Party coming into power for the first time may, through sheer lack of experience, attempt to improve the world out of recognition in the course of a single night. The Labour Party is in that perilous position now; but the danger is minimised by the fact that the fate of the Government rests in the hands of the Liberals. Or to put the matter in a slightly different way. Labour had to be put to school in the difficult art of government; and like the Ministers in the Indian scheme of Distrachy, they are not allowed overmuch power to get into serious trouble, either for themselves or for an order of society based on Capitalism. If any measure undertaken or contemplated by Mr. Macdonald's Government should endanger private property as it is known in Western

Europe, its existence will not be worth a moment's purchase.

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So much about the general situation. But the reactions on Indian politics may also be noted. There are two factors of significance; the sending of Colonel Wedgwood into Coventry, for that is what the Duchy of Lancaster means, and the Prime Minister's message to *Hindu*. The message was given before His Majesty sent for him; but it was communicated after it was reasonably certain that the call would come. The substance of it is this: "Stick to parliamentarianism, avoid revolutionary action of all kinds, of active force as well as passive resistance; there is no Party in England likely to be cowed down by such threats; if there is co-operation, I may be able to steer along a middle path avoiding the extremes of the Right and the Left." Of the new arrivals in the India Office, the Under-Secretary, Mr. Richards is unknown to fame. Sir Sidney Olivier was once a Fabian and is now an expert in Colonial affairs, his knowledge being founded amongst other things on the fact that he governed the West Indies at one time. *Prima facie*, we are suspicious of Fabians as administrators, because there is a fundamental hardness and narrowness in the type which does not promise well in the Indian Secretariate. But there is no need to speculate on the antecedents and intellectual affinities of the new minister. The English Press is charmingly frank. Colonel Wedgwood was regarded as too extreme a person to be entrusted with the delicate task of governing India and as a peace-offering to the Liberals, he was sacrificed. What it means then is clear. The change of Government is not going to make the slightest difference in Indian business. The temptation to cast a stone at Mr. Sastri is intense, but we shall resist it. For in sober truth, the portents are excellent. We are always in the habit of looking elsewhere for our salvation and there is nothing in the world will do us so much good as the indubitable fact that the change of English Government from High Tory to Socialist Labour marks no alteration in our fortunes or in the attitude of Great Britain to us. It will no doubt be excellent if the change meant a change for us too; but the excellence will be that of the petty tinkering variety, no permanent deep strength. The Premier's warning is well-intent and possibly true. But our business is the far harder one of positively creating new truths, the truth that a genuine constructive revolution is possible and that in its course we need not miss any really live contact with the past, no contact worth preserving. Non-co-operation does not intend and will not have the effect of cowing down any English Party; but it will certainly succeed in converting the whole of England, by the inherent logic of its strength and necessity. The speed of that conversion will not be regulated either by Mr. Macdonald or by the needs of his Party; whether we succeed or fail, it will be our achievement and nobody else's. But to be quite frank, just as there are inherent necessities in India's manner of dealing with these problems, there are compelling elements in the temper and convictions of current English Socialism. Mr. Macdonald and Sir Sidney Olivier may be prepared

to cut India off from the grace of the radicalism which is the salt of their Party; but we are certain that this species of compartmentalism will be easier to attempt than to achieve. The Labour Party has come to eminence in the service of a certain spirit, of a certain set of principles. No statesman can afford to ignore or continuously defy them without swift and occasionally devastating revenge. Mr. Lloyd George is the most notable instance in recent history of a politician who tried to be all things to all men, Greek to the Greek, barbarian to the barbarian; the disaster that overtakes him conveys its moral. Men at the top may, in a spirit of moderation, be willing to compromise with the master-falts of their career; but behind them, making them and their fortunes, are vast masses of fervid political following impossible to ignore. What we feel is that even in Indian questions the general currents will flow in one direction not in any other, and that it will be materially different from the course with which we were familiar in the days of Lord Peel and Earl Winterton.

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But our readers will say that amid all this verbiage there is little of clear policy or prediction. We confess to the charge. The truth is that the immediate course of politics is extremely difficult to anticipate or describe coherently. It is genuinely fluid both in England and India. There are all kinds of competing forces whose final resultant is not easy to define. We know what the new Government intends by us; it is to leave us well alone. If however we are not altogether mistaken about the forces that are behind, the policy will fall not necessarily by anything that happens here, but by the pressure of opinion in the counsels of Government. Those counsels may be reinforced by Indian developments. Farther than this, we cannot go.

* * *

In publishing part of the evidence about French doings in the Ruhr, we reserved an observation last week. The observation is really no more than the answer to a problem stated by the friend who gave us the documents. The problem has a history which is this. When Colonel Wedgwood was out in India, the tragedy of the Punjab and the failure of the educational system were put thus to him:—The students in the Punjab were insulted by being marched up and down cruel distances, and by being compelled to salute the Union Jack. These were humiliations and the Colonel was asked the question. 'How was it that there was not one among the humiliated men enough to rise up and refuse submission to the punishment? How was it that there was not one amongst them man enough to prefer being shot? Do you think that if similar humiliations were heaped upon the young fellows in Oxford or Cambridge by German Officers, they would all have submitted?' The further discussion of that time has no relevancy now; the point to note

was the unchallenged assumption that English boys would have behaved differently from those of the Punjab. The problem that is raised is two-fold; first, whether the assumption of the original conversation was right, whether indeed the Indian lads were really as bad as we thought, whether the English ones were quite the heroes we imagined them to be; secondly, whether any people in the world, even the bravest can be trusted to behave courageously, in the face of panic caused by military oppression. The argument is this. Take the case of the Germans, the victims of oppression in the Ruhr. There is no doubt they were subjected to oppressions, insults and humiliations as bad as any put on the students of Lahore. Nobody will dispute the bravery of the Germans of the Ruhr. They were soldiers in the Kaiser's Army, and it is certain that many of those now submitting to oppression were amongst those that fought in the war and fought bravely. But those very people are submitting to their oppressors almost as tamely as the Punjabis did. Were we not doing an injustice to our own people and were we not mistaken in assuming that English lads admittedly no braver than Germans would have acted differently from the Indians? Is not the truth much deeper? Is it not probable that given a certain amount of military "horribleness," there is not something in human nature which leads to complete surrender? Is it not a trick of mass psychology, of panic, making it impossible for any single individual to rise above the common level? We admit there is considerable force in the suggestion. We are also prepared to concede that given the circumstances in the Punjab, we were probably harsher in our judgment than the truth warranted. We are free to confess that our picture of the heroic unyielding Englishman was drawn from Sir Charles Lyall's account of the English sailor that chose death in preference to the degradation of prostrating himself before the Chinese Mandarin. Then is the second question whether there is not something of final power in the use of force, and whether the Satyagrahic ideal of the triumph of peace over violence is not vain. Here we feel we are on infinitely surer ground. All that the German and the Punjab cases prove is the common fact of a military surrender. Every war fought to a finish demonstrates that, and the instances under discussion do not take us any further. That the Germans did not resist the physical might of France has no probative value in this regard. The Germans also believed in the lawfulness of violence; but in this special case, they decided that it was futile to resist. The Indian case, the Non-co-operation case, is altogether different. We believe that there is a positive thaumaturgy in suffering, which can prevail over him who employs violence. By virtue of that faith, we draw on an inner source of inexhaustible potency. It is just when the tyrant is at his worst that we feel our opportunity at its richest. It is just when he exhausts himself by the uttermost of his exertion, that the healing message of non-resistance reaches him *assuadly*. The instance of the Ruhr would have been relevant, if the Germans went into it prepared to suffer and to invite suffering. On the other hand, they avoided all avoidable suffering. They inflicted all possible suffering.

on their enemies, whenever they got the chance. There were murders and public opinion approved of it. There was sabotage. To use an Indian expression that is now familiar, there was no atmosphere of Non-violence; the atmosphere was all of violence, of impotent violence. If indeed Germans had accepted our doctrine, and then submitted to humiliations without punishment, the case indeed would have been hard. But the answer to the question is something more than an argument. The Sikh instance is conclusive. The incidents at Guru-ka-Bagh prove that men believing in the justice of a cause, and possessed of dynamic faith in non-violence, can stand physical torture of an extreme type without surrender. And the root of the affair is surrender or no surrender. If positive disobedience to injustice can be ensured, that is all we want.

Young India

7-2-24

A Great Crime

The anti-Drink movement was one of the results of the great wave of purification set in motion by Mahatmaji. It was not directly aimed at by him. When it came, however, it came as a natural consequence of a national revolution which sought to purify and strengthen the people in every phase of life. The depth and volume of the popular enthusiasm that was roused for ending the drink evil surprised even Mahatmaji. The potentialities of his own movement he knew full well; but the dynamic force and spontaneity of the anti-Drink agitation and the swiftness with which it spread throughout the land was something which came on him unexpectedly. It was a wonderful justification of the plans and methods of national reform adopted by him, and strengthened him in his purpose as nothing else perhaps did.

Great as his satisfaction was at seeing the spontaneous determination of the people to put an end to the drink evil, his disappointment was as bitter when he saw that the forces which he had all his lifetime learnt to regard as friendly were either severely opposed or criminally indifferent. He had every reason to expect the Christian missionaries to throw the weight of their great influence on the side of the people. Their own professions as well as their general attitude towards him and his teachings justified this expectation. He had every right also to expect his friends the moderates to avail themselves of the opportunity to do good. For, had they not chosen to wield some power in the Government of the country, forgetting the national insult and dishonour, just for such possible opportunities to do good? Moved by the great upheaval and its potentialities, he put aside the strict rules of Non-Co-operation and appealed to the

moderate leaders to take the national tide for reform and introduce legislation to prohibit the drink. Great and unique was the occasion, when a whole people demanded with one voice legislation which temperance reformers in other countries, have enormous difficulties to get the people to agree to. While in other countries they attempt through Governments the difficult task of reforming the people against their own will, here in India the tragedy was that the field invited the harvester, but the opportunity was wickedly thrown away.

The only ray of hope is that the chance is not yet gone. The popular agitation is not yet dead—no thanks to the Government who have done their utmost by repression to kill it—but by reason of the spirit of sacrifice nurtured by the great movement, which is too strong to be extinguished by repression. The Government may resist the demand for freedom and the fight may be prolonged, but one may yet hope for a speedy surrender on the issue of Drink.

The signs are however not favourable. The official review of the Abkari administration in the Madras Province indulges in comments and explanations which show the unrepentant attitude of authority. Nowhere did the popular tide against the drink evil rise so high as in the Southern Province. Young men of all classes went to prison in their hundreds in the Anti-Drink Campaign and the message penetrated the furthest corners of village life. The Government audaciously states that the figures show that the Non-Co-operation movement has not materially affected the drink evil. Every thing that the Government could do to prevent any beneficial effect, it relentlessly did. It gave no chance to the volunteers who came forward to picket the liquor shops which they maintained and encouraged against the popular demand. It imprisoned hundreds of innocent volunteers on the mere declaration of intention to picket. It gave police protection to the drunkards. It libelled and vilified the Congress workers wherever it could. It persecuted them in a hundred ways and gave every help it could possibly give to the corrupters of the people. Yet the Government shamelessly pretends to estimate the effects of the movement. The least it can do is to preserve a decent silence over the affair. To-day the Madras Government has still in its jails nearly a hundred brave and innocent young men, whose only offence was that they wanted to organise peaceful picketing of toddy shops in Madura. Nagpur and Borsad may be solved but the Madras Government cannot yield on the question of drink! The irony of it all is that for this wrong, it is not Lord Willingdon but Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Alyar, an Indian Home Ruler that is responsible,—showing that no one can hold his own against a relentless system, to end which is the only way out of despair.

The Government is without a shadow of doubt, guilty of deliberately throwing away the greatest chance which a Government could ever have to rid the country of the Drink Evil, and it will have no answer when history will charge it with this great crime.

C. R.

At the Sassoon Hospital

God in his infinite mercy has spared for us our Bapu, however little we might deserve him. When the news first reached me on the 13th, my guilty consciousness began to whisper to me that the stock of my *panyan* was over, and unless the good luck of the rest of my countrymen came to my aid, I would not have the privilege of seeing Bapu. But the privilege did come indeed, after full twenty-six months. I saw him ten days ago. In the flesh, he was hardly half himself, it was nothing less than torture to expect him to speak. But you could not stop him from torturing himself. He felt he must speak to us, at whatever cost, and he began telling us how he came to be removed to the Sassoon Hospital. He surely knew that we had all the details from Devadas and others. But he must shower extra affection on us by narrating the whole tale himself. We listened mutely wondering what we had done to deserve this excess of affection.

But if any one had asked me to write anything about Bapu that day I would not have had the heart to do it. He was so emaciated, so shrivelled up, that you could not bring yourself to be composed enough to say or write anything about his condition. But, thank God, he began picking up unexpectedly fast, and I am happy to say that I feel now able to say something about what is happening in this the greatest of our places of pilgrimage to-day.

These have been days which will live in our annals. The Nation had the good fortune to see its revered leader at work, to see him mould heroes out of clay whilst at work. It had yet to see his gospel go forth from his sick-bed and see it translated into act before his eyes. It has done so during the past fortnight. It is a living atmosphere of love of which you begin to feel the effects, as you approach the room which happens to possess to-day the light that transcends the bounds of time and space.

I have had the privilege, as unmerited probably as the one I had two years ago, of being with him these ten days, though not the privilege of serving him. That privilege is being entirely monopolised by the hospital nurses. One of them is an Englishwoman of long experience. He cannot help smiling as she approaches him. One day she comes talking about her pet dogs, and draws Bapu in a conversation about the different varieties of dogs, and their usefulness. Another day she talks about her experience in English and African hospitals, and tells him how she has lived throughout her life the lesson that her Doctors taught her of never trying to be popular. A third she decorates the room with the finest flowers and asks Bapu to admire her work. There was another nurse much younger, but equally fond of Bapu, who prided herself on having Mr. Gandhi as her first "private" patient after passing out as a trained nurse. "Nursing is not always a joy, at times it is a task", she used to say, "but it has been a pure joy and a privilege to nurse Mr. Gandhi. The Doctor comes and tells me, 'you did not use to print your reports like this ever before' and I tell him straightaway, 'Nor had I such a patient before.' Another day she told me, 'my friends were chaffing me for getting fond of Mr. Gandhi; I told them they would do the same if they had the privilege of serving him.'

And the Surgeon's love for him is as undisguised as the nurses'. The Civil Surgeon has had letters and telegrams pouring on him to congratulate him for the way in which he was serving Mahatma, and it is not without a blush that he says, "how am I to reply to all of them? Shall I do it through the Press?"

I do not know if any one attending Bapu has the slightest consciousness that he is serving a state prisoner. A compelling love chokes all other consciousness.

But why? Even he who has to look upon him as a prisoner seemed scarcely different in his manner from the rest. Col. Murray, the Yeravda Superintendent, came to see Bapu the other day. "Do you think Mr. Gandhi, I have neglected you? No, I thought I should not disturb you. And as I see you now after some days I find you very much better. The Colonel also assures me you are quickly improving. Your friends remember you. Mr. Gandhi especially asked me to tell you that he still gets up at 4 o'clock. Every one of them is happy, and misses you—I hope they do so permanently." His sweetness was touching. "Thank you Col. Murray," said Bapu, "but I assure you nothing will please me better than to be up and doing and be under your kind care once again at Yeravda." You never could tell, if you did not know him, that a jail Superintendent was speaking to one of his prisoners, and you could almost visualise the atmosphere of love created by Bapu in his prison cell at Yeravda.

But I must say something about Bapu's health, rather than go on talking about his alchemy of love. He looks still emaciated, but he is better than he might have been as he told Mr. Rajagopalachariar, the other day, rating him for his ill-health, adding "and you are worse than you ought to be." His weight which at its best was 112 lbs. in jail cannot be now very much over a maund, though it is difficult to be precise, as he is still in bed, and cannot be moved out of it. There is no doubt, however, that he is getting stronger every day. There is a chain hanging down from the top of his bed of which he gets a hold to enable him to sit up or turn in bed. "That's for my gymnastics" he said to a friend the other day. The fingers are still shaky, but not so much as before. His nourishment is nearly half his usual quantity, and consists of about 2 pounds of milk, a couple or two oranges and grapes. The bowels open without the help of the enema, though a mild purgative is at times necessary. Above all he gets most restful sleep of the kind he has never had during the last few years. For even the days in jail were of 'toil unsevered from tranquillity.' From my talks with the Surgeon I can say that there is now no cause for anxiety, though the convalescence will certainly be prolonged and even indefinite.

And need I say anything about the torrents of love that have taken their course to Poona from all the parts of India? Devadas who should be privileged to be with his father for all the time has to content himself serving him by attending to the numerous letters and telegrams coming day and night inquiring after Bapu's health. But the telegrams and letters do not exhaust the affections. One day

the residents of far off Tanjore write to say that they did their *archanas* and *abhishekams* in a particular Mandir, and send on the sacred ashes and *kumkum* for MahatmaJi, another day comes a letter from Kashi telling Devadas that special *japas* were performed in the temple of Mrityunjay Mahadeo (the Conqueror of Death), that hundreds of Brahmins will be continuing their *anushthanams* until MahatmaJi gets better, and they do not omit to send the sacred water of the Ganges and the sacred ashes also. Hindus from Shiyal (Tirupur) and Dindigul vie in their love with their Mussalman brethren of Nagore who send special *taharruk* (prasadam) of some *Adu*. A Parsi sister writes offering her blood if the Surgeon thought it necessary to put in blood in MahatmaJi, while an English lady writes detailed instructions about Bapu's diet, and Mrs. Gokhale from Bombay writes to say that she will spin an extra couple of hours every day, now that MahatmaJi can not spin.

One of the constant visitors at the hospital—and of these there is no end, my duty here being only that of standing at the gate to keep them away—is an Englishman, an old military pensioner who makes it a point to come every other day with a bouquet of flowers, and gets into Bapu's room unobstructed by any one. It is simply impossible to stop him. Impatiently he rushes to Bapu, shakes his hand, and delivers his message of cheer in a few seconds and walks away. "Cheer up old man! I see that you are very much better than yesterday. I know you must get better. How old are you? Fifty five. Oh it is nothing. You know I am 82. Get better, please do." One day he stopped and asked, "Can I do anything for you Mr. Gandhi?" "No", said Bapu, "Please pray for me." "That I will but tell me if I can do anything for you. Please do tell me. Believe me to be your brother." To which Bapu replies with a smile, "Believe me I have amongst my friends a number of Englishmen whom I regard as more than my brothers." The man is deeply touched, moves out assuring us that he prays thrice every day that Mr. Gaudal may live up to his age, and also telling us that many Englishmen pray for him, and many officers inquire after him.

The picture will be incomplete if I did not say a word about the illustrious leaders who are now flocking to Poona to see their leader. They did not come until now, as they knew it would not be well to disturb him. A man like Mr. Jayakar says, "I will now come, but will only have his darshan from a distance," and Pt. Jawaharlal assures Devadas that he would come last of all. The big brother comes, and insists that MahatmaJi should not talk to him, fumbles about on MahatmaJi's bed for his legs, which he finds with some difficulty, opens out the covering, and kisses them. Shankerlal and others like him, are choked with tears and Pandit MotiJi has no heart to get away without bidding him good bye a second time, and deliberately misses a train. Lalaji comes eager to have a talk with him, but stands aside, almost inspite of himself, so that he may not draw him into a talk with him. He visits him again before leaving Poona. There is something in him which is struggling to find expression. Probably it checks the tears, or the tears check it. But ultimately it succeeds and bursts out. But Bapu with his inimitable smile says, "Lalaji, the joke is too

big for my stomach. I would have a hearty laugh, but for the wound and the stiches." Lalaji, who would have gone otherwise with a heavy heart, goes away with a much lighter heart, not without assuring others also that we may not be sad now, but rejoice that God in His infinite mercy has blessed us.

POONA, 29-1-24
P. S.

Mahadev Desai

The above reached too late for the last issue. I should have followed up with more impressions. But the news of the release must crowd out everything. I must warn the public that the A. P. I. telegram saying that MahatmaJi is quite well is far from the truth. And may I also say that the fact that Maulana Mahomed Ali had asked MahatmaJi to visit Ajmer immediately on discharge from the hospital alarmed me? He is still in bed, though he can just toddle in his room. It will be months before he gets fit and strong again. Let the country give him a long period of undisturbed rest and labour and pray that he may be long preserved to us.

6-2-24

M. D.

Working Committee

At a meeting of the Congress Working Committee held at Bombay on January 30, 31, and February 1, the following resolutions, were passed and business transacted, besides many others dealing with Congress administration:—

Gandhi Month

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is deeply thankful to merciful Providence that Mahatma Gandhi has passed safely through his recent grave illness and that his further services in the cause of freedom have thus been vouchsafed to the nation. The Committee appeals to the nation that in order to prepare for a great struggle to be carried on all over the country to wrench from Government his and the nation's freedom and establish Swarajya, a supreme effort should be made to strengthen the Congress Organisation in every respect and for this purpose the month beginning from 18th February and ending on 15th March next should be observed as the Gandhi month and devoted to intensive national work by every man and woman desiring the emancipation of the country. The Working Committee calls upon all Indians to put forth the utmost endeavour to clothe the nation in Khaddar, to enrol Congress members and to collect money for the Tilak Swarajya Fund. All Congress Committees are called upon to organise work at once in order to carry out the above resolution.

Pavilion

The Committee was informed by the Secretary that the Coconada Congress Pavilion had been finally purchased on behalf of the All India Congress Committee and the price paid. It was decided that Mr. Deshpande, Secretary do take charge of it and arrange for its transport to the Karuatak and for its storage and insurance.

Mr. Deshpande to obtain the necessary funds for the purpose from the Karnatak P. C. C.

South Africa

Considered the cable from South Africa inviting Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Naidu's cable from East Africa. Resolved that Mrs. Naidu and Shri Benarasidas Obaturvedi to be requested to proceed to South Africa from East Africa to study the urgent problems affecting Indians and to give advice and render all possible assistance to them. The Secretary was authorised to incur necessary expenditure in this behalf.

Akalis

The Akali situation was then fully discussed and it was resolved,

(i) That out of the money earmarked for Civil Disobedience a sum of Rs. 22,000 be sanctioned for helping the families of Sikhs going to jail in offering Civil Disobedience to Government in addition to Rs. 3,000 given for this purpose by the Burma Provincial Congress Committee; that is a total amount of Rs. 25,000 be granted. This money is to be sent to the Punjab P. C. and is to be spent by them for the purpose specified in consultation with the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee.

(ii) That Rs. 1,000 be sanctioned from the General Funds to be paid to Shri A. T. Gidwani for the Congress Akali Sabayak Publicity Bureau, and that Mr. Gidwani be requested to send accounts and a budget estimate of future expenditure.

Emigration

Resolved that a Committee consisting of Shri Benarasidas Chaturvedi and Shri C. F. Andrews be appointed to consider the prevention of emigration to foreign countries in terms of the Cocomada Congress resolution No. 10.

All India Khadi Board

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Khadi Board at a meeting held at Bombay on thirty-first January and first February:—

I Gandhi month

The All India Khadi Board is thankful to Providence that Mahatma has passed safely through his recent dangerous illness and in order that his further services in the cause of freedom thus vouchsafed to the nation may be deserved of us, the Board, in accordance with the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress, appeals for a supreme effort throughout the whole country to make every man and woman realise the duty of wearing Khadi. The Board appeals to all provincial khadi organisations to put forth their utmost endeavour to achieve the object in a substantial measure before eighteenth March next.

II Appeal to Cotton Cultivators

The Board appeals to every grower of cotton to stock a sufficient quantity of cotton at least for the use of his own family and requests every Congress committee to take vigorous steps before the next cotton season is over to educate cultivators in this idea.

III Appeal to all Congress Members

The Board deems it the duty of every Congress member to have a charkha working in his house and thereby set an effective example for the universalization of charkha.

Khaddar Policy

(1) Every province should endeavour to develop to the fullest extent its potentialities for the production of khaddar and aim at clothing its population as far as possible with khadi produced within the province itself. (2) Specially favourable areas should be fully worked so as to supply from their surplus production the khadi requirements of areas and provinces where there cannot be a sufficient production of indigenous khadi or where the industry is not yet fully developed. (3) In the transitional stage before consumption and production reach their maximum and are duly co-ordinated, provinces shall

help each other in supplying the requirements of the population and relieving surplus production; but this distribution of surplus production from one province to another shall be done through the respective Provincial Khadi Boards and with due regard to the local needs and conditions.

V Depots for Sale

A sufficient number of depots or other selling agencies should be provided at suitable centres in all provinces in order that the public may obtain genuine khaddar at proper prices.

VI Provincial organisation

Whereas it is desirable to put the khadi work in the provinces on a more permanent and satisfactory basis at the same time giving the provinces the fullest freedom and scope for development this Board requests every Provincial Congress Committee to set up and give full powers of administration to separate Khadi Boards consisting of responsible and capable members holding office for at least three years so as to ensure continuity of work.

VII Provincial Khadi Service

Each Provincial Khadi Board shall organise and control an effective body of whole time workers devoting exclusive attention to khadi work. Members of this service should be placed above want and be guaranteed at least two years employment. Rules as to the qualifications, allowances and conditions of the service be framed in each province as early as possible and sent up to the All India Khadi Board for approval.

VIII Training to Volunteers

Provincial Khadi boards shall provide facilities to giving sufficient training in spinning and carding to all Congress volunteers in the province so as to make them fully serviceable in the work of khadi organisation.

IX All India Khadi Service

An All India Khadi Service shall be organised in order to secure the services of competent full time workers (1) for helping the provinces to organise their khadi work on a sound basis, (2) for auditing and inspecting the work in the provinces, and (3) for providing facilities for technical instruction. The Secretary of the Board is empowered to organise the service, framing rules as to qualifications, allowances, tenure of service etc. and recruit men accordingly.

X Loans

Loans will be granted from the All India Khaddar Board to Provincial Khaddar Boards to such extent as funds may permit and provided sufficient security by way of lien on stocks and assurance of efficient utilisation of the sums lent are obtained and provided also the funds lent are adequately supplemented by money locally raised. Every individual application shall be disposed of on these general lines and such other conditions may be imposed as the special circumstances of the case may necessitate.

XI Funds

The Board appeals to all persons interested in the political and economic emancipation of the country generously to contribute funds for Khadi work. These contributions may be earmarked for khadi work in any particular areas or otherwise as the donors may choose not inconsistent with the aims of the Congress.

Message to the Country

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

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No. 7

Notes

The Working Committee of the Congress met in Bombay on January 30 and transacted business. The most important of the Resolutions related to work during the immediate future. After rendering thanks to God for the great mercy vouchsafed to the Nation in safeguarding the life of Mahatma Gandhi in the face of grave peril, the Working Committee went on to say:

"The Working Committee earnestly appeals to the Nation that in order to prepare for a great struggle to be carried on all over the country to wrench from the Government his and the Nation's freedom and establish Swaraj, a supreme effort should be made to strengthen the Congress organisation in every respect and for this purpose the month beginning from 18th February and ending on the 18th of March next should be observed as the Gandhi month and devoted to an intensive national work by every man and woman desiring the emancipation of the country."

"The Working Committee calls upon all Indians to put forth the utmost endeavour to clothe the Nation in Khaddar, to clothe Congress members and to collect money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund."

"All Congress Committees are called upon to organise work at once in order to carry out the above resolution."

The purpose is clear. The Gandhi month is to be devoted to the task of reconstruction, which while being part of what is known as the Constructive Programme is a distinct and separate thing. The difference is this. The programme framed at Bardoli was one for the permanent strengthening of national life and while truly political was not political at all according to the current use of language. The intention was to make the nation stronger which is not a political measure. But the use to which the strength was to be put and the purpose which inspired it was distinctly political. The programme therefore contained definite elements of political organisation also. But the distinction is that the organisation as such did not postulate any long permanence of national efficiency. But it was necessary all the same. In other words a part of the Bardoli Programme was no more and no less than the Bezwada Programme. The purpose of the latter was to fashion an adequate instrument of national policy. It really does not matter what the policy of the Congress may be. It may be Non-co-operation; it may be Swarajism; it may be Civil

Disobedience; it may be co-operation itself. In any event there must be adequate organisation to carry it out. Without organisation, it will be pure futility. Consider the various political groups in the country. Take for instance the Liberals. They have an intelligible policy; it may be wrong, it may be weak; it is not dishonest. The Liberals however do not count because they have no adequate organisation. It may even be granted that as long as the bureaucracy is there in its present mood India will not permit Liberalism to organise itself. But that too will be a test of the inadequacy of Liberalism. But if by any chance, the Liberals organise themselves they will be in more considerable repute than they are. The politics of the Aman Sabhas in 1921 were less democratic than that of the Liberals. But during the time the organisation continued, the 'Peace and Order' people did count for something and more than something. Just for a similar reason, the fact that the Congress is a Nationalist body carries with it no guarantee against final failure, if it does not organise itself continuously. In the light of this need, our only regret is that the present resolution of the Working Committee was not framed at Coonoor before the session of the Congress broke up. Better late than never.

The Resolution is good as far as it goes; but we are clear that it does not go far enough. Far rather would we have preferred the text of the executive Resolutions after the Gaya Congress. The policy that the Committees after Gaya intended to carry out may be cause for quarrel—the launching of Civil Disobedience may have been a wrong objective to aim at. But on the actual thing that the All-India Committee said should be done, there was not the suggestion of mistake. The specific virtue of the decision then was that it was clearer and definite. The world knew that the Congress was in need of such and such an amount of money, of a body of Volunteers of such and such a number. It was organisation, the exact range of which it was possible to measure. That the sum intended to be raised was not actually collected is no argument for vagueness; it merely meant that we should have been more careful then and certainly should be more cautious in the future. We started to raise 25 lakhs; we got eleven. We wanted half a lakh of volunteers; we enrolled fifteen thousands. Ideally it would have been better if starting with ten lakhs of rupees and ten thousand volunteers, we managed to get what we in fact did. In any event

the actual performance was, in our humble judgment, in spite of obvious susceptibility to criticism, better than the vague thing the country is asked to do now. Take the first paragraph above. What does 'intensive national work' mean? Mr. Das was at the Working Committee; in his view intensive national work is to worry Government by adverse votes in the Councils and the Assembly. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was there; the specific national need he sees is discipline and co-ordinated public work. Mr. Rajagopalachar thinks that intense national effort consists in the production and wear of khaddar. A phrase that means these different things in different mouths means nothing at all; it is vagueness. Take the next paragraph, the one that contains the maximum of precision 'clothe the nation in Khaddar, enroll Congress members, and collect money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund'. All this is excellent and if it had come from Congress or Conference it would be absolutely unexceptionable. But it is the Working Committee of the Congress that is speaking, that is issuing specific instructions to the constituent bodies of the Congress. What are individual committees to think of their responsibility? Clothing the whole nation in Khaddar is no more than a counsel of perfection. There is no quarrel with it excepting this; it cannot be done within the month between February 18 and March 18. Congress membership and the Tilak Swaraj Fund are both important, more important perhaps than almost anything else at the present time. But in the absence of specific definition, the practical value is nearly nil.

* * *

It is not as if accuracy is not possible. There is reasonable possibility of clear envisaging of needs and providing for them. As it happens, we are in a position to suggest the broad outlines of a scheme which we venture to think is practical, being founded on clear necessity. First comes the membership of the Congress. It is always important but there is compelling necessity now. The Swarajist experiment is at the height of its chance. Whether it fails by internal corruption or by the impossibility of the constitutional instrument is to us a matter of no concern. If on the other hand it succeeds, we shall not stand on the ceremony of the way of taking advantage of Swaraj. But in any event it will be well that we should be strong against the need of the morrow. The country is in the mood to join and strengthen the Congress to the utmost. We should like to feel that standing behind us when we speak in the name of the Congress is a body of people more numerous than the electorate that stands behind the Councils. Even the Swarajists, we believe, will not grudge us this satisfaction. We are concerned for the moment with a pure calculus of satisfaction. The Swarajists will soon find out that the measure of their dynamic energy in the counsels of Government will be not the electorate of Government, but the Congress. We should like to feel that the strength of the Congress counted in numbers is somewhere double the electorate of the Montford scheme. That electorate is estimated at between five and six millions. We should therefore like to aim at ten millions as the necessary membership of our institutions. The observant reader will

note that a crore is ten millions and it was a crore that was the first item in the Bezwada Programme. Mahatma Gandhi did not perhaps take the trouble of studying statistics when he moved the Resolution at Bezwada. We claim however the doubtful privilege of furnishing mathematical justification for his famous proposal. We shall be told that ten million is an excessive number. So it is; but so is Swaraj an excessive thing to be claimed by a down-trodden people. We have given our reasons in favour of a crore. If the Working Committee feels confident of being able to act as the Cabinet of the nation on the suffrage of a smaller number, we shall not quarrel with it. Only we should be oppressed with a sense of nervousness.

* * *

Then there is the Tilak Swaraj Fund. The finance of the Congress should be regularised, as also its administration. To the best of our judgment, efficient work will establish it on a sound basis. What we mean can be illustrated by a single fact. We have said already that we look forward to one crore as the normal permanent membership of the Congress. If that simple single item can be fulfilled, 25 lakhs will be the normal revenue. But it takes some doing, we admit. The question we believe centres round that fundamental consideration, of regularising procedure and making it automatic. Working by spurts is uncertain, demoralising, and inefficient to the last degree. We say nothing of its indignity and mockery. There is only one way of putting all this on a satisfactory basis. A National Service must be organised like any other Permanent Civil Service. According to our notions of soundness, this body of men will be executive Servants unconcerned with politics, but pledged to carry out the instructions of the Congress. We think of them in two Branches, one All-India and the other Provincial. The usual reckoning is that there are two hundred and fifty Districts in India. We propose that the superior cadre should be so recruited as to give one man to each district. The choice should be from the class to which Government normally looks for its responsible servants. They must be salaried. There should be no luxury; but the servants of the Congress should be put in a position of security. For without the security that will put men above the need to be perpetually worrying about domestic responsibilities, no truly efficient work is possible. We calculate that such men will cost the Congress 3 lakhs a year. The figure may be considered too high; but it is a new generation of austerity we are trying to rear, and it would be idle to ignore the needs that have been imposed on the educated classes. Besides these, there should be a provincial grade of Congress Servants. They should be recruited from what may roughly be described as the peasant class. They will be subordinate to the members of the First Class. The Government Districts should be divided into four each and each of these Divisions should be put in charge of them. There will be a thousand of them for the whole of the Country. They are estimated to cost the Congress an additional 3 lakhs annually. Our idea is that if these men are rightly chosen, they can be entrusted with the

responsibility of strengthening Congress membership and executing the policy of the Congress according to the instructions of Provincial and District Committees. We are confident that if the right men are there and they give the whole of their time to the work there should be little difficulty. As far internal administration is concerned, a good deal of latitude will be given to Congress Servants. We have so far been discussing only the organisation of workers. For their work and propaganda, money will be wanted. At the lowest estimate, 4 lakhs will be wanted. These items added up give us 10 lakhs, which we take to be the minimum wanted to keep the skeleton of the Congress going. The current year has its special commitments. They are Khaddar and untouchability. In regard to the former fresh financial outlay is hardly necessary; the main consideration is to make sure that the materials and organisation already in existence are put to proper use. This is very much a matter of systematic work by Congress Servants. Untouchability is on a different basis altogether. It is specialised practical sociology of a delicate kind; and we are not satisfied that the Congress is qualified by experience or intellectual affiliation to handle it directly. One practical suggestion will be for the Working Committee to hand it over to a body like the Depressed Classes Mission, the Arya Samaj or the Salvation Army. Financial assistance will be rendered subject to periodical supervision by an officer of the Congress. One lakh may be allotted. Budgetting for a surplus of a lakh, the Congress should therefore raise a sum of 12 lakhs during the present financial drive.

* * *

It may be not impossible to raise the sum in a month. It will, however, be difficult. The best course will be to extend the Gandhi Month to a Gandhi Quarter. In three months, we shall be almost certain of doing it; a month is too short.

* * *

The Khaddar Board having completed their tour in the Southern Presidency is now in the Karnatak, covering large distances, and turning out remarkably good work. One feature of it is good beyond all cavil and criticism. The Board as a whole or in sections is getting into live first-hand touch with all the work that is now being done. In places it is good, suggestive of what could and should be done everywhere, badly managed and breaking down elsewhere with lessons in what to avoid, and wide stretches of nescience all over. Exhortation to spinning there is and must be; but right at the back is the practical thought of founding the movement on sound economic self-sufficiency. The fact that it has been found possible to secure such a broad base in even one place is sufficient proof of its inherent feasibility. Its failure in other areas indicate errors. As far as we have been able to understand the matter, a confusion is widely prevalent. There is undoubted evidence of the mixing up of two economies, productive agricultural and distributive commercial. The two economies are different. The distinctively Indian civilisation is of the former type and the modern European which is also the educated Indian of the latter. Almost all the

influential minds in our politics are educated and they have consistently tried to solve the problem of khadi from the distributor's point of view. In our judgment the problem cannot be solved by this means. It is not commercial, it is essentially one of production and consumption. The reason is obvious. From the very nature of the case, the employment of power on a factory basis makes commercial competition between factory goods and hand products nearly impossible. But if we pursue the productive ideal of making the producer the consumer also and work out the arrangement in strict subordination to that idea, we may look forward to the future with hope. We do not say that there will be no room for the buying and selling of khadi; but it will be a special phenomenon for the towns and for what may be called fancy articles, pure things of beauty and rarity. But that will be itself parasitical, but it will be a noble parasitism which no one will regret, because besides being things of beauty there will be no damage to the permanent good of corporate life. Once we get hold of this fundamental thought, other factors will come into their proper place. Take, for instance, the current difficulty about the high price of cotton and the reaction of the American boll weevil on the Indian market. If we learn to look on khadi from the standpoint of production the price of cotton in the market ought not to distress us. Production will then be not merely the production of yarn or woven cloth, but also of cotton. It is the philosophy of commercialism that to-day, three years after the coming of khadi into our life, makes it possible for khadi workers to bewail the state of the American cotton market. Once a proper view is taken, the only external fact that will handicap the production of khadi will be the failure of the kitchen gardens of Indian cottages to yield the customary need of cotton. Dr. P. C. Ray, of all the publicists we know has got hold of this, the genuine truth of the question. We must begin with the land and then we shall be securely and surely founded. Commercialism may promise the yield of quicker results. But the more haste, the less speed.

* * *

Colonel Wedgwood's speech describing Indo-British relations as the test of Labour policy is extraordinarily interesting; but we are afraid it does not carry us very far. Indo-British relations have been the test of many policies and parties and politicians in their time. So far, however, the result has been only this. The 'relation' has been the same throughout, while the parties and politicians have always gone about their business not seriously disturbed. Hitherto it was the Liberals that were anxious to put themselves right with India and the world. The effort of a political generation in that regard gave us two 'Reforms' and two Commissions on the state of Public Services in India. It gave us, in addition, Jallianwallabagh and the betrayal of the Moslems. We are also promised the Indianisation of two regiments in twenty-three years, or is it forty-two? We have therefore no special ground to be enthusiastic about these vague promises. But we do the new Secretary of State injustice. He leaves his hearers in no doubt as to the meaning of his policy. He is prepared to meet

(Continued on Page 58)

Young India

14-2-24

Coercion

The speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the opening of the new Legislative Assembly has been described as minatory and was perhaps intended to be so. But we gather comfort from it. Instead of being disturbed, we feel heartened. It strikes us that Lord Reading is coming to the end of his diplomacy, or has transcended its limits. The speech sounded like an ultimatum; it is only in desperate straits that men in power issue words that sound final. With his back to the wall in the struggle to save the framework of the Reform Act, he has proved himself anxious and disturbed. It is a good sign.

The root of the difficulty is however much deeper. It affects not only the Viceroy. The petulance and distress of Lord Lytton is of similar quality. Calcutta says that the Government will not be coerced. Delhi says that Parliament will not be forced. The counter-thrust of Mr. Das that the country will not be coerced either is as true as it is obvious. The previous question is why Government and Parliament and country all alike should not come together, avoiding all talk of coercion. But the day for that kind of mutual talk is not with us yet. In the meanwhile we are genuinely interested in the balancing of forces. There must be understanding.

It is no more than this. There are energies in conflict with long history behind. The mere fact that it is psychologically possible for a Viceroy to rate the representatives of the Indian people as if they were schoolboys playing truant is itself full of meaning. The Viceroy assumes the right and there is something in the atmosphere which makes it almost a natural thing thus to depart from the common courtesies of discourse. To-day, the Englishman is triumphant. The problem is how to put an end to that career of insolence. Till the fact is realised by Englishmen that the representation of India is as solemn and grave as that of England, the triumph and the insolence will be without end.

For in this matter, it is two countries that are ranged against each other, two civilisations, culture and philosophy of the world. India is slave and England conqueror. It is no less than independence that we are after. The Viceroy should be able to make up his mind that if India wills it, it should be possible for him to change his mind in spite of his "better judgment." The Viceroy should be educated in the hard school of experience that it is India's right to coerce England if it is deemed necessary. Until England is able to send out a race of statesmen that would strictly, honestly and respectfully concede the right of this country to shape her future and her government in accordance with her unfettered judgment no co-operation will be possible between the two countries. From what we can judge of the present

Viceroy, we are inclined to prophesy that when the day of mutual understanding comes, he will not be there to frame the counsel of reconciliation or healing.

England has coerced India for nearly two hundred years and attempted to persuade her most of the time. But that long chapter is at an end. Lord Reading has arrived at the point when he finds it necessary to coerce his own counsellors. Hitherto, Governments had used their Councils as shields and protectors against the rising energy of Nationalism. Now that pretence also is at an end. The Government of India has indeed become as a house that is divided against itself. It will presently make the discovery that its force is founded not on Councils and Assembly but on the readiness of the people to co-operate in their undoing, and to buttress up a system that is ultimately founded in coercion.

Let there be no doubt in that regard. It is not Government or Parliament that is forced but it is India. For the Viceroy to complain that the Legislators or the public here are attempting to do the coercion is pure absurdity. It will be time enough to complain of India's perversity after England learns to loosen her strangle-hold. The Viceroy's attempt is as disingenuous as the attempt of the wolf in the fable that sought to find moral justification for swallowing up the lamb.

Save Your Cotton

It is not economical or practical for the Indian National Congress to attempt to stock cotton, purchasing it from cotton merchants to distribute it among the same farmers from whom it came, so that their women may spin. Why should the cotton go all the way from the farmers to our stores only to do the journey back to the cottages from where they originally came? Even if it were not so, the centralisation involved in stocking and distributing cotton would be wasteful. It would not even be practicable in any adequate measure if we remember the area we seek to cover.

In those places where there are a considerable number of spinners who have no cotton fields of their own, steps may be taken to keep sufficient quantities of cotton and make it available to the spinners. Even these should as far as possible be induced to buy their own cotton. Decentralisation should be our aim in every particular. While stocking of cotton may be done by us in some places, our general policy should be to get the farmers to stock their own cotton. We should remember the limitations of men and money under which we work, and use our resources to the best advantage.

All the growers of cotton can also be said are even now the bulk of our spinners. If our resources are first and mainly employed to popularise the charkha among the families that grow cotton—and there is a vast and fruitful field to cover this way—we shall have automatically solved the question of stocking and distributing cotton.

It would be an impossible task to run the industry of hand-spinning on the plan of a single industrial company with an enormous capital working a monopoly

throughout the country. The operations involved in working out such a plan would be too gigantic for us to cope with. The beauty and the very advantage of hand-spinning and hand-weaving are that the operations of running the industry can be so spread out and distributed that we do not need huge centralised capital or organisation. If we only induce the farmers to keep an adequate quantity of cotton unsold, we shall have automatically stocked enough cotton for the needs of our spinners, and also efficiently distributed it at the same time without losing a single tola of cotton in the process. We shall have done it without paying a single rupee to the middleman or to the clerk or accountant or for insurance.

In order to get this done a vigorous programme of education should be undertaken among the ryots growing cotton. In addition to this, assurances should be given and steps taken to ensure that all the yarn spun is taken up as easily as raw cotton is now sold. Instead of buying and stocking cotton, we would be nearer our ideal if we buy and stock good yarn. For this purpose the resources of all Congress Committees should be employed and further developed. If and when we have made progress in converting the lakhs of hand-looms that are now so busy with foreign yarn to the weaving of hand-spun yarn, the stocking of yarn will also become unnecessary. Our aim should in fact be to make hand-spinning a national custom working by itself from below, rather than a huge industry worked up from the top.

All Provincial Congress Committees and their Khairdar Boards should take very early steps to bring the following appeal of the all-India Khadi Board to the notice of all cultivators of cotton:

"The Board appeals to every grower of cotton to stock a sufficient quantity of cotton at least for the use of his own family and requests every Congress Committee to take vigorous steps before the next cotton season is over to educate cultivators in this idea."

The propaganda for this purpose should in view of the cotton season be undertaken as promptly as possible. The form of propaganda should be such as to reach and appeal to the farmers in their hamlets. Advantage should be taken of the weekly markets where practically all the farmers meet once in seven days. Meetings, songs and Bhajana processions may be organised at these markets to bring home to the farmers the duty of stocking their own cotton for spinning throughout the coming year. Other methods of propaganda should be devised such as may specially suit local conditions. No time should be lost.

C. R.

Wanted

Agents for Young India in all the principal places of India. Full particulars about terms can be had on application from.

Manager, Young India
Ahmedabad

The Message to the Country

The following letter was addressed by Mahatmaji to Maulana Mahomed Ali, in his capacity as President of the Indian National Congress:—

Sassoon Hospital,
Poona, 7th February, 1924.

My dear friend and brother,

I send you as President of the Congress a few words which I know our countrymen expect from me on my sudden release. I am sorry that the Government have prematurely released me on account of my illness. Such a release can bring me no joy for I hold that the illness of a prisoner affords no ground for his release.

I would be guilty of ungratefulness if I did not tell you and through you the whole public that both the gaol and the hospital authorities have been all attention during my illness. Col. Murray, the Superintendent of the Yeravda Prison, as soon as he suspected that my illness was at all serious, invited Col Maddock to assist him and I am sure that the promptest measures were taken by him to secure for me the best treatment possible. I could not have been removed to the David and Jacob Sassoon Hospitals a moment earlier. Col. Maddock and his staff have treated me with the utmost attention and kindness. I may not omit the nurses who have surrounded me with sisterly care. Though it is now open to me to leave this hospital, knowing that I can get no better treatment anywhere else, with Col Maddock's kind permission, I have decided to remain under his care till the wound is healed and no further medical treatment is necessary.

The public will easily understand that for sometime to come I shall be quite unfit for active work and those who are interested in my speedy return to active life will hasten it by postponing their natural desire to see me. I am unfit and shall be so for some weeks perhaps to see a number of visitors. I shall better appreciate the affection of friends if they will devote greater time and attention to such national work as they may be engaged in and especially to hand-spinning.

My release has brought me no relief. Whereas before release I was free from responsibility save that of conforming to gaol discipline and trying to qualify myself for more efficient service, I am now overwhelmed with a sense of responsibility I am ill-fitted to discharge. Telegrams of congratulations have been pouring in upon me. They have but added to the many proofs I have received of the affection of our countrymen for me. It naturally pleases and comforts me. Many telegrams however betray hopes of results from my service which stagger me. The thought of my utter incapacity to cope with the work before me humbles my pride.

Though I know very little of the present situation in the country I know sufficient to enable me to see that perplexing as the national problems were at the time of the Bardoli resolutions they are far more perplexing to-day. It is clear that without unity between Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians and other Indians all talk of Swaraj is idle. This unity which I fondly believed in 1922 had been nearly achieved

has so far as Hindus and Mussalmans are concerned, I observe, suffered a severe check. Mutual trust has given place to distrust. An indissoluble bond between the various communities must be established if we are to win freedom. Will the thanksgiving of the nation over my release be turned into a solid unity between the communities? That will restore me to health far quicker than any medical treatment or rest cure. When I heard in the gaol of the tension between Hindus and Mussalmans in certain places my heart sank within me. The rest I am advised to have will be no rest with the burden of disunion preying upon me. I ask all those who cherish love towards me to utilise it in furtherance of the union we all desire. I know that the task is difficult. But nothing is difficult if we have a living faith in God. Let us realise our own weakness and approach Him and He will surely help. It is weakness which breeds fear and fear breeds distrust. Let us both shed our fear, but I know that even if one of us will cease to fear we shall cease to quarrel. Nay, I say that your tenure of office will be judged solely by what you can do in the cause of union. I know that we love each other as brothers. I ask you, therefore, to share my anxiety and help me to go through the period of illness with a lighter heart.

If we could but visualise the growing pauperism of the land and realise that the spinning wheel is the only remedy for the disease, the wheel will leave us little leisure for fighting. I had during the last two years ample time and solitude for hard thinking. It made me a firmer believer than ever in the efficacy of the Bardoli programme and therefore in the unity between the races, the charkha, the removal of untouchability and the application of non-violence in thought, word and deed to our methods as indispensable for Swaraj. If we faithfully and fully carry out this programme we need never resort to civil disobedience and I should hope that it will never be necessary. But I must state that my thinking prayerfully and in solitude has not weakened my belief in the efficiency and righteousness of civil disobedience. I hold it, as never before, to be a man's or a nation's right and duty when its vital being is in jeopardy. I am convinced that it is attended with less danger than war and whilst the former when successful benefits both the resister and the wrongdoer the latter harms both the victor and the vanquished.

You will not expect me to express any opinion on the vexed question of return by Congressmen to the Legislative Councils and Assembly. Though I have not in any way altered my opinion about the boycott of Councils, Law Courts and Government Schools I have no data for coming to a judgment upon the alterations made at Delhi and I do not propose to express any opinion until I have had the opportunity of discussing the question with our illustrious countrymen who have felt called upon in the interest of the country to advise removal of the boycott of legislative bodies.

In conclusion may I, through you, thank all the very numerous senders of congratulatory messages. It is not possible for me personally to acknowledge each message. It has gladdened my heart to see among the messages many from our Moderate friends. I have, and non-co-operators can have, no quarrel with them. They too are well-wishers

of their country and serve to the best of their lights. If we consider them to be in the wrong, we can hope to win them over only by friendliness and patient reasoning, never by abusing. Indeed we want to regard Englishmen too as our friends and not misunderstand them by treating them as our enemies. And if we are to-day engaged in a struggle against the British Government it is against the system for which it stands and not against Englishmen who are administering the system. I know that many of us have failed to understand and always bear in mind the distinction and in so far as we have failed we have harmed our cause.

I am,
Your sincere friend and brother,
M. K. Gandhi

(Notes continued from page 55)

the Indian Nationalists half-way. If we may say so, there is nothing new or even decently original in it. That is what Lord Morley did; that is what Mr. Montagu did. But there was difference in the language; Lord Morley talked about the rallying of the Moderates and Mr. Montagu had the satisfaction of finding a new name for the Moderates of Lord Morley's rallying:— he converted them into Liberals. But let us be sure that the threatened revival of the old policy, under the cloak of novel language is not going to serve the Labour Party any better than it did the Liberals. Colonel Wedgwood will have to make up his mind to meet the Nationalists not half-way or three-quarters of the way, but to go the whole length. What that whole way means no one can say to-day; but the thing of moment is that when India says finally what that is, it will in reality be the final word and it will not be open to Colonel Wedgwood or the Labour Party or the British Government to alter it by a single line. India's decision will not be taken rashly; but she has the right to take a rash decision if she is so minded. India will most probably be greatly influenced by the advice of the Secretary of State and of the statesmen, officials and soldiers that form the Government of India; but India reserves the right to frame the future Constitution of her Executive and Legislature without any heed to such advice. India will probably retain in her service several of the Europeans that are now administering the country with ability and faithfulness; but she has the right to dismiss every one of them and fill the Public Services with her own men or experts from all the nations of the world. India will probably maintain in her armies the present European soldiers and proceed to Indianise her forces according to her sense of national needs; but she will retain the right to say that she does not need one of them for a moment longer. That is what Indian Nationalism means and the clearer it is understood the better. The language about meeting Nationalism half-way has no notion of reality or substance. It will be a clear agreement between India and England that will meet the needs of the case; and we are confident that agreement will be secured. But if by any chance, agreement becomes impossible it will be for Indian Nationalism to meet Britain half-way. If the fundamental sovereign national right is recognized,

we are confident that India will be prepared to go the half-way herself, and if need be more than that. The mood of India to-day is not bitter; the great wave of national strengthening and purification that has come over us has wrought that end of healing. If only Great Britain will repent and come into a Conference with clean hands in the matter of the Punjab and the Khilafat, India will startle her by the surpassing generosity of her dealings. But the tragedy and the possibility of tragedy lie in this. The mood built up by the national effort of self-cleansing may not last for ever or even for long; and there are signs that we may once more be swept into the storm of anger and unforgiveness. To-day, rational trust is in the hands of one who is strong enough to forgive the past and to grant the largest possible accommodation to Britain. The fair chance may be missed. What fruit of bitterness the morrow may bring forth, none can prophesy.

* * *

The main lines of policy that Government intends to follow, or intended to follow as long the Tories were in power, are now made clear with no attempt at pretence. The basis of it is the isolation of the extremists in Council and country on religious grounds. The assumption is made that it is the Hindus that form the genuine Left in the country and that the Mussalmans are more malleable stuff. It is in the light of this policy that understanding must be sought of the uniformity with which Moslems have been made Ministers in the different Provinces. The attempt is bound to defeat itself, being founded on a misapprehension of the facts. The truth is that the body of Muslim political opinion is still as nationalist as ever. But it does not mean that there are no Mussalmans who are not ready to take office if invited to do so. For the matter of that, we are certain that there are Hindus also who are prepared to do exactly the same thing, if offered the chance, so that it does not mean anything much. We must seek for the essence of the matter, which is no more than this. Political opinion amongst Moslems is a comparatively new thing and there are living and working amongst us, the men who created it, and gave it the particular shade of meaning that it bears. There may be temporary aberrations, but the main current is under their control. The energy, patriotism and genius which enabled them to create it are sufficient to keep it alive. There are four or five names that count; the Ali Brothers, Hakim Ajmal-khan, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Jinnah. They are still available for the big and undoubted service, and we shall be content with them. The particular emphasis laid by the Anglo-Indian Press on the supposed treasonableness and pro-Afghan sympathies of the Ali Brothers is nothing new in essence; only it is made to serve still a new end. The meaning of their work is becoming visible to friend and foe alike. We may be sure that more will be heard of the need for their heads on a charger. There is always method in the madness of the European Press in India. What a paper in South India says to-day will presently find its echo elsewhere. What Government will do is puzzling to prophesy. It will be idle to say that any such operation as is suggested will not have considerable effect. But it is

really unavoidable and will not finally count, provided we are true. For the time being we may console ourselves that the work is going well forward.

* * *

The Bengal Council was opened by Lord Lytton with a speech in which he defended the operations of his Government under Regulation III of 1818. Much as we are opposed to revolutionary crime, we confess we must despair of the intellectual competence of Government, if this is the utmost in the way of practical statesmanship that it can yield. There is not an argument in it which will not justify any species of political repression extending to Tsarism. His Excellency distinguished between 'ordinary' crime and 'revolutionary' crime. He ridiculed the idea of combating the latter by judicial proceedings. As Governor, he claimed the right to say that certain folk were revolutionaries and to deny them the benefit of judicial protection. We respectfully suggest that the argument adopted by the Governor takes you to dangerous ground. If the police are given liberty to imprison people because their politics are suspicious without bringing them up before a more or less impartial tribunal, what you do is to declare war on them. It is only pure considerateness on your part that you do not hang them out of hand. But once you declare war and begin to administer a species of martial law against revolutionaries you give them absolute right to pursue the methods of war themselves. They do not find it convenient to keep obnoxious officials in prison; they proceed to shoot and kill. We want revolutionary crime to be put down, if only for the selfish reason that we want a clear field for our great experiment in non-violence. Here are the two protagonists of force, Government and revolutionaries going madly about and destroying every chance of right development for quiet peace-loving citizens. There are only two ways of preventing it. The first is by the Government's playing a clean and above-board game and bringing every suspect to trial. We grant that some of them might get away. We grant also that a few more lives may be lost. But that is a braver and more honourable thing to do and the fruit of it will be that public opinion will be clearly and unambiguously against the misguided young men. To-day, there is a good deal of sympathy in favour of the internees and the vote in the Bengal Legislative Council is evidence thereof. It would be the part of wise government to isolate offenders from public sympathy. So much as to what Government should do. But we are not at all satisfied that it is the last word of wisdom. We believe that the path of escape lies elsewhere. Clean non-violent politics must be rebuilt on secure foundations. Non-co-operation should be given its chance again. We do not wish to revive ancient quarrels; but we must by a resolute effort go back to the quickening, purifying springs. When power went out of our policy, the men of power also departed. They took to violence, because there was no strength in us. Let us pray for power and energy and do works meet for that end. Otherwise, we shall never escape from the perpetual circle of inefficiency and violence.

* * *

India is afflicted with a surfeit of speeches. She is also assured that she is witnessing the portent of an acute political 'crisis.' To confess the truth, judged by old standards, the evidence of crisis is certainly there. The Bengal Legislative Council has beaten Government in a series of divisions. Though the resolutions were many, the substantial question was one. The debates related to the revolutionary movement. Mr. Das represented the familiar position that there was only one way of combating anarchists, namely to remove the causes that led to the evolution of conspiracies, the Government holding to the equally familiar doctrine that the suppression of revolutionary violence was a duty cast on all governments and that even a bureaucratic government like the present had no absolution from it. The difficulties of the Government of the Central Provinces are still unsolved and no one is clear as to the manner of getting out of them. Barring the administration in the United Provinces and Bihar, all the local governments are in the middle of one difficulty or another. The Punjab is still witnessing the Akali struggle; Bombay is barely out of the Borsad affair; Madras is raining censure motions and has in addition the pretty threat of a no-tax campaign. A certain peculiarity is however noticeable; wherever constitutionalism is attempted to be worked out to the distraction of Government, it is the Constitutionalists that are on the defensive. In Bengal for instance, the successive defeats of Government in the Council has not stirred it to action; it is the majority in the Council that seems to be at loose ends, not being certain as to what to do next. The stolid stonewall policy of the officials is, at least for the moment, triumphant in practical action. It is quite conceivable that there may be other cards up the sleeves of the Swarajists; a Party that contains Mr. Das and Mr. V. J. Patel may be trusted not to fall in constitutional resourcefulness. For the time being, however, it is Government that has the whip hand. On the contrary, wherever direct action was tried Government was put on its defensive. In Borsad, in the Punjab, in Tanjore, it is the bureaucracy that has to change its procedure to meet the crisis. The whole of the administration under Sir Edward Maclagan is preoccupied with the implications of the fight against the Sikhs. Sir Maurice Hayward had to rush to Gujarat for settling the small question of a punitive tax of 2 lakhs. The member of the Madras Government concerned with settlement operations is amongst the 'conspirators' who refuse to pay taxes, feeling about for a solution of the problem. Just in this very matter, it is noteworthy that Government had acted in defiance of a Resolution of the Legislature; but there was neither strength nor method by which it was possible for the Council to impose its will on the Government or to get its decision respected. As soon, however, as the common tax-payers made it clear that they were in no easy mood of submissiveness, that gesture had in it more of power than the solemn judgment of their representatives and the representatives of the whole Presidency. All this has its moral for him that hath eyes to see and the heart of true understanding. Our politicians may be folk hard to persuade; but we venture to think that the lesson and its meaning will not be lost on the rulers of the land.

So much about the situation in the Provinces and its meaning as far as we can judge of it. The position in the Central Legislature is altogether different. In Bengal and the Central Provinces, the problem is how to make a majority effective. In Delhi, the talk is to get a majority together. The Swarajists as a group number more than any other; but they count forty-five, which is however a minority in a House counting one hundred and forty three. The next largest coming under a definite label are the Independents; they count twenty nine. One should have imagined that a group whose members insist on calling themselves Independents and refuse to identify themselves with any definite set of political opinions are in reality no group at all. But we are given to understand that they do represent a clear shade of opinion. They are not so extreme as the Swarajists; they do not subscribe to the doctrine of uniform, continuous obstruction. On the other hand, they are not so satisfied with the existing constitution and its working as the Liberals, the third group of eighteen are. Liberal opinion is that obstruction may be justified on occasion; but if the result of obstruction in any particular case will have the consequence of imperilling the constitution, it is an evil thing. In this respect the Independents occupy a middle position. They have their grievances against the Constitution and would really like to see the end of it if there is a reasonable assurance that the scrapping of 'Reforms' will not be followed by reversion to the form as well as the reality of bureaucratic rule. The inner meaning of the conflict in Delhi is thus clear. Liberals are not loved by either Swarajists or Independents. The only question is as to who will say the determining word in the inevitable alliance of the Independents and Swarajists. We say the alliance is inevitable because the two groups standing by themselves will be beaten in detail by the combination of officials, Liberals, Loyalists and nominees. Combined, they will really control the majority in the Assembly. Our impression is that since it is only a question of asking, the wiser and more expedient thing will be for the Independents to join the Swarajists in their programme, because it is the biggest thing going. There is a special infirmity in Indian politics with electoral consequences. As far asking is concerned in the development of national institutions, Indian politicians want the really big thing. For the time being, we need not concern ourselves with the parallel infirmity of our readiness to accept the smallest thing that may be offered with the suggestion that it is the utmost that Government is in the mood to concede. Both the asking and the accepting are the fruit of a common defect—lack of decision and serious purpose. The removal of the defect is a high national duty and had best be left to the reformers who call themselves constructionists. The Swarajists and Independents are proud of the fact that they are not reformers but only politicians. They are therefore entitled to exploit the weakness of Government in the service of the need for national freedom. The nation may be weak and unworthy; but the feebleness is more than matched by the wickedness and crookedness of its rulers. But this is all by the way. The present problem before Swarajists and Independents is how best to avoid being overwhelmed with disaster.

True Ruler of India

Young India

A Weekly Journal

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Notes

The Message of the Prime Minister to India is still the subject of much discussion. Fully enough, there is general disposition to think that the threat in it is directed towards the Swarajists. We venture to think that it is a profound mistake. For here is the Message itself.

"I watch sometimes with no little anxiety, the progress of affairs in India. During all my political life, I have anchored myself firmly upon the conviction that progress is to be well rooted it can only be carried on by political or constitutional ways. We have seen in our own generation all sorts of revolutionary movements which seemed to be successful and which have broken contact with the past, but in the end, after much physical suffering and creation of evil tempers and vicious spirit, had to return to pick up the contacts that had been broken and apply the very principles they had rejected.

I can see no hope if India becomes an arena of struggle between constitutionalism and revolution. No party in Britain will be cowed by threats of force or of policies designed to bring Government to a stand-still; and if any Indian sections are under the delusion that it is not so, events will sadly disappoint them. I urge upon all Indians to come near to us rather than stand apart from us, to get at our reason and goodwill.

I deplore the evidence of a backward split in some sections in Britain but let none misread causes and effects. When appeal is made to revolutionary methods, whether these methods be passive or active force, reaction towards the opposite extreme is bound to come and men and parties of the most sincere goodwill hustled off the stage, whilst the two forms of reaction, that of the right and the left, kick and tear and swear against each other until the failure of both has been demonstrated.

The approach and goodwill should be mutual. My appeal, therefore, is not only to Indians, but to the British constituencies as well."

Is not the threat in it clear enough? Mr. Macdonald restates the old contrast familiar to every publicist, that between constitutionalism and direct action, between Parliamentarianism and revolution. Whoever is acquainted with the history of Mr. Macdonald's thought and action as a politician knows that he could have said nothing else. He wants India to go back to constitutionalism and abandon the

ways of direct action. There is nothing unintelligible or even objectionable in it. But it is pure confusion to imagine that he is therefore opposed to the methods favoured by the Swarajists. Far from his being opposed to it, he will be the first to welcome it. But we think we can explain the confusion in current discussion, confusion, which the Viceroy is taking advantage of for the purposes of his own Government. There are two revolutionary parties in India and no third. The first is that of force, the group that is working in Bengal and might have affiliations elsewhere. Mr. Macdonald's warning is certainly addressed to them. Then there are the Non-Co-operators, the Gandhian section, the boycotters of elections, those who seek to paralyse Government by direct non-Parliamentary action. The Prime Minister's warning is addressed to them also. But the Swarajists are Parliamentarians, only their Parliamentarianism happens to be of a very narrow sort, the kind that believes in perpetual obstruction. We do not see in what sense they are not constitutionalists or how a constitutionalist can say that there is anything objectionable in it. In fact, when the Congress re-affirmed Non-Co-operation in Nagpur it was against the opinion of the Labour representatives. Labour had throughout advised India to contest the elections and to try Parliamentarianism. Its grievance against us has been that we were not constitutional enough. There is one additional fact to be noted. Observe the way England has understood Indian politics. The definite Indian experiment was the method of non-political direct action which we all know and which the whole world knows. Mr. Macdonald is a man of several interests and it is wild to suppose that he has been in close touch with all the developments of our politics. To an English statesman, all that counts is whether progress is sought to be achieved through the Councils or not. If it is through the Councils, it will be within the scheme contemplated by the Government of India Act and therefore well. If it is in disregard of the Councils it will be direct action, to be discouraged, and if possible put down with a strong hand. Reuter in cabling out its report of the Cocomana compromise understood it in exactly the way we suggest. The following is extracted from the *Daily Herald* of January 2:

"Mr. Das after his triumph in the Bengal elections has secured another victory in the Indian National Congress at Cocomana. There the first big issue has been a trial of strength between his policy of entering the Councils in order to force Home Rule by obstruction and the Gandhi-ite policy of boycotting the Councils altogether. On

Monday the Congress by a vote of 703 votes to 413 supported Mr. Das's policy by affirming 'Non-Co-operation', but permitting members of the Congress to enter the Legislatures'.

The Prime Minister's Message was issued on January 20 and it is unlikely that there was anything more than Reuter's report for the facts here. All that he meant therefore was that direct action must be repudiated; but it is useless to contend that Mr. Das's policy is that of direct action or that the Message contained more in meaning than the words say.

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We discussed last week what we regard as the most vital content of the Viceroy's speech. In this place, we shall say a few words about secondary features. Dealing with the Swaraj Party in the Assembly, His Excellency used the following language:

"There is a new spirit in India, if I am to credit all I read, which is bent upon the destruction of the Reforms unless it immediately attains that which it is impossible for any British Government to grant forthwith, that is, complete Dominion Self-Government."

This is a clever phrase which professes to say a good deal without saying anything in particular. The illusion of reality arises from the erroneous assertion that there is a spirit which asks for immediate Dominion Self-Government. Whatever may be said about the 'spirit', there is no party which has said anything half so foolish. If it is the Non-Co-operators out of whose loins Swarajism came forth who were in His Excellency's mind, we may assure him that he was completely mistaken. Non-Co-operation was decreed by the Congress not for the sake of Dominion Self-Government, but for Swaraj. There were two specific wrongs to be righted by the Government which it was in its power to do. If it had but the will and the heart of repentance: the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs. Once those wrongs were removed it would be possible for Government and people to co-operate in the task of evolving a constitution for the future administration of India which would make it impossible for such offences to be repeated. It will be for that Conference to say what the Government of India should be. It may be Dominion Self-Government or it may be a Republic. It will have the theoretic liberty to ask for either of these things. But if according to our anticipation, responsible men and women take part in the Conference, they will probably dismiss the notion that the British Government will 'grant Dominion Self-Government forthwith.' They would more probably say that the phrase Dominion Self-Government has no meaning as applied to Indian conditions, that our problem was much more complex, that it called for delicate solution, and that the Indian Constitution will be an unprecedented fabric designed to meet the needs of a unique development and history. It is impossible to anticipate it to-day; but it is likely to be a much more complicated structure than His Excellency foresees. But simple or complex, there is a fundamental postulate with which we have to start. The British Parliament of which Lord Reading speaks in a sed fashion will have to make up its mind to accept the findings of this Conference and be prepared

to take adequate action, Parliamentary or Executive, to convert those opinions into the reality of an Instrument of Government. It may be like the Irish Convention set up by Mr. Lloyd George during the war. We fail to see why Government should refuse to accept the solution provided. Indeed honest intent goes with it. There will be the representatives of the Indian Government in it; members of the Indian Civil Service; great Indian administrators. Representing the Congress, there will be others, men brought up in a different tradition indeed, but as anxious as any of those already mentioned that the future of India may be secure, that there may be peaceful and orderly government in the land. Does His Excellency suggest that the leaders of the Congress have not as deep an anxiety for peace and security as say His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief? Judged on the same ground, does anybody say that the considered opinion of Lord Rawlinson will not be regarded with the greatest weight? We say, therefore, with all respect that the Viceroy has really set up a false phantom and has wasted time fighting it. It would have been much more to the point, if he had put the right question to himself and answered it. It is an old dialectical device to put up false controversial points and then solemnly knocking them over.

• •

Take the other fallacy; the same that is at the root of Mr. Macdonald's Message. Lord Reading's words are these:

"Nevertheless I gather that there is a disposition in some quarters to believe that the hands of the British Parliament can be forced and that a situation may be created which may impair the Reforms and thus cause Parliament to act contrary to their desire and better judgment. It may appear easy to impair and even to destroy and to recreate. Doubtless destruction is always easier than construction. Violent revolutions have destroyed the institutions of nations. Neglect and apathy in other cases have induced their decay and extinction, but I beg you to remember that when influences of this nature have been set in motion, restoration and reconstruction become infinitely more difficult and sometimes impossible. These influences make no appeal to the British people and the British Parliament would emphatically repudiate and reject them. Rather rest the real hopes of the consummation of India's desires in the promises already made and in the intentions already manifested and to be manifested by the great champion of liberties, the British Parliament. As a devoted friend of India I am convinced that action based on reason and justice will alone prevail with the British people and will prove the only safe road to the ultimate goal to be attained."

The meaning of it is that British statesmen listen to reason and only to reason. We are astounded at this assertion. Far from this being the case, we are fairly confident that just the converse is the truth. British statesmen have never yet in their long history listened to the demands of justice; they have always surrendered to force or the prospect of paralysis. Canada got freedom because it rebelled and there was

the memory of the American War of Independence; in Ireland the English Cabinet surrendered after three years of violently waged war; in Kenya, the surrender was brought about because of the threat of rebellion; what are we to think of a Viceroy who talks such bad history and false history? But it may be charitable to assume that he is ignorant of history. Let him then consider the history of Indian Government in his own line. His Government and the Government of his subordinates have made three capital surrenders: Guru-ka-bagh, Nagpur and Borsad. Surely, in these there was no true persuasion, no genuine triumph of justice, as statesmen understand the word. There was strength and a vast unreason, the unreason that transcending verbal persuasion expressed itself in action, of the kind of which Viceroys and Governors instinctively and loyally disapprove. You may be angry; but in the long run it leads to surrender. To pretend that the practical results are any other is dishonest.

The True Ruler of India*

(By O. F. Andrews)

On my arrival from England, I was quite shocked when I saw the emaciated form of Mahatma Gandhi in the Session Hospital at Poona. Those who have been with him however informed me that I should have been far more greatly shocked if I had seen his condition only a few days before. At once I felt the truth of Rabindra Nath Tagore's words, that each day he was kept a prisoner was a day of humiliation for the rulers of the country. No order had yet come for his release and the Viceroy's speech contained no hint of it. To me it had seemed almost incredible, that Christmas Day had passed, the day of peace and good-will, without such a simple and natural act of peace and good-will being done.

Now at last, as I write, the news has come. The release has been announced. Although its lateness detracts somewhat from its value, yet if it brings with it any change of heart in the rulers, it is welcome. The future alone will show.

Those who were near the sufferer in the hospital had many things to tell me about the kindness he had received. The Civil Surgeon's goodness, which had been so full of courage and skill, the nurses' tender care, the utter absence of all official restraint, —these represented a different gesture from the repression of former days. They had prepared the way for the final act of release.

It has been Mahatma Gandhi's supreme faith that there is a nobler element in man that may be won over by love. For this reason, he began his Non-co-operation movement, not in bitterness but in love. For this reason, he spoke with the frankness of true love to the judge who condemned him to prison. For this reason, he wrote in the columns of *Young India* again and again explaining to the rulers the object which he had in view, so that there might be no possible misunderstanding. But, in spite of it all, it

was nothing less than a tragedy in England to find how he had been misunderstood.

If the question is asked, what is the sum and substance of the charge which Mahatma Gandhi laid against the British Government in India, it may be summed up in a single phrase. He charged them with the oppression of the poor. In the statement which he made at his trial, his condemnation of the British Raj was this: They had oppressed the poor. The hungry skeleton-like figures, which Mahatma Gandhi had seen in Orissa and elsewhere, had haunted his mind till he could never forget them, by night or by day. He went so far as to offer to co-operate again, if the British rulers would join with him in a campaign to destroy the drink and drug traffic and to build up the industrial village-life by the encouragement of *Khaddar*. But such simple work of lowly service was beyond the ken of the present rulers. They must do their work in their own patronising way or not at all. The gorgeous magnificence of an Imperial Delhi obsessed their minds. They neglected to take note of the plain fact that all this magnificence would only be an added burden to the poor. They spent fabulous sums upon it, until the treasury was empty, and then doubled the burden of the salt tax in order to prevent a deficit. The crores of rupees spent on building a New Delhi over the ruins of old Delhi could not be sacrificed. The one necessary of life to the many millions of half-starving people must be taxed instead.

There is a weakness due to long ages of subjection which has invaded the mind of India itself and supports this vulgar craving for a display of pomp and power such as New Delhi affords. Mahatma Gandhi has called it a 'slave mentality'. It may be seen in our own day in the gaping crowds that frequent the race courses, whenever they are patronised by Viceroys and Governors in state procession. Extravagant durbars, royal visits, imperial pageants, British Empire Exhibitions, all draining away the wealth of the country, have become more frequent of late in order to captivate the waning attention of the common people. But the spiritual mind of India is not captivated by things so tawdry as these. Rather it pays silent homage to this one tried sufferer in the hospital at Poona, who has looked into the face of death without fear. For there is a ruler of India here, in this hospital, Mahatma Gandhi, whose sway is greater than all Imperial power. His name will be remembered and sung by the village people long after the names of the modern governors in their palaces at New Delhi are forgotten. When all the buildings of Raisina have crumbled into ruins, such as those around the Kutub Minar and Taghiakabad, the name of Mahatma Gandhi will still be taught by mothers to their little children as one of the greatest of India's saints and saviours.

For there is a spiritual palace which Mahatma Gandhi has built up out of an eternal fabric. Its foundations are deeply and truly laid in the Kingdom of God. No oppression of the poor has gone to build it. Love and devotion and service to the poor are its golden decorations. No military pomp reigns within its borders, but only the peaceful harmony of human souls. No race or colour distinctions have any place

* This was written by Mr. Andrews, before he left Poona, but was crowded out last week.

In it. No clash of religious controversy mars its silence. Its empire is the heart.

Difficult indeed it is for me to snatch myself away from this hospital room with its patient, now that once the vision has been seen,—the *darshan* for which I have waited so long in my journey across the sea. I came to the hospital at Poona with the expectation of going afterwards to Delhi. But the spirit within me has leapt up in revolt, as though it were impossible now to make any such proposal. For, here I have seen a vision which makes all thoughts of doing anything political at Delhi fade away. It might have been possible to have gone to Delhi, if I had not visited this hospital. But to go now, after this, would be almost like—I hardly know how to put it—a sacrilege. I could journey to Sabarmati Ashram; I could go to Shantiniketan; but not into the midst of the tumult of politics at Delhi. Let me keep pure the vision which God has given me. For when such a gift has come, there is nothing else in life except to hold it fast.

Young India

21-2-24

The Khadi Board in Bullock Carts

(1)

I have been going about with the Khadi Board in Karnatak. The romance and joy of it and the prospects are truly wonderful. I wish I had the vivid pen to write for readers of *Young India* so that they might see all that we saw and hear all that we heard. The small and shattered frame in which I am encased is too weak to do the journeys, to speak at meetings, to talk to the men and women, and also to write the history of our experiences. The spirit is only too willing but the flesh is weak. We regretted much we had not a camera with us. There were so many beautiful scenes that we should have liked to preserve and show to others. We regretted most that there was none with us to record all that happened which would have been so instructive.

"Where are we going?" I asked.

"To villages, not far from here," said Mr. Dumbal and Mr. Deshpande both in one voice, as if to cheer me up.

"Are we going in these carts?" asked Mr. Shankerlal glancing apologetically at me for he felt I was not equal to the trial of an ox-cart journey.

"Yes" said I.

In fact I prefer bullock carts to bad motor-cars. So we jumped into the carts. The bullocks were fine animals, but there was no road. We were only going on a track or rather waterway, improved in some places with rough pavement which added to the vibrations of the spring-less ox-carts. There was a hillock in front of us with the ruins of a fine old fort on it. "What is that" I asked.

"That is Pachapur" said Mr. Gangadhar Rao, "where we are going to."

"So it is Badshapur" I said.

"Yes," said Mr. Gangadhar Rao, "Aurangzeb's son was here."

We crossed two rivulets and went up the steep track and reached the foot of the hill. The village was on the slopes. The fort itself had no houses. The carts stopped at the entrance of the village. It was tiresome for me to walk up the street and I thought we reached our goal when we came to the other end of the village.

"This is the weavers' village" said Mr. Dumbal. "We should go on now to Sigehalli one of the spinner's villages and on our way back we halt at Pachapur."

(II)

So we got on to the carts again and proceeded to Sigehalli. The journey was well worth the trouble. It was one of a group of villages which sent yarn every week to the Pachapur market, where the weavers bought them up for making Khadi. They weave Khadi on their own account, though under Congress supervision. We were in a temple where all the women had gathered to meet us. They had brought their wheels and slivers with them and spun before us. The wheels turned as they do under practised hands, like live things under affectionate mistresses. The wheels were carved and were black jungle-wood, not teak-wood, at once showing that they were survivals of the past glorious period when every housewife plied her wheel and distress was unknown. We fell to talking. I was commissioned to be the talker on behalf of the Board and Shankerlal took notes. But soon we forgot the official character of our business. A young Begayat lady who automatically took up the conversation was so bright, so quick and so straight in her answers that we thought we were in a benefit play staged in aid of the movement.

We complimented her on her wit and cleverness but this led an old lady in the company to intervene.

"Her husband is much cleverer" the old lady said. We could not guess the motive for this comparison. But we asked whether the man was there. He was immediately summoned by the old lady and we discussed affairs with him. Everything was settled as we wanted. The men and women promised to work up the Gandhi ideal, the villagers to get all their cloth women out of their own yarn.

The Karnatak wheels are bigger than the Tiruppur wheels. They measure 19" diameter, and the spindle is turned on a diameter less than quarter of an inch. The parts are beautifully simple and of cheap stuff. The axle is of wood and turns very smoothly. The wheel is heavy enough and the joining is good. They may not come up to the Ashram wheel but they suit the women very well. More than that, it costs them only a rupee to make a new wheel. The men bring the wood from the jungle, and the village carpenter wants only a rupee to make it.

"The charkhas were all lying in the attics these thirty years" said the old lady. During the last three years they have been taken down and are all moving now."

"Do you like it?" we asked.

"Oh! Don't we?" cried all of them.

They had all more money now as their own. They were independent of their men. They even helped

in defraying the family expenses. The status of women has gone up by a bound in these villages after Mahatmaji's message reached them.

The spinners in these villages are mostly Linguyats. They have their own fields and have their own cotton. And they sell the yarn in well-made "sheels" of standard length. Five of these "sheels" will make 8 yards of cloth 42" wide and four are enough for this same length 36" wide.

The village we saw had 25 houses and there were 20 charkhas plying. Another village consisted of 200 houses and had 100 wheels running. There were altogether 800 charkhas working in the villages and supplying yarn to the Pachapur weekly market. They ply all the year round except from January to March when the women are engaged in picking cotton. The women do the ginning on stone slabs rubbing the seeds out with an iron rod worked by their feet. They spin four to six hours a day making about ten tolas. The carding is done by the Finjaries in Pachapur at one anna per pound. The spinners themselves make their slivers.

"If we give a quarter seer of jucery they card better than usual" said Basuamma. How beautiful is the human touch in all this!

She said she made eight rupees a month from her own yarn.

"Do you like your wife to do this work" we asked her husband.

"Of course I do" he said. "I encourage my girls also to spin."

Even the men have now taken to spinning and there is a demand for more wheels which they will get made.

Many of the men wear Khadi made in their own village. But the sad part of it was that the women who spun did not wear Khadi sarees. Basuamma's had been bought in Belgaum, and was made of yarn from the Gokak mills. It cost her nine rupees and she buys two such sarees per year out of her own money made from the sale of her charkha yarn.

"Why don't you get your own yarn woven into sarees?"

"They won't make it for us" she replied sharply. "All the sarees on the looms in Pachapur are made for Brahmin ladies".

The Pachapur weaver who was present at once said he would do as many sarees for these spinners as they wanted.

"Then we can have no objection" she said. "We will have our own sarees woven and wear them".

A saree would take three rupees four annas worth of the spinner's own yarn, Rs. 1-15-0 for weaving charges, and Rs. 1-12-0 for dyeing. All the women declared that sarees made of their own yarn would be more durable than the ones they were wearing now, and they would even spin better if it was for their own cloth.

We took a solemn promise from all the men and women that they would get all the cloth needed for both men and women-folk woven at Pachapur out of their own yarn. They gave this pledge very cheerfully and the Pachapur weaver also promised to weave for them promptly and well.

(III)

We got into the carts again and reached Pachapur where there were 150 Mussalman and 25 Hindu weavers. There are about 60 khadi looms in this village. One Mussalman master-weaver had thirty looms working under him. He buys yarn worth more than thousand rupees every month. Weaving charges for 36" width including sizing and warping and dyeing charges were Rs. 1-6-0 for a piece of 8 yards. And a man is able to weave 8 yards per day though more time and work was taken up in warping and sizing khadi yarn. He works with a capital of Rs. 3,000. He had borrowed Rs. 500 from the Congress Committee but he has returned it. Ten of his looms weave 50" width. He makes about 300 pieces in the month, of which he is able to sell 50 to 60 pieces locally. He sells to the Congress Committee 36" width at Rs. 4 a piece of 8 yards. He said he was making a net profit only of 2 to 3 annas a piece. He has no establishment and does all the supervision besides weaving himself. Formerly he was weaving mill yarn. Now for the last two years he weaves only khadi.

All the khadi weavers in Pachapur put on khadi; but of the woman-folk only a fraction. The weavers of Pachapur confirmed the pledges obtained at Sigehalli. We reached Belgaum late in the evening but it was a good day's work.

We went to Dharwar, Hubli, Gadag and Bagalkot and visited some more villages from these places. Karnatak is really a veritable gold mine in khadi and village self-sufficiency. Honest and diligent work for but a few months can bring about beautiful results.

(IV)

At Tulsigiri, seven miles from Bagalkot, a venerable old lady was spokesman for the spinners that gathered. Of course she was not so bright and quick as the young lady of Sigehalli but she was one of those rare women that never stopped plying her charkha, even when India gave up hand-spinning.

"I give my yarn to the Dasa (Panchama) weaver and have cloth woven. He does not know to make sarees, but I get all the men's clothes for our family done this way."

There were two of these "untouchable" men weaving khadi in this village. They had never given up weaving handspun, or taken to foreign or mill yarn. The wonderful uniting force of khadi work was seen at once when we called one of the untouchable weavers up and made him sit on the same carpet with us all, and not one of the company objected or was even disturbed by it.

"Why don't you set up another loom, so that you may easily weave khadi for all the people of the village out of their own yarn?"

He said he had a debt of fifty rupees to the sowcar. The cultivators of Tulsigiri solemnly promised, all of them, to store enough of their best cotton to spin, and get their clothes for men and women woven either by their own village weavers or in the neighbouring village at Kaladgi. "We will meet together," they said, "and raise funds to pay up the Dasa's debt and have him set up another loom."

What a great field for work and service is there in every village, if only men came forward!

"In a fight," said Mahatma truly the other day at Poona in his sick-bed, "ever one can join and do his bit. But in constructive work we can only have the best men, and few will come forward."

We went on to Kajidont, eighteen miles from Bagalkot. It was a village of Reddies and Kurubars mostly. There were about 300 houses, and a hundred wheels were working besides twenty "sirkis" for spinning wool for blankets. Here too there were two "untouchables" who kept their looms going for hand-spun yarn. We saw beautiful yarn in this village. One young lady sat with her sister made Rs. 150 by sale of her yarn during year; and she worked at her wheel four hours a day from noon when she had leisure after attending to her family which consisted of a son and three little girls besides herself and her husband. She proudly told us that she paid the Government assessment on the family lands out of her yarn money. She too complained that the Khadi weavers do not make sarees. But when it was promised she agreed to get her own saree woven at once out of her own yarn. Mr. Birlaumwala was so impressed by it all, that he offered a prize to the first lady in the village who will get her saree made of her own yarn. Of course the young Reddy lady will carry away the prize.

V

At Gadag we had very good meetings one of women, and another men's meeting. We told them what they should do while Bapu was in his sick-bed. But I do not intend writing about the meetings. I wish to tell the reader about a few men that we met there. Haji Lal Saheb, a fine old Mussalman gentleman has looms and a bigish family. He had ten looms weaving the usual foreign and mill yarn. But he gave it up since the movement. Ever since then he has four looms only and all the members of his family work at them. Only hand-spun yarn is used. He was a picture of happiness. All the clothes on his person were made of Khadi woven on his own loom, the turban on his head was of beautiful fine yarn and texture.

Rayapp Bulla, a Ligayat cotton merchant, weaves himself and gets his yarn woven by Haji Saheb. He too had on his person all self-made clothes, and some of the stuff was splendid. Not that he had nothing else to do. He turned over Rs. 8000 in his cotton business and made Rs. 500 profit during the season last year.

We saw also Sivappa Naik an old gentleman in Khadi. He was the proud father of Dr. Umachgi, one of the foremost medical practitioners of Gadag. After twelve every day when his work is over, this doctor spins and weaves for two hours. Another busy medical practitioner of this place, Dr. Venkat Rao also spins two hours every day. It was he who presented good Gangadhar Rao Deshpande with a dhoti woven of his own yarn.

C R

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Anti-Indian Campaign in S. Africa

Mahatma Gandhi has issued on the 14th February, the following statement of his views regarding the anti-Asiatic movement in South Africa, and especially the Class Areas Bill:—

As one expected to understand the situation created in South Africa by the anti-Asiatic movement now going on there, and especially the Class Areas Bill now under consideration by the Union Parliament, I deem it my duty to place my opinion on the situation before the public.

The anti-Asiatic agitation on the part of Europeans in South Africa is no new thing. It is almost as old as the first settlement of unindentured Indians in South Africa, and is principally due to trade jealousy on the part of white retail traders. As in other parts of the world, so in South Africa interested men, if they sufficiently persist, find no difficulty in gathering the support round them of those who are not so interested but who do not think for themselves. The present agitation, I remember, was begun as early as 1921, and the Class Areas Bill is, no doubt, one result of that agitation.

Before dealing with the nature and effect of the Bill, it is necessary to point out that it is in breach of the compromise of 1914 arrived at between the Union Government and the Indian community of South Africa. But it was a compromise to which both the Indian Government and the Imperial Government were as much party as the Union Government and the Indian community, because the compromise was arrived at with the knowledge and concurrence of the Imperial and the Indian Governments. The latter had even sent Sir Benjamin Robertson as a representative, technically to watch the course of the Commission that was appointed by the Union Government to inquire into the Indian position, but in reality to negotiate a settlement. The main terms of the compromise were settled before Sir Benjamin Robertson, who represented the Indian Government, returned to India.

In accordance with that compromise no further anti-Asiatic legislation was to be passed by the Union Government. The understanding at the time was that the legal position of the Indian would be gradually improved and that the then existing anti-Asiatic legislation would, in time to come, be repealed. The contrary has, however, happened. The public may remember that the first attempt to break the spirit of the compromise was made when in the Transvaal an attempt was made to enforce the existing legislation adversely to the Indians and contrary to the practice that prevailed at the time of the compromise. The Class Areas Bill, however, goes much further in restricting Indian liberty.

Whatever may be the other implications of the compromise, this much cannot be disputed by any party, that the settlement of 1914 pledged the Union Government not to put further restrictions upon the Indian liberty, and apart from the general powers of disallowance vested in His Majesty under the Letter of Instructions addressed to the Governor-General of South Africa, the Imperial Government if they would be true to their trust are bound, at any cost, to insist

upon the observance of the terms of the compromise referred to by me.

We in India may not ignore the difficulties of the Union Government which is dependent for its existence solely upon the will of the Europeans of South Africa expressed through their elected representatives to the exclusion of Indians and the natives of the soil. This unwarranted exclusion is the original flaw in the South African constitution, as it is to be found in the constitution of most of the self-governing Colonies which have their native populations and Indian populations. As the Imperial Government permitted the flaw, it is in honour bound to prevent untoward results arising from it. South Africa and Kenya will presently show what moral worth there is in the Imperial system. Pressure of public opinion may, and probably will, bring about temporary relief in both the places; but it will be only temporary. It can merely postpone the final act in the tragedy unless some unforeseen radical change, either in England or in India, takes place.

And now for the Bill itself. Unlike the Natal Municipal Franchise Bill, which happily the Union Governor-General has in effect vetoed and which applied only to Natal, the Class Areas Bill is designed to apply to all the poor provinces. It enables the Government to segregate all the domiciled Indians and other Asiatics alike for residence and trade. It is therefore an extension, in a modified manner, of the location system devised as early as 1885 by the late Transvaal Government.

Let me say in a few words what the segregation may mean. The Indian location in Pretoria, where, in spite of the law of 1885, not a single Indian has been as yet compelled to remove, is situated far away from the town itself and entirely outside the beat of the bazaar whether English, Dutch or native. The only trade possible in such locations is trade among themselves. Segregation therefore carried out to the full means nothing less than compulsory repatriation without any concession. It is true that the Bill appears to preserve to a certain extent the existing rights. But that reservation is of little consequence to the Indian settlers. I do not wish to batten this note by citing illustrations from my South African experience to show how such reservations have, in practice, proved almost useless.

Finally, let it be remembered that when Indian emigration to South Africa was unrestricted, the fear of the Europeans was expressed to be that South Africa might be swamped by India's millions. All the South African statesmen then used to say that South Africa could easily digest a small Indian population and could even give it a liberal treatment, but that the European settlers could never rest content so long as the possibility of swamping remained. Now that the so-called fear of swamping has been removed, practically since 1897, the cry is raised for segregation; and, if that is accomplished, the next step will be compulsory repatriation. If the segregated Indians do not voluntarily retire the fact is that the more accomodating the European settlers of South Africa find the Imperial trustees to be, the more grasping they become in their anti-Asiatic demands.

Gandhi Month

The Working Committee and the All-India Khadi Board have issued an appeal for a supreme effort to make every man and woman in the country to wear khadi. Under the peculiar circumstances through which the country is passing to-day there is every hope of a great response to this appeal, but the attainment of the object in view depends as much upon the organised and immediate efforts of the various Congress Committees as upon the general enthusiasm evoked. It is therefore necessary for us all to consider and devise such quick measures as would enable us to turn to the utmost advantage the popular feeling created at this juncture.

The work before us is of a two-fold nature. We have in the first place to carry on a vigorous propaganda to make the people realise to the fullest extent the political significance of Khadi work by showing, on the one hand how Khadi alone can help to bring about a speedy and effective boycott of foreign piece-goods resulting in the economic freedom of this country, and on the other, how it can help us to build up a net-work of organisation throughout the length and breadth of the country enabling us to offer concerted and disciplined Satyagraha for the attainment of our goal. Side by side with this propaganda we have to take all such measures as would make genuine Khadi of a durable sort easily available to every person and if possible, at as low a price and in as attractive a form as we can. To this end I wish to offer a few suggestions to be modified or supplemented by the Congress Committees and Provincial Khadi Boards and request action to be taken at once so that the Gandhi Month may see our object fulfilled in a substantial measure.

1 Propaganda

(a) The active co-operation of the local press, English as well as Vernacular, should be secured at once and arrangements made with them to deal from day to day with this programme prominently in their columns so as to impress upon the people the necessity of putting on Khadi irrespective of cost.

(b) The Provincial Congress Committees and Khadi Boards should arrange for all the prominent local leaders to visit during the ensuing month all neighbouring towns and villages to carry the message of Khadi to every home.

(c) Khadi volunteers should be temporarily enrolled for active service during the month for propaganda and other work.

(d) Leaflets and posters and pictures should be issued to take the message of Khadi to people whom it is not possible to reach otherwise.

(e) In propaganda-work all bitterness and violence of language should be avoided. A sympathetic and kind attitude is always more effective, whereas bitterness and ridicule tend to isolate rather than to persuade.

(f) The Provincial Khadi Board should organise propaganda by patriotic ladies and enlist special lady volunteers to carry the message from house to house and hawk Khadi.

(g) The Provincial Khadi Board should also attempt to win over the support of temples, Mathas, Devastans and such other religious organisations for effectively popularising Khadi.

(h) As Khadi is specially calculated, socially and economically, to help the women of this country by

restoring to them their ancient and renowned art of spinning and by freeing them from the necessity of taking to factory and such other outside work as is incompatible with their domestic duties, the Provincial Khadi Board should make special appeal to all the women of this country to use clothing made only of pure handspun yarn for the sake of their poorer sisters to the exclusion of all other cloth.

(i) Students of schools and colleges should be induced through their organisations to decide on all appearing in Khadi on the next Gandhi Day.

(j) Processions, Bhajan Mandalis, Melas, etc. should be organised during the month in order to popularise Khadi.

(k) Exhibitions should be arranged at important centres.

(l) The Provincial Khadi Boards should arrange with all Khaddar or Swadeshi stores for prominent display of Khadi and adequate advertisement.

(m) The Provincial Khadi Boards should make lists and publish the names of all depots, stores and agencies selling genuine Khadi at proper prices.

II Making Khadi Available

(a) The Provincial Congress Committees and Khadi Boards should find out whether there is a sufficient stock of genuine Khadi in their district towns and other convenient centres to meet the needs of the local population during Gandhi Month.

(b) The Provincial Khadi Boards should arrange to supply genuine Khadi to such District Congress Committees or their Khadi Boards as have not sufficient Khadi in their respective areas for the needs of the local public.

(c) If there are areas where there are no Congress Committees or agencies or depots that can supply genuine Khadi to the local population, arrangements should be made by the Provincial Khadi Board for opening small depots of Khadi or to stock Khadi with responsible people in their houses, with merchants or lawyers or others who are sympathetic to the movement and can help in this matter.

(d) The Provincial Khadi Board should call upon all subordinate Khadi Boards to enrol volunteers to hawk Khadi from door to door in their respective areas.

(e) The Provincial Khadi Board should devise schemes for making Khadi hawking attractive and remunerative so as to enlist the largest number of men and women for this purpose.

(f) The Provincial Khadi Board should find out and take charge of genuine surplus of Khadi and make it available to those areas that have no indigenous Khadi.

(g) The Provincial Khadi Board should enlist the sympathy of all associations and organisations working for the economic or political emancipation of this country to help in this programme either by carrying on the propaganda or by stocking and selling Khadi.

Finance

In order to secure funds for the carrying out of these works the Provincial Khadi Board should immediately invite special local contributions in the form, either of donations or temporary loans without interest, from people of all shades of political opinion.

If I can be of any help to you in the matter please communicate to my office address,—Ashram, Sabarmati.

Camp-Belgaum,

Shankarlal G. Bunker,
Secretary,
All India Khadi Board.

Dr. Ray's Letter to Bapu

The following letter dated 11th February 1924 has been sent to Mahatma Gandhi by Dr. P. C. Ray:

My dear Mahatma,

I purposely abstained from going to Sassoon Hospital on a pilgrimage or even writing to you, as I thought that so long as you were confined to bed you should not in any way be disturbed. But your kind wire induces me to break the vow I imposed upon myself.

I confess I have been watching all the rejoicings and outbursts of enthusiasm in Bengal on the occasion of your release with mixed feelings. Our people are nothing if not emotional and sentimental, and the frothy effervescence will soon subside leaving not a trace behind. Of the thousands who are flocking to the public meetings to attend the Gandhi celebrations, barely one per cent is clad in khaddar. What a contrast to the sight which greeted my eyes at Cocanada where I found thousands, drawn from the humblest classes and coming from the remotest villages, flocking to Gandhinagar, and full 90 per cent of them were clad in pure homespun! Nor do I find any serious and substantial effort to remove the curse of untouchability. Everyone is for a royal road to Swaraj and would avoid the thorny and tedious path. It is not for me to pronounce my opinion on the advisability or otherwise of the return by Congressmen to the Councils; but this much I may be permitted to say that if a portion of the energies which have been spent over this affair had been diverted to the constructive programme sketched out by you, the way to Swaraj would have been by this time considerably shortened.

You will probably remember that when the Malaviya Conference was in session at Bombay it was my privilege and pleasure to sit by your side for hours together for two consecutive days; and I promised to do my utmost to carry the message of khaddar to my Bengalee countrymen, and also to take practical steps towards its production. Thanks to the co-operation and devoted service of a noble band of workers, I have been able to do a little; but the work is up-hill and requires almost infinite patience and superhuman efforts to achieve success. The more, however, I work in this direction the more convinced I am becoming that in charkha lies the economic salvation of India. And in my Cocanada address on the 'Message of Khaddar' I tried to elaborate this point. It gladdens me to find that in your letter to the Maulana Sahib you have laid particular stress on the Charkha as the only remedy for India's growing pauperism.

I must stop here and should not intrude further upon your repose. I need scarcely add that my heart yearns after you; but for the present, I must deny myself the pleasure of paying you a visit.

May God soon restore you to full health so that you may once again guide the future destiny of our nation.

Yours very sincerely,

P. C. Ray

Young India

A Weekly Journal

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No. 11

Notes

We give below extracts from a touching letter received by Mr. Gandhi from Lala Barkat Ram Thapur of Lahore. It is dated the 18th February last:

On The Vlas Villa,

Lahore, 18-2-24

I am enclosing herewith a currency note for Rs. 100 in compliance with the wishes of my youngest daughter Bibi Sarla Devi aged 16 years who died on the 15th last. She heard the news of your release before her demise and was most happy for this. The girl used to keep pretty good health before going to Simla in April last. She was not only brisk in her long walks and was of very jovial and cheerful temperament. She was endowed with a strong commonsense and realised full well what her obligations were to herself, her family and her beloved country. She took the vow of Khandi in August 1921 before her mother and eldest sister though against the wishes of the former who was of opinion that it was perhaps unsafe for the unmarried girls to take such vows as they might not keep them up after their marriage. The girl pooh-poohed this argument of her mother. As ill luck would have it, the eldest sister died on the 30th July 1922 after a protracted illness of four months and poor Sarla also fell ill on the 17th of August last. She was confined to bed for over five months and before her last breath said to her mother, whose heart was already lacerated in consequence of the demise of two adult sons and one daughter, that she was glad to have been enabled to stick to her vow of Khandi and that all her clothes should be given to orphan girls. After this she turned her eyes towards me and said with a faltering voice that a sum of Rs. 100 should be placed at your disposal as her dying contribution towards the Swaraj Fund. Oh! how the poor girl longed to see her motherland restored to her lost grandeur and freedom. May God fulfil her desire! Barkatram Thapur

We give the extracts to show the silent Khaddar work that is going on in the country but of which we have hardly any knowledge. The letter also shows how determination combined with humility can overcome obstacles in the way of the performance of one's duty. How wonderful too the devotion to Swaraj of a young girl who, one would imagine, would be thinking on her death-bed of the pleasures unenjoyed rather than the freedom of her country. May the example of the deceased girl Sarla Devi prove infectious!

The Akali situation is filled with hope and peril. Mr. Gandhi's advice to the Sikhs that they should defer the sending of further Jathas to Jaito and the disregard of that advice give room to a series of grave reflections. The present writer is free to confess that his first impression when he heard about the Message was that it was inexpedient. The reason was simple. He was not satisfied that the official version about the violence of the Akalis and of their sympathisers was accurate. All later reports, especially the authoritative communiqué of the Prabandhak Committee, confirm the original scepticism. Even in the debate in the Assembly, the Home Member's attempt to prove that there was violence on the part of the Sikhs failed miserably. Once it is established that the Jatha and its escort were non-violent, it is clear that the Sikhs were right and that the Government was indubitably in the wrong. For, after all, it must be remembered that the conduct of the Shahid Jatha was not different in any material particular from what happened at Guru-ka-bagh. As far as we have understood the Sikhs, it is a very restricted form of non-violence that they have taken it upon themselves to observe, namely, non-violence in deed. They have never been non-violent in speech in the sense of avoiding bitterness in the spoken word. We are very much afraid that they have not cultivated a Satyagrahi's non-violence in thought. Judged from that standard, it is idle to condemn the Sikhs for not observing rules which they never undertook to be bound by. They are to-day pledged to be non-violent in action, because the obvious needs of the situation enforce it on them. It is two years' history and experience that was behind the tragic affair in Jaito and it was that which settled the course of the exact incident. The refusal to accept the challenge thrown down by Government under the circumstances would have meant the end of the struggle and the throwing away of the visible fruits of victory that are nearly within reach.

So much about the explanation of a first impression, which happens to be a wide impression also. But as is the way of such things, it is not the whole truth. There is deeper thought behind. We are sure that the effort of the Akalis to win religious freedom and the political conditions of that freedom is not solely an affair of Government. They have a far-reaching quarrel with Government. That is true. But it is something more. The Sikhs have their settlement to make with Hindus, Vahomedans, and all else amongst

whom they live. It is here that the doctrine of non-violence, in its widest range, becomes not only relevant but also a compelling necessity. Non-violence in action is a counsel of perfection if it is only Government that is concerned. But we know it is not so. Government is gravely embarrassed by Akali policy; but that is not matter of complaint, because it is anticipated that such embarrassment is inevitable. But religious freedom means, at least ought to mean, religious freedom not only for the Sikhs but for everybody else. That is an assurance which can come only from a state of public opinion, from the conviction that the triumph of the Sikhs in their war with Government will not imperil the freedom of others. It is here that non-violence in thought and word emerges as of paramount importance. For, let there be no mistake about it. The Akalis are at present an isolated people in the Punjab. Hindus and Moslems are plunged deep in the communal strife. What time they can spare from it, they are not inclined to give to the Sikhs. Moslems are not enthusiastic; there was one enthusiast, Dr. Kitchlew, and he is in jail. Hindus are deeply suspicious, and one section whose organ in the Press is the *Upadeshak* is frankly and vigilantly hostile. Such sympathy as there is, is purely political. The Sikhs are fighting against Government, and whoever has a hand in reducing it to confusion deserves sympathy, without too closely canvassing his merits. Beyond that there is nothing. All this calls for close and careful examination. We are satisfied that the cause for which the Sikhs stand is really just and deserves to succeed. But it is just for that very reason we are anxious the Sikhs should put themselves right with Hindus and Mahomedans. The very slowness of their pace in the struggle and the obvious unwillingness of the other communities to have a share in it, are serious factors retarding quick and decisive developments. The only way of doing it will be by widening the range of non-violence. Let the Sikhs make up their mind, leaders and followers alike, that victory can and should come only with the goodwill of other communities. In other words, they should see that non-violence in thought, word and deed is integrally connected and that true efficient non-violence in deed itself cannot be had, divorced from thought and utterance.

* * *

The actual incidents of misunderstanding are many of which we had complaints when the Conference of leaders took place in Amritsar in November last. But what is more important to understand is the psychology which brought them about. The year 1922 was that of Gom-ka-bagh, the year of victory. Nearly synchronising with it was the weakening of the Congress through faction and paralysing controversy. The Akalis knew what they wanted, and had a definite plan of action to secure it. The Hindu-Mahomedan troubles began and for the moment the Congress became synonymous with the Hindus in the Punjab. Congress was a picture of inefficiency in the Province. It is not therefore surprising that the Akalis, the rash and unwise ones amongst them, felt that the Hindus were

played out and that the future was in their hands. The consequence was that a small measure of arrogance and lack of tact marked the Akali attitude. No one questions the strength of the Sikhs or of their organisation; it will be folly and blindness to do anything of the kind. But they committed two mistakes. They overestimated their own strength and underestimated that of the Hindus. Then it was that the departure from non-violence in thought and word became disastrous. It alienated the affection and sympathy of the Hindus nearly completely. The relations between Sikhs and Mahomedans were more cordial in the beginning; but they were fed on the tactic of friendship based on a common enmity. It was mild and tame from the beginning; but even that disappeared during the time of Hindu-Mahomedan trouble in Lahore and Amritsar last year. Sikhs refused to take sides in the quarrel. It was a wise decision; but it meant the end of the growing Sikh-Moslem entente. The consequence was that when the blow came in October last, the Akalis found themselves alone. The greater their glory, it may be said. We do not think so. The Indian problem is one of successfully non-co-operating with the Government by making the co-operation amongst ourselves complete. It is a difficult thing; but it will be altogether impossible, unless we erect the fabric on the solid rock of non-violence. Every day that passes strengthens us in the conviction that the present phase of the Akali struggle would long ago have ended in success if there was true friendship between the Sikhs and the other communities.

* * *

If we mistake not, it is a long time since Lord Balfour has taken part in an Indian debate. We are not sure that he is not the greatest Englishman now alive; but he is certainly the greatest representative of the ruling families that have made England famous and created her peculiar form of Government. His observations in the House of Lords at the time of the Debate are worthy of respectful regard. There is one of them which calls for an answer. Here is Reuter's summary of the passage:

"Lord Balfour thought that the impression had gradually grown up in some quarters that we were acting simply as a drag upon a natural movement towards representative institutions in India and that for us these would run a safe, happy, and useful course, and those in India hampering our policy were only hastening the glorious time when free institutions, modelled on the Dominions, would prevail in India. He was convinced that this impression was one of the most profound illusions. These modern statesmen of India had taken our catchwords, and professed admiration for our institutions, but without apparently realising the spirit by which alone such institutions could be properly worked."

Lord Balfour is a highly accomplished controversialist and it is quite conceivable that Reuter has omitted to cable out some vital, qualifying clause or other. But the proposition as it stands is contradicted by nearly every fact of recent history. That India is

In the middle of a process taking it towards some form of representative government, no one doubts for a minute. Whether it is "natural" or not has in it no present meaning. Judged by any reasonable definition, the desire of India for representative institutions and the course of her democratic progress are the only relevant facts. In this connection, the learning whether ancient or medieval Indian polity was based on what Europe calls personal rule, or whether Europe's interpretations were vitiated by misunderstanding as to the fundamental forces operating here, or by political prejudice, is altogether futile. The only factor that matters is the psychology of those who take part in politics. As far as that is concerned, there is not a scrap of doubt. The whole process of Indian politics is towards responsible government. We shall not pause here to canvass the super-subtle distinction invented by Sir Malcolm Hailey between responsible government and Dominion Government. The mind of political India is dominated by the notions that originally came from England and its evolution is absolutely natural. We do not prophesy for a minute that the goal at which we shall arrive will be the same as that of England. God forbid! The particular feature that worries Lord Balfour, the facility with which we have taken to the use and adoption of English phrases and notions, is the product of our education. English has dominated our life. The incubus will go only when a sane system of education is set up. Till then, the current intellectual hybridism will persist and the fastidious taste of men like Lord Balfour will revolt against it.

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But there is something more than an attack on the "naturalness" of the democratic process. He defends Government against the charge that it is responsible for the retardation of the natural pace of progress. Here fortunately, it is not a matter of speculation. The first capital charter of our time was the Morley-Minto Act. The writer of these lines remembers, as if it were yesterday, the shock of joy with which the news came to him that Lord Morley had proposed the institution of Legislative Councils with a non-official majority. Those were the days of youth and words were taken at their face-value. It seemed as if fate had turned over a new pleasant page in her book. There were in truth, rich possibilities in that piece of legislation. Given goodwill and honesty, there was not a single thing achieved by the Montford scheme that could not have been achieved by executive determination. But the rules framed under the Morley Act killed the Act, and they were framed by the Bureaucracy. The similar thing that happened in connection with Mr. Montagu's Act is well within recent memory. As for the materials that go to the making of democratic government, as distinguished from its institutions, a series of failures and betrayals stand to the credit of Government. Mention is sufficient. Racial inequality; repressive laws; *lettres de cachet*; opposition to the spread of education; the Arms Act; no Commissions in the Army. The substance of them all is that Government for its Imperial, scarcely avowable, purposes has chosen to prevent the growth of Responsible Government.

Hindu Muslim Unity

(By C. F. Andrews)

On board the ship coming home I was conscious of a great spiritual change, which seemed to pervade the very atmosphere of thought, after we came from the Mediterranean into the Gulf of Suez and passed down the Red Sea. I shall never forget that first evening and night, after we had come out of the Suez Canal into the Gulf. The sun set in a splendour of gold and red, and the stars came out one by one, like jewels sparkling in the sky; and then the moon rose and the stars grew pale. While the moon mounted up the sky, the waters flashed like burnished and polished silver. On the left hand, Mount Sinai, in Arabia, stood out darkly, towering high above the lesser hills. The rush and hurry of Europe had been left behind,—the wintry sunless days, the cloudy fog-saturated nights, the glare of artificial lights, the noise of incessant traffic, the restless multitude of worn human faces, for whose daily life the round of business had become a second nature. That sense of whirl and speed and artificial human existence had somehow continued to pursue me across France and down the turbulent Mediterranean Sea. Even at the very gates of Port Said the atmosphere had been dreary and sunless. There had been restlessness in the air we breathed. But at last, in the Red Sea, the sun was shining in a cloudless sky, and at night the moon was on her throne. Over there, in Arabia, was solitude and peace. God was great.

The memory came to me, very often, on that first day and night after Arabia had been sighted, how thousands of years ago the Prophet, Abraham (on him be peace!), had gazed at this self-same sky which was cloudless then as it is still cloudless now. He had watched the sun settling in the west, and the stars rising and staking again. He had seen the moon ascending the sky and setting in its turn. Then the supreme inspiration had come to him, in a sudden moment of creative thought, and he had cried out from the depth of his soul: "The sun, the moon and the stars rise and fall. They wax and wane. They ever change. But God is Changeless and Eternal."

God is Great! God is One! This is the cry of the desert and the solitude. It is the gift to mankind from the Semitic peoples, whose home is the desert and whose pathway is across the trackless hills and under the midnight stars. The faith of the earliest Semitic Prophet became in the course of ages the conquering faith of Islam. It carries with it a trumpet call. It is the belief, stronger than death, in the Divine Unity, the Taubid. God is One.

The ship sped on its way, and when I came to India a fortnight later, I had passed from the region of the desert solitude to a land many coloured and diverse in its seasons, where the grateful earth is blessed each year by the copious monsoon rains which perennially clothe it anew with fresh verdure and life. Manifold are its changes and transformations. In India the sun irradiates the whole atmosphere with living light and quickens life in the fruitful bosom of the earth. The dark blue rain clouds come an

their season bringing to their full growth the seeds which have been sown. Colour and sweet sounds and the scents of flowering trees are on every hand.

Warmth and caressing tenderness are in the air. It is good to be alive and to feel the glow of the sun by day and the tender peace of the purple heaven at night. There are myriad channels through which all this dazzling beauty flows, and yet the heart of India has declared from an immemorial age: "God is One, the Advaitam, the One without a Second. Manifold indeed is He, of countless forms and myriad names, yet ever Undivided. Infinite is He and Endless, yet ever the Same, ever the One. God is One."

Islam in India has readily found its own perfect harmony with this teaching of the Advaitam, which the soul of ancient India had declared. It has linked, in its own way, the truth of the Advaitam with the truth of the Tauhid. The Sufi poets have sung their songs of rapture in the worship of the One, side by side with the Hindu saints, losing all sense of separateness in their common experience of the Divine Unity.

Kabir, standing at the confluence of the two great streams of Eastern religious thought which have made their home in India, has been claimed by Hindus and Mussalmans alike as their own. The often-quoted legend tells, how in the midst of a strife of words about the disposal of the Saint's body after death, all that was found remaining was a heap of white flowers, the symbol of God's Unity. In the Moghul times, the religious approximation often reached a point of harmony where all distinction seemed to vanish in the beauty of pure tolerance and mutual love. The whole history of Sindh is full of a religious sympathy wherein all barriers have been broken down. Guru Nanak sought and found in both religions the vision of the One.

In later times Mahatma Devendranath Tagore received in Hafiz the purest inspiration of his own religious joy. Mussalmans to-day obtain satisfaction for the soul in the hymns of his youngest son, the Poet, Rabindranth Tagore.

Last of all, Mahatma Gandhi, like a second Kabir is claimed by Hindus and Mussalmans as their own. He is loved by Mussalmans with a devotion as true and deep as that which is given to him by Hindus. Thus, from age to age, the genius of India has been uniting the religions within her own border and leading forward to the higher synthesis of the whole spiritual life of mankind. When all the present political and economic struggles are ended, this will be remembered as India's greatest gift to mankind.

Two Corrections:

1. Please read in the last issue of Young India on P. 81, column 2, line 16, Inspector General of Police in place of Inspector General of Prisons.

2. Also read on P. 84, column 2, last line, Feb. 26 in place of Jan. 26.

To Intending Subscribers

We would request intending subscribers to remit the subscriptions, Rs. 5/- and 3/- yearly and half yearly respectively, by Money Order in advance as we have stopped the N.P. system.

After due consideration the Manager, Young India, has to request that all and every publisher, bookseller and bookseller, who has sent us any bill after July 1, 1923,

A Condition of Congress Membership

The All India Khadi Board has issued an appeal that every Congress member should have at least one spinning wheel working in his family. This appeal only re-expresses the expectation with which Mahatma had organised the new Congress membership. One of the main objects of the Congress organisation is the production and substitution of hand-spun Khadi for all other cloth. Membership in any organisation is meaningless unless it carries with it active assistance and cooperation in the chief function undertaken by the organisation. It is not merely an army of passive sympathisers that we seek to enrol in the Congress Register. We may assume that the whole of India is sympathetic and there is no need to register names. It is only if there should be something more in membership, namely, assistance in the life-activity of the organisation that there could be any meaning in the enrolment of oneself as a member. It follows, therefore, that every member must, in order to consider himself as such, regularly give a portion, however small it may be, of his own or family's time to the making of hand-spun. He must wear Khadi and help in the production of Khadi. The Khadi movement is so conceived that every man and woman can do his or her bit for it. Every one that spins regularly helps in the production of Khadi.

No person who has not a charkha working regularly in his home can deem himself a Congress member. Difference of views there may be in other matters, but in this programme of revival of Khaddar, there is no doubt or difference, and no person can truly claim to be a member of the Congress, which works for the universalisation of spinning, unless there is a live charkha under his own care and protection. It would be a false pretence to be going about as a Congress member unless one fulfils this primary condition of membership. The mistaken notion that only a few "workers" are to do Congress work, and that the members are a mere body of sympathisers, should be got rid of. Every member is a pledged worker. It would be ridiculous for a member of a Temperance Association with a negative programme of abstention from drink, to indulge in alcohol simply because he is only an ordinary member. No less inconsistent is it for enrolled members of a great organisation, with a positive programme of making every family spin, to remain without spinning themselves. During this Gandhi Month, every one should hasten to set himself right in this respect. The charkha is the *gajopanitam* of Congress membership, as essential as the sacred thread is to the Brahmin.

The programme of work this year centres round Khadi. On the one hand, if we do our duty by Khadi, it is more than enough for all the purposes we have in view. It will rid the nation of the political, social and economic evils that are sapping its life. On the other hand, if we fail this year to complete our Khadi programme, we shall have proved ourselves hopelessly unworthy of any ambitions of speedy nation-building. The Khadi Board Deputation assures us that the atmosphere is ready, and that every circumstance is favourable. No one should

imagine that his own small efforts would count for nothing. The humblest example and work are certain to bear copious fruit. Not a single day should be lost now but he who has a shankha at home should see that it is set in working order; he who has not should procure one immediately; and everyone should wear Khadi at once.

G. R.

Young India

13-3-24

The Root-Need

The long expected and oft-postponed speech of the Secretary of State was made in the House of Lords on Tuesday week before the last. We are neither satisfied nor grieved. Indian affairs stand just where they did before the speech was made and before the present Government came into power. Beyond this summary, there is nothing in reality to say.

But there are a number of observations the incident suggests. They are academic, but it is the fault neither of Lord Ollvier nor of ourselves; they are the automatic product of the atmosphere of unreality with which current politics is invested. That Lord Ollvier made a speech which it was impossible for Lord Peel to have made may be conceded; also that it contained some of the commonplaces and superstitions of Indian politicians. But that does not mean much. The reason is obvious. The present Secretary of State is a member of the Labour Government; Lord Peel belongs to the Conservative Party and is the descendant of a famous Conservative statesman. The Fabian intellect is different from the Tory. There was no basing in the speech of Lord Ollvier. The passage about Mr. Gandhi for instance was charming, and we shall, certainly, not quarrel about the deprecatory clauses about the consequences about his teachings. Lord Ollvier being an experienced administrator did not commit the mistake into which Mr. Henderson fell and very nearly lost his election, the mistake of forgetting that he was a minister.

But when all this is conceded; what is there left in the sphere of action? For, after all, politics is concerned with action whether as art or science. We suggest, with all respect, that of action present or in the immediate future, there is not a trace. We do not say it to taunt the Nationalists in the Assembly or the Swarajists out of it; but the truth is that the Round Table Conference on which they reckoned as the very foundation of Swaraj in the future finds no acceptance at the hands of the Secretary of State. The Royal Commission on which the Liberals founded their hopes has been rejected with an equally dubious gesture. We are left with Sir Malcolm Hailey's promise of a departmental enquiry. There is nothing in this which may not have come from Lord Peel himself. For, in the natural course of things, the statutory Royal Commission is a few years ahead and there is nothing strange in the initiation of attempts to get the materials ready

the Commission. In saying this, we do not dismiss, far in our mind the hint that the Cabinet in consultation with the Government of India will soon devise measures to get into contact with the better mind of India. That may or may not be; it is yet a thing of the future. It is the speech of the Secretary of State that is our pre-occupation now, not what the future holds. God will take care of that.

The explanation of this remarkable phenomenon, of a Labour Minister proving in action the very counterpart of a Tory, is painfully simple. But it is by no means part of the convinced presuppositions of the movement for national freedom. But the matter is clear beyond the shadow of a doubt. As far as India is concerned, fear, cupidity and high honourable pride are not affairs of party; they are of the very texture of national being. There is nothing in the vital facts of Imperial Government in India which can be disposed of in terms of party. India is a national interest of England (perhaps there is none other which is greater) and can be dealt with only by common political consent. That was how the Morley-Minto Act was passed; that was how the Montford Reform came into operation. Whenever in the future also, it becomes the business of Parliament to undertake Indian business, the same procedure is sure to be followed. We make a present of these obvious considerations to our fellow-countrymen who believe that the accession of Labour to power means the end of our troubles or absolution from our work.

There are some questers that Lord Ollvier acts in all innocence, or perhaps he is not so innocent as he will have us believe. He asks us how exactly we shall get on if Swaraj came suddenly in the night, what we shall do to fight the invader from outside, to hold our own with the Moplah inside our borders. We are quite as anxious as he is, and there is no responsible man but is exercised in his heart of hearts about them. But we are not going to be scared by the prospect of responsibility. India solved these problems in the days of her freedom and is continuously solving them even to-day. Aryans, Greeks, Scythians, Afghans, Persians, Turks and the embattled tribes of the West have been so many episodes in her history. Our fathers battled with them when there was need, made friends when there was need; but the course of the great life went on uninterrupted. Malabar and Arrah and Saharanpur were ripples, angry ripples, in the calm waters of her being. Whatever it is the issue is ours, and our children's. They will not be unworthy of their ancestors.

The truth is no more than this, and let it be added, it is no less. Whether Lord Ollvier means business or no, India can mean business only on one condition. What she decides will be the final decision for her, not what England decides. There may be an infinity of difficulty in ascertaining her mind; it may be through a Royal Commission or through a Round Table Conference, or it may be through informal conversations; all this is detail. But when India has had her say, England must be prepared to accede to her demands. As long as successive Secretaries of State refuse to recognise and if necessary, reconcile themselves to this, restlessly there will be no peace in this country. To repeat

With the Khadi Board in Khandesh

(By N. S. Varadachan)

The conquest of foreign cloth, though it has been fairly exhaustive and thorough, is not yet complete in certain parts of the country. There are still a few areas where you find live spinning wheels in abundance as there are others where the spinning wheels do not subsist even so much as in the memories of men. The District of Khandesh in Maharashtra belongs to the former class, having thousands of live Charkhs even to this day.

Hanging by the West

Foreign cloth has no doubt effected its conquests even here; like some huge boa constrictor it seeks to hold its prey in Khandesh and one hears audibly the sound of the breaking bones. Hand-spun has been long since ousted from its honoured place in the economic life of Khandesh; but here and there it is still seen to hang perilously by the west. Though expelled from the warp, the product of the spinning wheel is still used by preference for the west in making chintz for girls and thick carpets known as *jhorias* which village fashion has not yet discarded. The Kunbi women, the wives of the cultivators, keep a little cotton in their homes for spinning coarse yarn to make the *jhorias*, and the Pinjul (carter) finds still something in the nature of an apology for an occupation. Except for this survival of the past, hand-spinning is in as bad a plight in Khandesh as in any other part of our country, but the fact that it is not yet finally wiped out of village economy makes the task of reconstruction somewhat less difficult here than in many other places.

The Cotton Trade

The main product of Khandesh soil is cotton. But it is all used for the purposes of a roaring export trade helping at every turn the exploitation of this country by the foreigner. The cotton trade has no doubt added to the fortunes of a few cotton dealers in the towns, but it has also been the certain instrument of growing poverty and dilapidation of the villages. For every additional storey that rises over the dwelling places of sowars and speculators in the towns of Khandesh, there are hundreds of tiny cottages in the villages which are literally collapsing into ruin. The wealth of the villages is being drained by the crore while the cotton dealer goes about his business and makes his earnings of a few lacs acting for a foreign agency. The self-reliance of the village is thus being blindly sacrificed to the greed of the alien commercialist. The cultivator is too poor and often heavily indebted to withstand the temptation of a high price for his cotton crop and he readily agrees to part with the whole of it leaving nothing for the home. His wife too has to desert her home for hard labour on the fields, for, when once spinning stops and no cotton is kept for the use of the home, she finds no occupation with which to supplement the income of her husband and has only to join him in field-labour. With the spinner deserting her post the carders and some among the weavers too are forced to abandon their traditional occupation and seek some precarious living or other in the towns. Happily for Khandesh there are here and there

carders and weavers still at their ancient trade, and the spindle is turning thick and coarse yarn, and all this in spite of the busy, whirling cotton trade of the towns.

The Workers

There are more areas than one in the country where there is cotton in heaps, where there are spinners, carders, and weavers who have not yet completely lost touch with their original occupations; but there are hardly few places like the Khandesh which possess ardent and enthusiastic workers who have their hearts in Khadi and who alone can repair the shattered links between the cotton growers, the spinners, the weavers and the wearers. It is the test of good workers that they are not merely diligent and industrious themselves, but that they are able also to create an atmosphere of work all around them. The workers in Khandesh more than fulfil this test. Mr. Balubhai Mehta is a man of parts. He will not rest without making Khadi and hand-spinning universal in his villages. He is the President of the Khadi Board in Maharashtra but he is hardly known even in his own province. He works unostentatiously, avoiding the public gaze. He is ably assisted by his secretary Mr. Shankar Rao Takar of whom you would say even from first looks that he is veritably mad after Khadi. He is a Poona graduate, a Fergusonian, and, as Shankarlalji said the other day, he is a gift of Mr. Patanjpye to Khadi work. Mr. Takar will make you enthuse over his district, however unwilling you may be to do that, by talking for hours with you about the bold vision of a self-sufficient Khandesh that seems to possess him like a passion. Mr. Balubhai and Mr. Takar do not exhaust the workers of the Khandesh.

A Marwari Graduate

One cannot finish talking of the workers of Khandesh without referring to the young Marwari graduate, also a Fergusonian, Mr. Shankar Salt Kabare of Yerandole. His father has been worrying him to take to the study of law, but he would not. He prefers to stick to his post at Yerandole turning out Khadi from four looms worked by the local weavers. Twenty-five poor Mussalman sisters spin for Shankar Salt. He knows they are not spinning as fine as they can and is making every effort to persuade them to improve the quality of their yarn. Being a Marwari, Shankar Salt has business capacity over and above patriotism and enthusiasm. For the Gandhi Month he is opening a big Khadi store in his little town and proposes himself to hawk everyday and thus secure a wide and extensive clientele for Khadi which is now limited only to his own family circle besides a few friends and customers of his father. He too had all the difficulties of an early enterpriser of Khadi but his persistence, initiative and native talent had enabled him to triumph over them all and make the spread of Khadi a business proposition.

How They got Cotton

The workers of Khandesh had not much of financial assistance to begin with but they knew that to be looking up for aid from outside would be to postpone for long and even indefinitely the very commencement of work. So they started not with money but with one better, viz. cotton.

"How did you collect your cotton?" I inquired of Mr. Takar.

"It was by no means an easy job," he said. "It meant much hard labour on the part of our volunteers. They did it all with patience and good cheer, though they knew they were in for a thankless task. Mr. Palubhai had some time ago hit upon the excellent idea of the Mushti fund. He had suggested that volunteers, paid if necessary, should be posted outside the gins in towns like Dhulla to collect cotton in doles from cultivators who brought their cart-loads to sell to the gin owners. That he thought would serve a double purpose, provide them with capital in the shape of cotton with which to revive and encourage spinning in the villages and also test the receptivity of the cultivator to new ideas of political emancipation. Besides, the Mushti fund furnished substantial opportunities to volunteers to test and improve their sustaining power."

Here Mr. Takar paused a while as if expecting a question from me and added: "We had not many volunteers to do this work; though it was widely advertised that fifteen to twenty rupees would be paid for such work, not more than four were forthcoming. In Dhulla alone we had eighteen gins, but we could not attack all. We started with four." Day after day the four national beggars stood before the gins in the hot sun and as the cultivators came with their cart-loads they claimed a gift of at least one handful of cotton to the local Khadi Board. "The cultivators most of them readily gave. There were but few who turned a deaf ear to our appeals. It gave us much real encouragement. For it showed to us that the villagers were still sound at heart and could be relied on to further our cause."

"What was the total collection?" I interrupted somewhat impatiently.

"I was just coming to that" said Mr. Takar. "We have now with us two thousand rupees worth of cotton but that represents to us much more than the money's worth. We hope to turn it over three or four times this year in our spinning operations. We now rest content with the start we have made, but for the next year the Mushti will bring us cotton by handfuls. Almost with niggardly care we have now stored up all this precious cotton in our Khadi stores at Dhulla. Similar collections have also been made in East Khandesh and we propose to use it all for making cheap Khadi for those villages which gave us freely of their cotton. The same volunteers who stood before the gins and coaxed the cultivators into parting with their cotton will hawk the cloth at the villages. Thus the villages will get back cheap clothing for their cotton and further, there would be created an irrefragable living bond of continuing sympathy between the rural cultivator and the rural Khadi worker."

The Village Folk

This bond of which Mr. Takar talked so eloquently was already coming to be in some at least of the villages in the Khandesh. The Khadi Board visited more than one important rural spinning and weaving centre in the District and everywhere they saw the village population only too ready and even eager to fall into line with their advice. At Nagoan and at Kapadne,

two villages not far from Dhulla, the people consented not only to stock cotton for their women to spin but also undertook to persuade their neighbours in other villages to do likewise. At the latter place, the Kunbis and the Mahars all met together at the village Chavidi and on their being asked why the cultivators invariably sold off all their cotton, the answer came promptly from one among them who looked all innocence and no cunning "It is a bother to keep cotton, gin, card, and spin and weave. And the prices offered for the raw cotton being fairly high we find it easier to sell our produce."

Is It not a Bother?

"Is it not a bother?" asked C. R. "to keep a cow and look after it day after day?" The answer was a loud laugh. "Yet we prefer to do that and not buy milk from outside for the children." "Of course," they said.

"Is it not positively troublesome to keep a family going? and yet we do not avoid marriage on that account?" They laughed again.

"Is it not worrying to go out in the sun and toll with the sweat all over our bodies at the fields? Yet do you sell your lands? You cherish them as the treasure of your treasures."

"It was a nuisance to be looking after the little fort wall in your village and to be always preparing to defend your homes. So we sold the village to the white men."

And many more such questions. They came heavy and thick like basaltic and artillery on the innocent villagers one of whom had just blurted out in childlike frankness the simple though sad truth as he saw it working itself out from day to day. The cultivator who had talked about the troublesomeness of keeping the cotton began to look positively foolish and sank into himself. For he realised that toll went to make up life, and escape from it meant death. But he had hardly merited all that he got for his simple answer, for he more than anyone else had helped to discover to the visitors the one vulnerable spot in rural economic arrangements.

The Dhangars

How far the prosperity of our villages had suffered by reason of the cotton trade in the towns was more clearly seen at Malpur than at Kapadne. Malpur is a little village fort situated on a slight elevation overlooking the cotton tracts that stretch up to Dondalcha, a railway station on the line from Surat to Jalgaon. There is no straight road to Malpur. You have to pass through a cart-track (which looks more like a waterway improvised into one track) winding its way through many miles of dreary sand, occasionally getting also through steep river banks difficult even for a bullock cart to pass. But foreign cloth had journeyed years before through these very tortuous and difficult paths and held captive the village population of Malpur. Malpur has three hundred houses in all. There are fifty Kunbi families, twenty Maher weavers, and twenty-five dyers, besides the Dhangars or shepherds who accounted for twenty-five other homes. These last were still continuing to spin and weave woolen blankets. The force of circumstances in recent years had been adverse even to them and they

were compelled to sell their flocks of sheep and convert all their pasture lands into cotton-growing soil; and they buy their wool from the nomad sections of Dhangars.

"Every one asks for cultivation, cultivation," said the leading Dhangar, who spoke to the Khadi delegation with evident pain and distress. "All our jungle lands have been cut down and levelled ruthlessly into wild cotton tract. There is no more pasture for our sheep to graze and we have had to part with the flocks which our fathers had reared and tended with such deep affection. But still we of this generation have not deserted our traditional occupation of spinning and weaving woollen blankets though we have now got to purchase the wool."

The Dhangars were in sore straits but their industry has somehow survived. The cotton growers of Manipur were not happy and while they had heaps of cotton at their homes and dexterous hands to spin they had to be perpetually dependent for their clothing on the merchants in the town who sold Japanese or British products. The Mahar Weavers had to forsake their old trade and use foreign yarn. They could be of no use to the rest of the village public but had to depend on the sowcar for the buying of the yarn as well as for the sale of cloth. Where there was prosperity and mutual affection there has set in distrust and division. The cultivator could be of no use to the weaver nor the weaver to the cultivator. The spinner, the weaver, the dyer and the merchant all lived apart though they had come once to the village to live together and to live each for the others.

The Myth of High Wages

The condition of the ordinary weaver in Khandesh was the most wretched that could be thought of. Not only that, but he has been deceiving himself that his present wage represented more than double what it really deserved to.

"Why do you not weave hand-spun yarn?" asked C. R. of a weaver at Parola, a little town which consisted half of weavers and the other half of money-lenders.

"We cannot earn enough wage on hand-spun, whereas we now make two to three rupees a day on mill or foreign yarn" came the answer proudly. Two to three rupees were not a mere exaggeration but a delusion which the weaver had come all along veritably to buy.

"How many weavers are there in Parola?"

"There are three thousand weavers here."

"What do they weave generally?"

"They weave Sarees mostly."

"With Silk borders?"

"Yes, or with ordinary cotton borders."

"What is the average price of a Saree that you make?"

"It ranges from Rs. 5 to Rs. 60. An ordinary cloth may be put down at Rs. 5/8/-."

"How many Sarees can you make in a month?"

"About twelve."

"What would the yarn and other investments for these twelve Sarees cost?"

"About twenty-five rupees."

"So you get about forty rupees for your labour?"

"Yes and that is for the labour of myself and of my family all together!"

"Where do you get the yarn from?" was the next enquiry.

"From the sowcar who has advanced me two hundred rupees worth of yarn on condition that at least sixteen Sarees are woven and given him during the month."

"Does the yarn really represent two hundred rupees worth? Would it not make any difference if you purchased the yarn at the market for cash?"

"Yes, there is a large difference. It would represent about sixteen rupees worth."

So the weaver was paying in advance interest of sixteen rupees every month on a continuing debt of two hundred rupees to the sowcar who gave him the foreign yarn. Further, there was the condition that if all the Sarees were not delivered during the month a penalty of a rupee per Saree undelivered had to be paid.

"Who fixes the price of the Sarees?" asked C. R. again quietly. The man looked hunted.

"The prices are fixed by the sowcar and he takes my Sarees at five rupees eight annas each."

"What difference would it make if the Saree was sold in the market and not to the sowcar?" continued C. R. "You sometimes escape the sowcar during a good season and try to make more out of your cloth, don't you?"

"Yes, I can get one or one and half a rupees more if I sell outside."

So here again the weaver was losing one rupee at least on every Saree he was selling to the sowcar who gave him yarn. He was hopelessly in debt to the money-lender who held him in continuous bondage. Not only he but even his family were at the sowcar's mercy and their wage even under the best of conditions did not come to more than twenty-five rupees a month. He had lost his freedom to bargain for the price of his goods and was paying interest at hundred per cent to his avaricious creditor. It was a pitiable state he was in and how happy he would be if only he could extricate himself from the money-lender and make an independent business for himself with full freedom of bargaining for his product, was easily understood by him when once the illusion about his imaginary high wage had been dispelled from his brain.

The Khandeshi weaver is poor but he can easily be made prosperous and even rich if only the art of hand-spun is revived. The spinner need not content himself with making coarse yarn for the Jhoras but can spin fine and fast and earn his contentment. With a little effort the Kunbi families can be persuaded to keep cotton for their homes and make them self-sufficient. The raiders will have more employment. The cotton trade will have to leave enough for the home. The village will then regain its lost self-reliance: its population will cast off its present distress and gloom and thereafter live in mutual trust and confidence, each section of it in mutual usefulness to the others and thus an indissoluble bond of human sympathy, and a new joy will enrich the bounds of famished Khandesh whose soul is now struggling for life and liberation.

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Notes

We fear the Mahomedans of India are in for a trying time. The news has come from Constantinople that the People's Party have by an overwhelming majority accepted the Bill deposing the Khalif and abolishing the Khilafat. The message is not very clear, but it looks as if the institution of the Khilafat as far as it is in the power of the Turks to affect it is at an end. As non-Moslems we cannot even pretend to pronounce on the point at issue. It is remarked that the decision now arrived at is favoured by His Excellency Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha himself. While resolutely declining to commit ourselves on the main question, we think we understand the general sweep of affairs that have led to the present result. Turkey after Lausanne seems inclined to put herself right with Europe. Europe is democratic, and where not anti-religious, is distinctly indifferent to religion.

The Turkish leaders feel therefore that one method of making peace with "civilisation" will be by adopting the administrative and religious policy that is now fashionable. What easier then, than to vote for a republic and against a State-church? Besides this, one fact has also to be considered. The presence of the Sultan in modern Turkey seems intolerable to men who saw the Sultanate dragged in the mire on account of the incompetence of those, on whom the responsibility of rulership had come. It is therefore quite intelligible that in the eyes of patriotic Turks the Sultanate should be in a thing of dishonour. As for the Khilafat, it is difficult to say how pious Mussalmans will regard prevailing conditions. If the whole of Turkey is truly represented in the decision of the Assembly, the divorce between Turkey and the rest of the Islamic world may well seem final. If, on the other hand, Turkey is religious enough to be faithful to the ancient institution, the ruling classes that have now risen to power may be repudiated and overthrown. The agitation raised by the publication of the Aga Khan's letter suggests that the way of the "Reformers" is not easy. With this we shall have to be content for the time being.

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Strange tales are coming from Delhi as to the political doings there and of the inner meaning of the coalition between Swarajists and Independents. The account we have got is materially different from that which appeared in the papers, but our informant is

a thoroughly reliable man and has had opportunities of knowing all that there was to be known. Public understanding is that the Nationalist Party was formed with a view to practising obstruction on the Swarajist model. But the truth seems to be that the coalition was brought about exactly to prevent that result. There was in Delhi, when the Legislature met, a group of men who felt that the Swarajists were wild, mad, bad folks whose threat to wreck the Councils was a serious danger to the country and that it was their clear duty to prevent that consummation by all the means within their power. A frontal attack was deemed vain; other schemes were therefore considered. The present Coalition was perfected. The vital point in the alliance is the rule about a three-fourths majority being necessary to give validity to a programme of obstruction. The starting point was the attitude of Government in the Constitutional Debate. The Government stole a march on the Nationalists; the reply of Sir Malcolm Hailey at the Debate, in spite of its rigidity and lack of all accommodation, was deprived of all effect by the promised Statement of Lord Olivier. The Statement itself was Fabian, deciding nothing and promising a good deal. His promise is that anything is possible, if only the Assembly is reasonable. Here it is that the rule about the necessity of a three-fourths majority becomes vital. The Swarajists have no such majority; they have a little more than a bare superiority in numbers. The scheme of the Independents is to control policy. Their policy is certainly not to throw out the Budget. They feel that by this device they can paralyse the Swarajists and thus discredit them in the country. It is not everyone of the Coalition Independents that is pursuing this more or less Machiavellian policy; but there are quite a group, among the men who count, pledged to it. What the Swarajists will find is that they are expected to submit to the Independents in the matter of the Budget in case the peculiar rule of the majority works that way. If, on the other hand, obstruction is accepted by the Coalition, it will presently be found that the Independents will scatter, if only for the reason that they are bound by no party discipline over and above that of the Coalition itself. At the moment of writing, that is exactly what seems to have occurred. The Coalition is reported to have arrived at a three-fourths vote in favour of obstruction; but the vote was had in a house of fifty-two. It will be remembered that the Party is seventy-five strong. It is stated that the Independents were

against the voting down of the Budget, and that the absentees were not Swarajists. The Independents contemplate re-opening the decision before the voting in the Assembly on the Grants. As far as we can see, therefore, the device for rendering the Swarajists impotent is on the eve of success. If, indeed, the decision at the later party meeting is in favour of granting Government the money it wants, the Swarajists will be in a worse position than ever before. The alternatives in such event will be two. Either the Nationalist Party will be destroyed or the Swarajists will lapse into a frank policy of co-operation. Let us say at once that is the broad result we contemplate, not individual idiosyncrasies or fidelities.

* * *

Our guess is that the Swarajists will lapse into co-operation. The signs of the times are manifold. There is already a hard nucleus of responsive co-operators in the Party; and it is composed of men of influence, experience and, more than all, genuine conviction. They will exert themselves to the utmost to pull the Party their way. If we mistake not, they are a vital and respectable minority. Apart from that, there is the force and pressure of external circumstances making in that direction. The No-confidence Resolution in the Central Provinces, the resolutions in the Assembly and the various provinces in Government's despite and the clear futility of them all have begun to convince people that the policy of obstruction is without profit. What is more, the disillusionment has overtaken the Swarajists themselves. Evidence is not wanting of this either. For instance, the attitude of the Party in the Bombay Council recently is significant. It came about thuswise:—The Bombay Council recently threw out at the instance of the Swarajists a Bill for the protection of children. Lord Olivet quoted the incident in his speech of the extreme lengths to which the Swarajists were able to lead the Legislatures in pursuit of the Policy of obstruction. For, it was generally granted that the Bill in itself was an excellent measure. Public opinion was clearly in support of it. Whether it was on account of popular indignation or for some other occult reason, the Bombay Council has chosen to resent the suggestion that it was obstructionist. The matter was raised on a motion to adjourn the House. The debate was uneventful in this reference but for a speech of Mr. Jayakar, the leader of the Swarajists. It is an Associated Press summary of the speech that is now before us; but if it is accurate, be, at least, seems to have come to the end of his career as an obstructionist, and has declared himself a co-operator of the "responsive" variety. He declared:

"The Swarajists had come to the Council to offer co-operation to do away with what he called the vicious system of diarchy. If the Government responded to the Swarajists' responsive policy they would cordially work with Government."

The meaning of this pronouncement is obvious, and we do not propose to labour it.

* * *

But the evolution of Swaraj policy along the appointed course makes it necessary for us to consider the position again. We had all along held (prophesied is a word of self-conceit) that the Swarajists were co-operators in disguise, and that right from the time of the Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee, the present development was implicit in Pandit Motilal Nehru's policy. It is time that the consequences of Swarajism are faced cleanly, sanely, without anger and without passion. We have already stated the alternatives now before the Swarajists; co-operation or destruction of their coalition with the Independents. We would favour the former course. The final decision in favour of such co-operation will put an end to the confusion and implicit dishonesty of a pure tactic of obstruction. It is impossible, it is undignified, it will not work, it will carry the national cause no further than it is now after a series of the flouting of popular opinion. It will be better far for the Swarajists as a political party to submit itself to a process of self-examination and more precise definition. There are the two sections in the Party, those who are in it because they believed that Parliamentary non-co-operation was possible, who if they are convinced that Non-co-operation is impossible under any set of circumstances will prefer to resign their seats and go back to their work in the country; and those who have made use of the cry of obstruction not because they believed in it but because they felt that that was the only way of catching the ear of a people who had gone mad about Non-co-operation, the name and the thing. There is a vital difference between the two and the sooner the division comes about the better for all concerned. The co-operators will remain in their places and do the best they can to serve the national interest from there. There are some constitutional difficulties, matters of conscience. For example, there will be something in the nature of a breach of electoral promises; but that is part of the very price of corruption, the very danger of touching an unhallowed thing. We shall be told that this is the hypersensitiveness of conscience; we do not agree, but we shall not stop to quarrel about it. Assuming there is anybody worried about this thought, there is an easy way out. He can resign his seat and then stand again frankly as a co-operator. There is the risk of being thrown out. It has however to be faced.

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A Voice from Hungary

We give below an extract from a letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi by a Hungarian correspondent from Budapest:—

"An unknown person of a distant country sends his best wishes to you on occasion of your getting back of physical freedom. For, your soul could not lose its freedom even in the prison. You have important things to do and may be, my writing to you will cause only disturbance to you, taking away precious time if you read it. It can be even that you will never get or read it, but it does not matter at all, for it is an inner necessity for me to write and tell you that there are men very far away from India who have faith in your person and your work.

"I believe that the work which is done by you has a great importance for the whole humanity; the West does not understand it clearly to-day what your work represents in human history, yet it can be observed that there are many in the West who have a clear or a less distinct feeling about it.

"Our small country—Hungary—was compelled by Fate to take part in the big war, although it had no hopes of rich results even if the war would have turned out to our advantage. (I use the terms of western ideology, yet knowing that victory and conquest does not mean a real advantage for the conquerors.) After the war, in which we had nothing to win, we lost three-fourths of our lands; barbarous foes took possession of the cultivated soil of our country, and Hungarians are damned in the conquered dominions to such a tragic existence that even oppressed India cannot imagine it, for India is at least a whole, while our people has been torn into pieces.

"The vanquished peoples of Europe are nearer to the understanding of your high idea than the conquerors. In Germany there are voices to be heard which seem to re-echo your own words. One of the best writers of modern Germany—George Kaiser—has completed a dramatic play in which the liberation of oppressed mankind is dealt with. The idea of the solving is yours! But even in England and France or America there are men who understood that the western way of solving great problems by everlasting wars cannot lead but to a general ruin. And the whole world begins to listen more and more to India's message for mankind—and this message is yours.

"Since several years I study Indian religion, philosophy and literature, and I have the conviction that India's thought has a very great importance for humanity. I believe that Rabindra Nath Tagore was right in saying: "The greatest event of our age was the meeting of East and West in India." Yes, India will pour fresh water into our dried-out wells—for our wells which were once filled to the brim by another holy water (Christ's message) were abandoned by us. Truth is but one and the truth in the messages of the Upanishads, of Buddha or Christ cannot be different. The words and the forms can differ, but the living essence is the same.

"And there is nobody in this world to-day whose words and deeds could better express this truth than yours. In you I see the personification of all truth which was ever given to mankind."

Opium Policy and Mr. Gandhi

Mr. Gandhi sends us the following for publication:—

Mr. C. F. Andrews has shown me a paragraph in his writings in *Young India* regarding the opium policy of the Government of India. In that paragraph he quotes Mr. Campbell, the Government representative at the Geneva Conference held in May 1923. Mr. Campbell is reported to have stated that "from the beginning India had handled the opium question with perfect honesty of purpose, and not even its most ardent opponents including Mr. Gandhi had ever made any reproach in that respect." The statement Mr. Andrews has shown me was written whilst I was a prisoner in the Yeravada jail. Mr. Andrews tells me that, knowing my views in the matter of opium, he did not hesitate to contradict Mr. Campbell's charge against me, but in view of the importance of the matter he wants me to state my position clearly regarding the opium policy of the Government of India. I do so gladly. I confess that my study of the opium question is very cursory, but the campaign against drink that was taken up in 1921 with such great enthusiasm and even fierceness, was a campaign not merely against the drink curse but against all intoxicating drugs. It is true that opium was not specifically mentioned, nor were opium dens picketed, except perhaps in Assam; but those who know anything of the history of the anti-drink campaign, know that sustained agitation was led against all manner of intoxicants not excluding even tea. During my travels in Assam Mr. Phookan, the Assam Non-co-operation leader, told me that the campaign had come to the Assamese as a blessing, because more than any other part of India Assam had a very large number of its population addicted to opium in a variety of ways. The campaign, however, Mr. Phookan said, had brought about a wholesale reform, and thousands had vowed never to touch opium. I should have thought that the severe condemnation that I have repeatedly expressed of the liquor policy of the Government would include condemnation of the whole of its policy regarding intoxicating drinks and drugs and that no separate condemnation was needed regarding opium, ganja etc. If there was no ruinous and growing expenditure on an army kept not for the sake of preventing encroachments from without but for suppressing Indian discontent due to the exploitation of India for the sake of Great Britain, there would be no revenue needed from immoral sources. In saying that India (meaning the Government of India) has handled the opium question with perfect honesty of purpose, Mr. Campbell evidently forgets that, in the interest of revenue, opium was imposed upon China by force of arms.

Young India

20-3-24

National Education

We had occasion recently to remark that the positive work before Congress was the Constructive programme and that the positive part of the Constructive programme was the propagation of Khadi. A correspondent who agrees with us in the above matter makes it the starting point of a passionate plea for national education. He is himself a teacher in a national institution and is therefore in a position to speak with experience. On the whole, he attributes the sad case of existing schools to the apathy of the public and of the Congress. We agree; but it is in the matter of reasons and solutions that differences arise. In this particular question, we are pretty clear that there is confusion and grave misunderstanding. It is true that the apathy is there and that it is practically impossible to rouse popular enthusiasm. The reason however is pretty deep. In our humble judgment, all the recurring waves of popular favour are wasted because Congress has so far not come into nodding acquaintance with national education. All that is called such is the imparting of the ordinary type of Government instruction, by people who profess to be in a state of active or passive rebellion against the present administrative system. The teachers and professors are patriots, and to that extent it is an unalloyed good. But in everything else, we shall respectfully suggest there is not a scrap of difference between Government and Congress. The curriculum and pedagogic ideas which form the fabric of modern education were imported from Oxford and Cambridge, Edinburgh and London. But they are essentially foreign, and till they are repudiated, there never can be national education. For the moment, we are not going to discuss the problem whether it is possible for India to do without European education; (and in this connection let us say that we regard the English as a mere special phenomenon of the European system). If India decides in the light of the need there is of fighting Europe with her own weapons, Industrialism, Capitalism, Militarism, and all the rest, in favour of making counterfeit Europeans of her children, soldiers, inventors of explosives, prostitutes of Science, forgoers of God, she must go forward on her path stern and open-eyed, whatever the disaster. But in that case, she should make up her mind to do without national education, for, national education will not secure those ends, will not make her sons and daughters fit for the fulfilment of those functions. The fact to be realised is that India by the very fact of her long-established and elaborated civilisation had once the advantage of an educational system of her own, the only thing entitled to be called "national." But it was fundamentally distinct from the Anglo-Indian type and from the pseudo-national type that is its descendent. The question then is this:—The choice must be clearly and

finally made between national and foreign education, the choice of type and archetype, of meaning and purpose, of end and means. It has so far not been made. We are almost certain that the necessity for choosing is hardly realised. As long as confusion on this matter exists, "National" education cannot flourish. And that for a simple reason. The Government is already imparting one type of education in respect of which it is impossible for any purely non-official body to compete. Official organisation is bigger, it has more money, it has more prizes to offer. We believe that this root-paradox will last as long as there is no hard and clear thinking about fundamentals. If, as a result of careful decisions, we promise to the people that the education we offer will be truly Indian and not a mere inferior prototype of the education offered in the schools and colleges of Government, people are bound to listen to us. We believe that the folk who suffer from the effects of the existing arrangements, who deplore social disruption, who are stricken by the waste of youth, will be thankful to find an avenue of escape. Institutions that stand for the inevitable revolution, for the restoration of national and social continuum will have in their hands the secret of the future.

For that which should be remembered is this. The greatest visible evil of the present educational method, in itself evidence of deeper defects, is, that it has broken up the continuity of our existence. All sound education is meant to fit one generation to take up the burden of the previous and to keep up the life of the community without breach or disaster. The burden of social life is continuous, and if at any stage one generation gets completely out of touch with the efforts of its predecessors or in anywise gets ashamed of itself or its culture, it is lost. The force that maintains society together is a series of high loyalties, loyalty to faith, calling, parents, family, dharma. The ancient educational system in India certainly maintained the long tradition of pride and service, the place of every elder within the body-social and body-politic. It is equally certain that modern, foreign, non-national, education makes young people unfit for any useful function in life. The vast majority of people that sent their children to the English schools were agriculturists, men and women with a deep and abiding faith in God. There is no doubt that the young people when they came back knew not a thing about agriculture, were indeed deeply contemptuous of the calling of their fathers and professed to have outgrown all faith in God or in His fulfilling providence. The fact that the tragedy of this destructive breach was limited by the need of Government for only a specified number of clerks and deputies, should not really mask the reality of the transaction. "Reformis" have succeeded "Reformis" in the educational system, Commissions have considered the case of the Universities, primary instruction has been sought to be made compulsory; but there has never been the remotest perception of the fact that the whole thing is an evil because it was destroying the very foundations of all national life and growth. The system must be scrapped; enquiry must be made promptly as to what constituted the elements of education

before Indian Universities were constituted, before Lord Macaulay wrote his fatal minutes. Promptness is essential, because the race of old teachers is nearly extinct and the secret of their methods may die with them. The resuscitation of those curricula may mean the disappearance of political history and geography; but the prospect does not disturb us in the slightest. We have been trying to get at the elements of the old curricula at least in one part of the country and we dare aver in all conscience that they strike us as infinitely more efficient and satisfactory than the latest thing come out of Europe. But we confess it is a layman's opinion. That is why we should like to have the matter investigated by experts. If it is done and its consequences faced, we are confident that the people of the land will have reason to be highly thankful, and our correspondents will have less reason to be critical of the educational activities of the Congress.

The Root Objection

A document dated the 1st of February 1920 and signed by me at Lahore and handed to Dr. (now Sir) Joseph Nunn has been reproduced in an elaborate paper (dated 22nd November 1923) on the Status of Indians abroad. As it has been used in support of a scheme of Indian colonization in British Guiana and as it is stated in that paper "so far as is known it still expresses Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards British Guiana," it is necessary to make my position clear. The statement made by me in the February of 1920 is as follows:—

"Lahore, 1st February 1920.

From the outset Mr. Gandhi made it perfectly clear that he was not prepared to take any step that could be construed as a personal encouragement by him to Indians to leave India. He was not in favour of the emigration of Indians. At the same time he realized that many held different views on this point and he was equally not in favour of using compulsion by legislative or executive action to compel Indians to stay at home. They should be treated as free citizens at home and abroad. They should certainly, however, be protected from misrepresentation. He knew nothing to prevent people emigrating now except (*a* Defence of the Ration Regulation) which would expire six months after the war. (This is the regulation preventing the emigration of unskilled labourers to work abroad, until six months after the war, unless under special or general licence.)

"Once assured that equal rights for Indians existed in regard to political, municipal, legal, commercial and industrial matters in British Guiana, and that they were not alone receiving fair treatment from the administration and the general community but would be guaranteed the continuance of such fair treatment, he would not oppose any scheme of free colonization by Indian agricultural families.

"He was satisfied that the Colony had a liberal constitution, and that Indians could be and were elected to membership of the Legislature and to municipal office. He was satisfied that they had equality of rights with other races, and that there were opportunities of acquiring land for settlement. He was in favour of allowing a test of the scheme subject to a report at the end of six months on its working by Mr. C. F. Andrews or some other representative of the Indian popular leaders. The deputation

accepted this proposal of a report by a popular representative independently of any supervising officer nominated by the Indian Government, and offered to pay all expenses.

"Mr. Gandhi agreed that all necessary guarantees for the continuance of equal treatment could be furnished by the Colonial Office and British Guiana Government through the Government of India to the Indian people and its popular leaders."

It was hardly fair to use this statement in support of any scheme. It could only be used for supporting a trial shipment under the supervision of Mr. C. F. Andrews or some one having the same status and having the same intimate knowledge of the position of British Indians abroad. But I admit that if such a trial proved successful from the Indian standpoint, I should be bound, under the foregoing statement, not to oppose a scheme of colonization under proper safeguards. My views, however, since the February of 1920 about the British system of Government, have, as is well known, undergone a revolutionary change. At the time I gave the statement my faith in that system, in spite of bitter hostile experiences, had not altogether disappeared. But now I am able no longer to rely upon verbal or written promises made by persons working under that system and in their capacity as officials or supporters. The history of Indian emigrants to South Africa, East Africa and Fiji is a history of broken promises and of ignominious surrender of their trust by the Imperial Government and the Indian Government whenever it has been a question of conflicting interests of Europeans against Indians. The handful of Europeans have almost succeeded in East Africa in bullying the Imperial Government into sacrificing the prior rights of Indian settlers there. In South Africa the Indian settlers' fate is trembling in the balance. In Fiji the Indian is still the under dog. There is no reason to suppose that British Guiana if the test came will be an exception. The moment Indians become successful rivals of Europeans in that Colony, that very moment all guarantees, written or verbal, will disappear. Filled as I am with utter distrust of the British Imperial system, I am unable to countenance any scheme of emigration to British Guiana, no matter how promising it may appear on paper and no matter what guarantees may be given for due fulfilment of the pledges given. The benefit that must accrue to the Indian emigrants under any such scheme will be illusory. I am therefore unable to countenance the proposed scheme of Indian colonization in British Guiana. I do not hesitate to give my opinion without consultation with the British Guiana deputations because of the root objection stated above. If I had to express an opinion upon the merits of the scheme, the ordinary rule of courtesy would have bound me, before saying anything hostile to it, to meet the British Guiana deputations and understand their view-points. Not till India has come to her own and has a government fully responsible to her people and able effectively to protect Indian settlers abroad from injustice, can any advantage accrue to Indian emigrants even under an ideal scheme.

17th March 1924

Andheri.

M. K. Gandhi

Notes

(Continued)

The result of the official enquiry into the Jaito affair has been published, and we are quite sure the matter cannot be left where it is. The true difficulty is that the document carries no weight. The author of the report is a Magistrate in the Punjab Provincial Service, and we say it is impossible that his findings can be accepted as of final value. As it is, he exonerates the Administrator from all blame and we are free to confess that if the facts as stated by him were accurate, the firing was inevitable. But on the other hand, if the findings were different, the Administrator should have been suspended from duty, and perhaps prosecuted. It was heartless and cynical to throw the responsibility on an ordinary Magistrate to record findings which will lead to the persecution of a member of the Indian Civil Service and a European at that. Mr. Balwant Singh is a member of the Provincial Civil Service and he was put in a position to whose responsibilities and implications he could not possibly have risen. It is absolutely essential that we should have the facts before us. Ideally a Congress enquiry will be best; but it is practically certain that official evidence will not be made available to the representatives of the Congress. We are consequently inclined to support the idea that there must be an authoritative enquiry into the incident. We shall certainly not regret it if Government should accept the suggestion already made by an important group of Legislators that Government should order an independent enquiry. In our opinion the value will consist not in the findings or the report, though they will be of interest, but in the evidence. We are very anxious to get at the true facts, because the perusal of the report leaves us with the impression that the truth of the affair is not yet before us. There are a number of hints and statements which it substantiates will cast a heavy responsibility on the Akalis. But as we have said already, we are not sure that we have a full picture of the facts. At all events, the present report is insufficient.

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The new Councils have been sitting now for some weeks and the result of their activities is essentially indeterminate. That the leadership remains in the hands of the Swarajists may be cheerfully admitted. But the admission does at all mean that Swarajism as conceived, preached and pressed on the electorate in the winter any longer survives in the large arena of politics. Our meaning is that Swarajists are the only set of people with discipline and intelligent leadership; and by those very facts they dominate the non-official groups in the Councils and the Assembly. The Independents in Delhi are making a bad show of themselves, but no worse than their indefinite name and existence should lead one to expect. There are all kinds of minds in the group, whose only common denominator is that there is no party with which they are prepared to co-operate or to accept the discipline of. They are essentially anarchists. But

out of the conflicts has emerged one consequence of great import. The distinctive Swarajist policy of uniform, continuous obstruction is dead as a doornail. In the main debate over the grant for Customs, Pandit Motilal Nehru was quite handsome about confession. He made it clear that he did not ask for the rejection of the grant on the basis of obstruction, but that he took his stand on the orthodox English doctrine of "grievances before supply." The fact that the Independents insisted upon their pound of flesh on the second day of the grants did not in the slightest degree alter the fact of the Swarajist descent into Moderateism. We daresay that the precise method favoured by Pandit Motilal Nehru was truly no choice at all but that it was forced on him by the exigencies of the situation. But we are afraid that on the capital question whether any further step is open to Swarajism to take, and whether they logically can escape from a blind alley, the position is just where it was from the beginning.

* *

For, assume that the Swarajists in the Assembly were not at the mercy of the hesitations and irresolutions of the Independents and that they were as strong as in the Central Provinces Council. Even then we submit with all deference that the Swarajists have no true mind and no policy, and have never had from the beginning. For if they had, the chance is still there for them to work out. We confess we are not sure what it may be; but if our memory serves us aright, Mr. Das had indicated on more than one occasion and Mr. Patel has more recently pointed to the consummation, that if Government defied the decision of the Legislatures non-payment of taxes will follow. What is there to prevent it now? At least as far as the Central Provinces is concerned, the constitutional claim of Government to tax and govern is at a minimum and the right of Swarajists to lead the people in a campaign of no-taxes is at the strongest. The Council has thrown out the whole Budget. In reference to certain items of administration, the Assembly has refused grants, grants which affect the Central Provinces also. Consider, for instance, the collectors of Income Tax. Judged as an Imperial subject, the Assembly has refused to provide the funds. As far as the auxiliary services of the local officials are concerned, the Budget of the local Government has been completely thrown out. For the moment, we leave out of account the non-votable items. At the end of it what is left is that there is no kind of constitutional right for the maintenance of an agency for the collection of the particular tax in the Province. We hold that the Swarajists on their own premises will be perfectly justified in asking the income-tax assessee not to pay the tax because there is no lawful machinery for collecting it. (We do not grant that certified restorations of the rejected grants is lawful; they may be legal.) The logical and constitutional duty of the Central Provinces Swarajists inside the Assembly and the Council is finished. The demands that were presented have been

rejected and they have taken the most extreme constitutional step. They have done all they can to paralyse the King's Government inside the Council. The boast (or was it a threat?) of the Governor was that the King's Government must be carried on. Now it is their duty to meet that Government in the country and make it impossible at least to the extent of its unlawfulness. On the important question whether the country will be prepared to listen to the representatives it has sent into the Councils, we consider it as altogether easy of answer. We believe that the response is there, has been there all through, and will be there as long as the present system lasts. The need is leadership and courage in high places. Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal was perfectly right in holding that the turning down of the demands for grants can end logically only in one step, the non-payment of taxes. But logic is one thing and the courage to face logical conclusions is different.

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The following from the "Manchester Guardian" will be of interest:

It is more to the purpose, perhaps, for us here, to reflect for the moment on the extraordinary strength of the political weapon which has, during the last fifteen years, come into use under the guise of utter forcelessness, the very extreme of inaction. The dangerous demonstration was first given, on any large scale, by the "Suffragettes" through their hunger strikes. Sinn Fein, in its original form, was an organisation for absolutely passive resistance—the simple ignoring of everything English in Ireland—the Courts and the Post Office, the tax-gatherer and the policeman. Had not the opportunity of the war led to the substitution of armed rebellion for the original plan, the experiment might have worked out to something unbearably troublesome and discrediting to England. And now the Punjab is the laboratory for testing the unexplored force of this strange new explosive which does not explode and yet may disable.

* It is a Liberal maxim that all government should rest on the consent of the governed; in the modern world, even in India, it begins to look as if any Government might be thrown out of gear if a considerable number of its subjects string themselves up to the point of doing no positive act whatever to help it—not even the act of eating in its prisons. The Home Office was near its wits' end when the war suspended the use of the hunger-strike tactics by women, and is the Punjab Government really sure what it ought to do now? The common habit of us all has been to regard merely passive resistance, the simple withholding of even the very rudiments of civic co-operation, as a weapon inevitably ineffectual in the last resort, in the face of overwhelming force resolutely used. Though the point is not yet clear, it is possible that we may yet have to revise our conceptions of political force and recognise in such precepts as that of turning the other cheek a clue to effectual secular action and not merely a principle of what Bacon calls an "abstract and friarly morality."

Khadi Notes

Khadi Boards

Since the establishment of the All India Khadi Board at Coconada six such provincial boards have been formed in the following provinces: Bengal, Tamil Nad, Keral, Karnatak, Rajputana and United Provinces. Similar Khadi organisations already existed in Gujarat, Punjab, Maharashtra, Andhra, Utkal, Hindi C. P. and Behar. Other provinces are also expected to form such boards soon.

The Bengal Khadi Board is presided by Deshbandhu C. R. Das. The secretary is Sjt. Nikunja Bebari Maitra. 17 more members constitute the whole board. The veteran Khadi leaders Acharya P. C. Roy and Sjt P. C. Ghosh are amongst them.

An organisation named Khadi Pratishthan is already working systematically in Bengal for several months under the auspices of Acharya Shri Roy. Sjt. Satish Chandra Das Gupta is managing it. They are working specially in the famine stricken area of north Bengal. Some centres are selected and trained workers are placed in charge of them. Account and record systems have been formulated and printed forms of these have been supplied to each centre. We have received a set of these and on going through them we find that the whole work is well managed.

They have selected their own Charkha and carding instrument to suit their own surroundings. A fully illustrated and instructive book on the use of these implements has also been published in Bengali, a literature which in precisionness surpasses all that has been printed on this subject till now. The Pratishthan has also commenced to publish bulletins giving various information about cotton and other things, and is going into the very root of the whole problem. They are also supplying cotton seeds of local varieties, *Dev kapas* being one of them. We have a few remarks to offer about the Charkha and the carding instrument they have selected, but we shall do so on a future occasion.

The Tamil Nadu Khadi Board is under the chairmanship of Sjt. Kamawswami Naikor. The Secretary is Sjt. Santhanam. There are six other members who with the president and secretary form the board. Sjt. Rajagopalachariar is one of them. The board has well begun its work. It has opened a training department in a select centre near Tiruppur, where there is a number of spinners and good cotton available. It is placed in charge of Bhai Elyalwar, an ex-student of Sabarmati Khadi school and a staunch Khadi worker. He will set himself to improve the locally used Charkha and the carding bow which are of a low working power, and is going to get the yarn spun finer still, and cheapen the cloth thereby. The impression left by Bhai Elyalwar in this school leaves little doubt as to the success in the work entrusted to him.

The Keral Provincial Khadi Board has been formed with Sjt Karun Nilkanthan as its secretary. More details have not been received yet. Its headquarter is Trichur. A khadi school is being conducted in this province at Sabari Ashram in Palighat for the last six

months. The instructor is Bhai Krishnan Nair, also an ex-student of Sabarmati school. He is an expert and industrious worker. The school is labouring under financial difficulties. A grant was given to it at the instance of the Technical Branch of the All India Khadi Department, but now the Provincial Khadi Board is relied upon to remove the difficulty and put the institution on a sound basis.

The Karanatak Provincial Khadi Board has Sjt. Sadashiv Rao as its president. Sjt. H. S. Kaujalgi is its secretary. There are four other members on this board. Its headquarter is at Gadag. The accounts of the recent tour of the All India Khadi Board published in the press give an idea of the khadi work being done there and its future scope. A detailed account of this tour together with that in the three other provinces will shortly be published by the Information Bureau of the A. I. K. B. Sjt. N. H. Dumbal has been appointed as the auditing inspector for the province on behalf of the A. I. K. B.

The Rajputana Khadi Board has Sjt. Nursingdasji at its head. He is a Marwarigentleman, who has given up a lucrative business and has taken up Khadi work. He learnt the art of spinning and weaving himself sometime ago, and has for some time conducted charkha classes too. There are eight other members on this board, amongst whom is Sjt. Bisheshwarlalji Birla, a stalwart Khadi hawker. The Khadi wearing population of Bombay must be knowing him. The Rajputana is a living Khadi centre of old. The Board is sure to develop it.

The United Provinces Khadi Board has Sjt. Ramswarup Gupta as its Secretary. Its full particulars have not been received yet. This province also is likely to prove to be a mine of Khadi. The only work being done in this province till now is by a band of energetic workers organised and set to work by Principal Kripalani. It has been working independently of the province so far but is going on systematically. The new board will give them an impetus now.

The Khadi Departments or boards that were already existing in several provinces before Gokhanda Congress are putting themselves into better order now.

Khadi Factories

A gentleman from Kandhla (Dist. Muzaffarnagar) says: "I could not continue my weaving firm of Khaddar. Now, I have three Khaddars, one Tana machine with all the weaving apparatus: Kangis, Rock, Bobbins etc. for rata. I hope you will help me in the disposal of the same. Particulars will be sent on application." His name and address is Bhai Tufail Ahmed B. A. of Kandhla, Dist. Muzaffarnagar, U. P.

This is not an isolated instance. Many such requests have been received orally as well as by post asking for help in disposing off the implements, such as described above. It will be proper to give here for a contrast an account of a successfully conducted factory. Such a one was visited in Salem by some members of the All India Khadi board during their tour in Tamil Nadu.

Siddhaju a weaver by caste is conducting six looms on handspun yarn. He has employed 12 workers on wages and closely supervises all the work. The looms used are country pit looms. Capital invested is only fifteen hundred rupees. He collects the hand-spun yarn for his use from Kallakurichi, Dindigal and Trichinopoly. The rate of the Kallakurichi yarn is about one rupee nine annas per pound, its count being from 20 to 25. The factory is now about two and half years old. The owner is earning his livelihood out of it. The demand for his cloth is always greater than what he produces. The quality turned out is 50" to 54" wide sarees and dhootes of designed borders, and it is very popular there.

The key of the success of Siddhaju was known to lie in the following facts: 1. He knows how to turn out excellent stuff; 2. He knows how to get standard work from his workers; 3. He knows how to cater for his customers.

All the accessories used in the factory are indigenous. The looms are old country type, i. e., those in which a shuttle is thrown by hand. The fact that such a factory can be successfully worked with ancient implements, demonstrates the necessity for the owner to have a practical knowledge of all the work done in his factory. Numerous factories have sprung up on account of the Swadeshi movement. Failures have been many and they are still of daily occurrence. They are liable to give a set-back to the Khadi movement. New enterprisers may find a lesson from the above information.

Automatic Looms

A cloth merchant writes:—"We intend making use of the Swadeshi auto hand-loom manufactured by the Salvation Army loom works, Bombay, for the manufacture of khaddar cloth. Will you kindly inform us whether the use of such looms is prohibited by Khaddar Board, and if so the reasons for the same?"

The following reply has been sent to this letter—"We do not prohibit the use of any automatic loom. But we do not recommend it to be adopted by the cottage producer, because it involves other implements and repair work not manageable by the village weaver. Large producers commanding facilities may at their own risk go in for such looms.

"I may add that the present standard quality reached by hand-spun offers difficulties in the way of using automatic loom."

Since the above reply was sent one thing has suggested itself that the Swadeshi auto hand-loom users should make themselves sure about the reeds, beards, shuttles, pirns etc. used with it are all pure Swadeshi.

Magadil K. Gandhi

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Turn Love to Better Account

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

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No 13

Notes

The readers of *Young India* will be glad to learn that from next week Mr. Gandhi proposes to resume the editorship of both *Naujivan* and *Young India*. Friends have been persuading him not to undertake the editorship yet for a few months, but he has convinced them that, if he is allowed by everkind visitors to have the quiet he needs, the editorial work will be for him rather a kind of mental recreation than a task. We have no doubt that the Gujarati appeal made by him and of which the reader will find a translation elsewhere will meet with full response, and if it does, the experiment of conducting his weeklies while he is undergoing convalescence need not do him any harm whatsoever. Though we have endeavoured to do our humble best to keep to the standard set by him in editing *Young India*, its circulation has suffered very considerably, whereas at the time he was imprisoned the number of subscribers was 21,500, to day it stands at 5,500. The Manager has been instructed to print extra copies of the ensuing number. If, however, those subscribers who stopped subscription after Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment wish to resume their subscription we advise them to do so as early as possible.

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We must congratulate the Nabha authorities on their having released Dr. Kichlew. In due course probably the public will be informed of the reasons for Dr. Kichlew's arrest, and in the absence of any knowledge to the contrary, shall we say unlawful detention? We are at a loss to understand the arrest and detention of persons whether in British India or in the Indian Principalities without any reasons and without any trial. But it is thoroughly in keeping with the traditions of the Indian Government, that is, *face of legalised anarchy*. In Dr. Kichlew's case we are sure he is none the worse for his arrest and detention. He is sufficiently inured to prison life. Mrs. Kichlew has also become accustomed to enforced separation from her husband. The net result is that Dr. Kichlew has undeserved glory to his credit, undeserved because we know that he went with Professor Gidwani not to seek arrest but to gain first-hand knowledge of the tragic occurrences at Jaito. Professor Gidwani still remains in custody though nothing seems to have been authoritatively stated. A Press message informs the public that Professor Gidwani is being made to serve the

remaining portion of his original sentence which he received some months ago along with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The authorities would have saved themselves the trouble of re-arresting Professor Gidwani if they had kept him till he had completed his sentence. We are aware that his discharge before the completion of his sentence was none of his seeking. The public will recollect that when Professor Gidwani and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were released from prison before completion of their sentences they were gratuitously informed that if they re-entered the Nabha State territory they would be taken in custody for completion of the original sentence. The authorities now realise that the information given to Professor Gidwani did not deter him from doing his duty and crossing the boundary when he considered that it was necessary for him to do so.

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A resolution demanding the cancellation of the prohibition against Mr. Horniman has been passed in the Assembly. It was all but carried in the Bombay Council. Public meetings have been held all over the principal centres in India condemning the ban against Mr. Horniman. All parties have been practically unanimous in the demand. The Government has given no valid reason in justification of the ban. The India Office throws the responsibility on the Bombay Government. The Government of India does likewise. Sir Maurice Hayward has put up a plea on behalf of the Government which cannot hold water before a Court of Law and is at variance with the reasons given in the House of Commons. The fact is that there is no justification for this attitude of the Government. Mr. Gandhi says that it is at once a sign of our weakness and of Government's defiance of public opinion. How should the Government respect public opinion when the latter has no sanction behind it? Majorities in Assembly and Councils do not count. Resolutions at public meetings mean to the Government an empty show. What is to be done? Only two things remain: an armed rebellion to enforce the national will. Everybody agrees that it is out of the question. Then there remains civil disobedience, and it is because many Non-co-operators are convinced that until the nation has developed sufficient self-restraint for civil disobedience, no solid advance towards Swaraj can be made, that they pin their faith to the charkha, Hindu-Muslim unity and the

other constructive parts of the Non-co-operation programme. Apart from the tremendous economic gain to India, the charkha does make for self-restraint. We do not know a single person, man or woman, who has been able to spin an even thread without patience. Hindu-Muslim unity is nothing if it is not discipline in self-restraint. Removal of untouchability, too, is possible only if the Hindus will curb their lust for slavery. Do not these untouchables represent almost the worst form of slavery? The question will be asked how long will it take to achieve that measure of self-restraint which is necessary for civil disobedience? The answer is simple. As long as will be necessary to bring about unity between Indians representing different creeds, to make the charkha universal and remove the curse of untouchability.

* * *

By disbarring Deshbhakta K. Venkatappaya and five other non-co-operating pleaders under the Legal Practitioners' Act, the Madras High Court has dealt a blow at its own dignity and prestige. The High Court's decision is purely political. It has no judicial flavour about it. Whilst the distinguished lawyers have not only not lost anything, but gained much in that the decision has raised them in the estimation of their countrymen; the High Court by betraying a partisan spirit has lowered itself in popular estimation and justified the charge that the Courts of Justice are an instrument of evil in the hands of a Government that stands for a system wholly evil.

The charge against them was that they had breached Non-co-operation with law courts and non-payment of taxes and were consequently disqualified for being pleaders. The position taken up by the Chief Justice was that "a person who refuses to take part in the ordinary life of the State cannot ask to be or cannot remain part of the ordinary machinery of the Court." We fail to understand what the Chief Justice meant to convey by this remark. Did he mean that the people must co-operate with the state even when it goes wrong? The idea is absurd. The doctrine of obedience to the state under all circumstances has long since been exploded, and is only recalled now-a-days as an instance of superstitious absurdity.

In a free country lawyers have without hindrance from law courts led even successful rebellions. The courts in free countries rarely interfere with the politics of practitioners. Their function is to supervise and control and insure the purity of professional conduct. They take severe notice of malpractices by practitioners but leave them severely alone in their political and public activities. In a country like ours the process is almost reversed. And had the profession as a class not become demoralised they would register an energetic and effective protest against the Madras High Court's action.

* * *

The Kerala Provincial Congress Committee deserves high praise for having undertaken a vigorous campaign to stamp out the canker of untouchability. A

report in the *Hindu* says there are influential committees of five members with Mr. T. K. Madhavan the leader of the Temple-entry movement as President and including representatives of some of the highest castes organised in Travancore under the auspices of the Congress to conduct the campaign. Its plan of activity consists of two parts viz. the first one relating to the question of admission of low-caste people in places of public worship owned by Hindus and the other to secure the right of way for them along the thoroughfares. With regard to the first, the efforts of the committee have already been rewarded with considerable success,—three Nair temples having been thrown open to the members of submerged classes in response to its appeal. The committee next proposes to tackle Sirkar Temples by carrying on a propaganda among the people as well as by inviting the co-operation of the State authorities. It is proposed in this connection to observe the next 'Vishu' day as an 'Untouchability Day' throughout the province and instructions to this effect have already been issued by the Provincial Congress Committee to the subordinate committees. Another plan would be to present a monster petition signed by Hindus representing all castes, to the Maharajas of Travancore and Cochin on the next 'Onam' day praying them to throw open by proclamation all places of public worship to all classes of Hindus without distinction. Propaganda work has already been started in this behalf by energetic wholetime workers.

For the second object i. e. establishing the right of the submerged classes to cross public thoroughfares in the vicinity of temples and high-caste Brahmin quarters, the committee proposes to have recourse to direct action. It was decided in a public meeting at Vanikun—one of the most conservative centres,—to organise a procession on the 30th instant, of all castes of people to pass through one of these prohibited thoroughfares in the vicinity of a temple. The processionists will proceed in batches of four to avoid all appearance of show of force and to guard against any breach of peace taking place. The leaders are expected to arrive a week in advance to prepare the ground and to complete all necessary arrangements. The attitude of the prominent caste-Hindus is reported to be sympathetic so far.

We shall watch with anxiety the career of the organisers of the proposed procession. All direct action requires great deal of previous preparation. It becomes legitimate only when all other efforts have been exhausted. Direct action by way of Satyagraha requires far greater caution than any other form.

* * *

The avoidance of bloodshed when the second Shahidi Jatha entered Nabha territory was a great achievement. We were certain that the loss of lives last month and the firm bravery of the Akalis would at least save the necessity for further sacrifice of precious lives. But the noteworthy fact is that the arrest of the second Jatha marks a change in the movement. It means that Government has been forced to change its policy in the matter of arrests. It will be remembered that

when Government published the Notifications under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the essence of the fight was a struggle on the question of arrests. The Prabandhak Committee and Dal had a large army of volunteers whom they were anxious to throw at once into the jails. Government, simply but unostentatiously, made up its mind not to play into the hands of the jail-goers. All the months since October have been spent in seeking for action that would provoke Government to arrest. The Jathas of twenty-five proceeding to Jaito, the parading of Amritsar and Lahore by unlawful assemblies, the diversion at Bhai Perni, finally the Shahidi Jathas—all were intended to force arrests. Government had nearly succeeded in the effort, and it might have gone nearly indefinitely along the same line but for the firing that laid the first Jatha low. We need not go into the events of that day now; but it is clear that the Government can no longer refrain from the arrests. Perhaps it is the Secretary of State that is responsible for the change in policy; our belief is that it is the first bloodshed itself. The thing of consequence at present is that Government will have more prisoners on its hands than it will know what to do with. A third jatha is already on the way, as also a fourth; we are promised for the fifth one numbering over a thousand. In the meanwhile the Akalis have managed to raise a special war-chest of five pice for every individual in the brotherhood. The exact figure is not known at the moment of writing; but even according to semi-official news agencies, the response to the appeal has been generous. Add to this, the Shahidi Jathas are administering baptism to people that on the way, are willing to join the community. The whole series of incidents have in them the mark of portent. Of one thing we are unequivocally glad. The emergence of religious elements at a moment when political success was in peril of staining the original purity of the Akali impulse is a genuine blessing. It is fire that the Sikhs are going through and it is cleansing them.

* *

The situation created by the rejection of the Finance Bill in Delhi leaves us nearly as puzzled as Sir Malcolm Hailey said he was. There was an admirable point Pandit Motilal Nehru made in answer to the Home Member. The charge against the Assembly was that it had no sense of responsibility and was acting in an irresponsible way. Retorted the Pandit, "It is true that we are acting irresponsibly. But in truth there is no kind of responsibility in the Assembly; the responsibility is all in the Government and we refuse to have anything to do with the farce." It looks like a debating point; but really it is much deeper. Barring this declaration by the leader of the Swarajists, we are extremely intrigued to understand what there was in the whole affair. The fact that it is a farce does not take us much farther. We take it that the leaders of the nation have something more serious and purposeful to do than officiating at a farce. And unless the Swarajists can tell us what the issue is to be in terms of a policy of action, we are afraid that the

nation will continue to hold that their departure had no justification. Mr. V. J. Patel no doubt said that mass civil disobedience will follow Government persistency; but we have never been able to take Mr. Patel seriously. One swallow does not make a summer and we can only regard the speech as a gesture of impatience, impatience with Government and with the tepid counsellors of his own party. It is much more to the point to have a glimpse of Pandit Motilal Nehru's mind. Of that, so far he has not shown a sign. Between Government and the Nationalists there is a settled grip of deadlock. The Assembly has gone its way at the dictation of the Swarajists; and Government has gone its way at the dictation of—we are not sure whom, but it will be charitable to assume that the whip-hand is that of the Secretary of State. Where, when and how contact will be re-established, it is not for us to prophesy. But of one thing there need be no doubt. Unless contact is resumed, elsewhere than in the Council and the Assembly, the same atmosphere of futility will continue. It is clear now that nothing done in the Legislatures by the biggest majority or the smallest minority is going to have the slightest influence on executive policy. If we may say so with all respect, there was no necessity to go into the Councils at the cost of dissension in the Congress and national paralysis for establishing this proposition. The view was there for every one clearly to take who took the trouble to read the Government of India Act. But what is done is done, and the less said about the past the better. The future is however a different affair and it is time that the situation was viewed from that aspect.

* *

Not that there is much in it calling for originality or positive brilliance of conception. The work in the Assembly is come to its end; but the work in the country is there still to do. The country must be organised in terms of action which can have only one meaning. Khaddar is there and our opinion in that behalf is well-known. But we are prepared to listen respectfully to any other scheme which will achieve the same result. We have mentioned Mr. Patel already. He is the creator of Swarajism, and we believe that he has ingenuity and constitutional resourcefulness to invent a formula for non-payment of taxes. The line of least resistance is not at all difficult to understand. The Finance Bill being thrown out, Legislators flouted by executive authority should re-establish their power over the people. Non-payment of taxes will be the natural device. But things are moving with so leisurely and uncertain a gait that developments are bound to be slow. There is however a consolation. Whatever the pace every day that passes brings the end of the great Council heresy nearer.

To Intending Subscribers

We would request Intending subscribers to remit the subscriptions, Rs. 5/- and 3/- yearly and half-yearly respectively, by Money Order *in advance* as we have stopped the V. P. system.

Manager, *Young India*,
Ahmedabad.

Young India

27-3-24

The High Office

We thought that the controversy over the repudiation of the Khilafat by Turkey would mean trouble for Indian Moslems; but we were mistaken. It is the whole of the Islamic world that is agitated. India spoke through Maulana Mahomed Ali (to whom goes the hand of sympathy in domestic grief hard to bear). The kernel of his weighty argument was that India would fight the destroyers of the Khilafat, whether English or Turkish. Being without power of deed, India could only speak. All other Islamic countries have taken a different line. Their political chiefs have put themselves forward as candidates for the office that Turkey has decided to do without. Sherif Hussein of Mecca; Sultan Faud of Egypt; Amir Amanullah of Afghanistan; all are believed to have advocates. For the moment, we do not mention Sultan Abdul Majid, who protesting against the validity of his deposition, still claims to be the Khalifa against the day when the fate of all claimants will be decided upon at an international conference of Moslem Kings. The general feeling all over Muslim countries is against the "abolition" of the institution. But the peculiarity is that as far as can be ascertained from Reuter's summary of the Press, Turkish opinion approves of the step. The clear conflict of view indicates to our mind one thing pretty decisively. The burden of the Khilafat has proved too heavy for Turkey and she wants to start the new chapter in her history free of the liability. But that merely makes the burden of some body else all the heavier. We should like to believe that the competition among Islamic Powers is evidence of religious zeal; but we are afraid it is nothing of the kind. It looks too much like the familiar phenomenon of political ambition. Judged purely from Indian interests, all that we can say is this. The best thing will be for the choice to fall upon Sherif Hussein. We are acquainted with the catalogue of his sins against the Khilafat when the office was vested in Turkey. But in view of all that has happened it will be hardly worth the while of serious men to go into ancient misdeeds. The condition of being a member of the tribe of the Prophet is fulfilled by him, and taking one thing with another we are not at all certain that there is an overwhelmingly strong case against him. Any way, it is a better one by far than that of the rivals. The Sultan of Egypt is obviously out of the running. In spite of the "Independence" of Egypt, the position of Sultan Faud is not far different from say, that of the Nizam of Hyderabad. There is British garrison in the country, and we do not think that Egypt has got that measure of true independence which, as we have learnt from Maulana Mahomed Ali, is essential to the performance of the functions of the high office of the Khilafat. Then there is the Amir of Afghanistan. He is certainly in a better position of power than that of the Sultan of Egypt. But consider his geogra-

phical position. He is too far away from Arabia to be able to fulfil one of the functions of the office, namely the protection of the pilgrims that resort to the Holy Places in the Peninsula. We confess we have great hopes of the Amir and there is not a good thing in the world we would not wish for him; but we shall certainly draw the line here. There is enough for him to do in his own State and for ign political ambitions will not be to his good, and we doubt very much whether they will be to our good.

Turn Love to Better Account*

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I address this appeal to such of you as come to see me daily, or intend doing so.

I appealed to you sometime ago through the Press, that those of you who must see me may do so between the hours of 4 and 5 in the evening. You are either not aware of this or come before or after these hours just because you cannot help coming. The result is sad for me. The little service that it is given to me to render is disturbed.

The capital of energy at my disposal is very small, and I want to utilise it only in service. I wish to resume editorship of *Naumjiran* and *Young India* from next week. And I need absolute quiet for that work. If all my time and energy are taken up in seeing and entertaining you, it will not be possible for me to edit the weeklies in the way I desire.

Moreover seeing me is not likely to be of any benefit to you. It is an indication of your love for me, but it is an exaggerated indication. The love itself is a great force, and I would have you apply that force not to seeing me, but to the service of the people. I would have you send me on all the money that you have to expend on a visit to me for being spent on the production and propagation of Khaddar. I would have you devote all the time a visit to me would take up to all or any of the following objects:

- (1) Spinning or carding and making slivers;
- (2) Khaddar propaganda;
- (3) Teaching spinning or carding to your friends and neighbours.

To such of those as are not prepared to do any of these things and still can not restrain themselves from seeing me, I would appeal to restrict their visits to the time between 5 and 6 on all evenings except Monday—my day of silence—when I cannot possibly see any visitor. It is evident that I cannot see them individually. I shall have to ask them to be satisfied with seeing me all at a time.

I may also request intending visitors to bring with them yarn spun by them or money for Khaddar work. The yarn will be turned into Khaddar and the money used for Khaddar production.

I shall feel grateful if you will kindly accept my request, and all the time thus saved will be saved for the service of the country.

Juhu, } I am,
24-3-24. } Your faithful servant,
M. K. Gandhi

* Translated from Gujarati.

The Class Areas Bill

Bombay, March 23.

Mr. Gandhi has issued the following statement to the Press:—

The following cablegram has been received from Capetown signed by Mr. Parker, General Secretary, South African Indian Congress:—

"South African Indian community submits notwithstanding strongest protests Union Government determined carrying through Class Areas Bill violating pledge given Bill indefensible. Foreigners, also Euro-Africans, Malays and natives being exempted. Bill will apply only to Indians. Euro-Africans Malays, and Natives assembled in thousands Capetown assured Mrs. Sarojini Naidu of support to Indians in opposition to Bill. Indians will never submit segregation from India. Please take such action as you think best. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has made deep impression and won many hearts. Mrs. Naidu deferred leaving South Africa until 30th April owing great demand on her in interest of the cause."

This is startling news, almost too bad even for South Africa, to be believed. I have already endeavoured to show why the Cape was to be excluded from the operation of the measure. If the information called by Reuter as to the exclusion of the Cape is correct, there is something wrong in the foregoing cable, or the information contained in it is applicable to the other three Provinces only, namely, Orange, Transvaal and Natal. The position then will be that, so far as the Cape is concerned the Cape Indians will still remain exempted from the operation of the measure, whereas in the other Provinces the measure will apply only to Indians. There is no difficulty about understanding the exemptions, because the idea of segregation of Natives and Malays in the extreme sense is new. Every European household has natives of South Africa as domestic servants. Malays, as I have shown in a previous communication, are a negligible quantity except in the Cape. We have, therefore, the naked truth before us that the Bill in question is aimed merely at Indians and that it connotes not only segregation but indirect expulsion. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's visit to South Africa and her inspiring presence there will undoubtedly stend the hearts of the Indian settlers for further effort. Her presence is also bringing Europeans and Indians on the same platform. Let India, however, not be lulled into a sense of security, because of the commanding presence of Mrs. Naidu in the midst of the sorely tried Indian settlers. After all, the cultured Europeans of South Africa are gentlemen, and I have little doubt that Mrs. Naidu is receiving all the attention that is due to her for her many and matchless gifts, but the South African Europeans have also a fixed and determined anti-Indian policy. General Smuts is a finished diplomat. On due occasion he can speak honeyed words, but he knows his mind, and let there be no mistake that unless India can make an effort adequate to the situation, the Bill will be carried through the Union Parliament in spite of Mrs. Naidu's resourcefulness.

The newly opened Bombay branch of "Navajivan Karyalaya" has been located on the Princess Street, opposite Pattani building near the Khad-Bhandaar.

Manager, Navajivan.

Prospect of Satyagraha in Kenya

The movement known as the non-payment of Poll Tax was started in Kenya in the third week of January last. A resolution to that effect was passed by an overwhelming majority at the East African Indian Congress at Mombasa. About twenty-five Indians most of whom are merchants, have been sentenced to imprisonment. The movement is spreading in distant districts of Kenya and it is necessary for us to know how and why it was started in order to realise its significance and its prospects.

The Kenya Decision came as a great blow to the Indian population in the Colony. They had fought for their cause for four years past, sent two deputations to India and two to England, spent not less than three lakhs of Rupees in this agitation and in fact they did what they could to retain and safeguard their rights in the Colony. They had already gone through a trade depression and therefore they felt the shock of Kenya betrayal all the more. In fact at one time they almost gave way to despair. The circular letter that was sent by Mr. Mullik, secretary of the Congress in Nairobi, to the Indian press and the Indian leaders showed unmistakable signs of a feeling of hopelessness. This circular letter clearly told us that if India was not prepared to give the Indians in Kenya moral and material support they could not continue the struggle. This letter in fact left an impression upon our minds that our people in Kenya were ready to lay down arms and accept the White Paper with mere protest. I heard from a reliable gentleman in Nairobi that at one time when our leaders in the Colony were discussing about the rejection of the White Paper and the general sense of the meeting showed signs of wavering and indecision it was a cablegram from Mr. Andrews that saved the situation.

There is no doubt that this mood of despair among our people in Kenya was only temporary, and the united front that the Indian leaders of all parties at home showed after the Cabinet's decision gave our people in Kenya some hope. By the time Shrikrishna Devi reached Mombasa the Kenya Indians had already determined to carry on the struggle and the rejection of the White Paper was a foregone conclusion. What should be the next step was the question to be settled at the Congress. An attempt has been made in certain quarters to suggest and prove that the idea of the non-payment of Poll Tax originated with Mrs. Naidu. The brave daughter of India is quite capable of making such a suggestion but in justice to the local men it should be stated that long before Mrs. Naidu went to Kenya the local Indian leaders had thought of starting this movement as a form of direct action against the Kenya decision. Mr. M. A. Desai, the Indian leader in Kenya, put this idea before a meeting of the Working Committee held at Sabarmati in the end of November 1923. The Working Committee seemed to be quite sceptical

about the advisability of starting such a movement and Mr. Rajagopalachariar cross-examined Mr. Desai at length about the number of people that would be involved, the probable amount of suffering they would have to undergo, the morale of the Indians in Kenya and similar points. Mr. Desai placed before the Working Committee the information he had and wanted advice from them. The Committee definitely refused to give any advice on this point and decided to send one of their representatives to Kenya to attend the East African Congress and to study the situation. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who went there as a representative of the National Congress and President of the Congress in Mombasa naturally followed the policy of letting our people in Kenya decide for themselves the future line of action. The resolution about the non-payment of the Poll Tax was a controversial one and Mrs. Naidu gave full latitude to all the people who had to say anything on the subject. After a long discussion and mature deliberation the Congress passed the following resolution:—

"In view of the unjust and iniquitous Kenya decision of the 25th July 1923 this Congress resolves that as a protest against the main decision, payment of Poll Tax by Indians in Kenya excepting Government servants should be suspended as a first step until the modification of the said decision."

It will thus be clear that this movement in Kenya has been quite independent of any influence from any political party at home. Now that our people in Kenya are carrying on their struggle bravely it is but natural that we should give them all possible help. Mr. Shastri has already given his emphatic support to this movement and this has encouraged our people much indeed.

There are certain things about this Poll Tax campaign which should be made quite plain. The movement is against the Poll Tax alone and the Indian population is paying every other tax quite willingly and regularly. Every male adult—European and Indian—has to pay 30 shillings per year to the Government. Out of a total population of twenty-three thousand Indians not more than eight thousand are affected by this tax. The Mombasa Congress has exempted Government and Railway servants from this non-payment campaign, so the actual number that could be involved in the struggle would be somewhere between five to six thousand Indians. Out of this some had already paid their Poll Tax in the first three weeks of January i.e. before the movement was started. Thus we may put four thousand as the approximate number of our people who may have to take part in this campaign.

The second thing is that the movement has been intended to serve as a political gesture against the unjust Kenya Decision, and it is serving its purpose quite well. There are two ways by which the authorities in Kenya are dealing with the people who are not paying this tax. Either they are

attaching some property of the accused and putting it to auction, in which case the accused suffers a loss of something like one hundred shillings or they are sentencing the defaulters to four weeks simple imprisonment. In both these cases it does not mean much suffering though the merchant class suffers seriously on account of dislocation of their trade. Undoubtedly the movement is infusing new vigour into the Indian population and now they are not at all afraid of imprisonment. Moreover the common suffering of Seth Taibji with his clerk Mr. Patel has a moral of its own. The movement is slowly but steadily changing the mental outlook of our people in Kenya. As regards the question whether our people in Kenya will be able to continue the struggle for long quite so vigorously as now, time alone can show. It does not mean much loss to the Government in revenue. Nor are our people afraid of a loss of one hundred shillings per head or personal freedom for one month. But there are two risks. One is that the movement may result in some sort of social boycott or coercion on the part of our own people which would mean bitterness and division in their own camp. The second risk is that the Kenya Government may use this movement as a handle against Indian trade by taking legislative powers to refuse trade licences to Indian traders. I am sure our people in Kenya can pass through this trial quite successfully if only they get good workers and effective leadership in the Colony and moral support from the Motherland. We cannot say how the movement is going to develop in the future. Our countrymen in Kenya are quite reasonable and if they had received any encouraging or assuring news from Downing Street they would have certainly suspended the movement for the time being, but the imperialistic and manifestly antagonistic speeches of Mr. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, left them no alternative but to carry on the campaign. The duty of India in these circumstances is clear. Our people in Kenya want some workers. Shall we refuse them this help? Our workers will find a lot of work to do. They need not assume leadership. They should study and watch the struggle in Kenya and if necessary help the local leaders in organising the people for the next phase of the struggle.

In the end, I should refer to one aspect of the movement which is really significant. It is exercising a wholesome effect upon the Africans. These people whose number is not less than two millions and a half are being ground down under high direct taxation which amounts to nearly one fourth of their wages for the year. What is more unfortunate they lack the courage to protest against this great injustice. The Indian movement will surely put some courage into these oppressed Africans. They have suffered terribly at the hands of white exploiters. Even if our movement for non-payment of the Poll Tax in Kenya simply puts some life into these dumb driven fellow human beings and does nothing else, it will not have been in vain.

Benaresidas Chaturvedi

The Kenya Highlands*

(By C. F. Andrews)

It is extraordinarily difficult in India to understand the psychology of the white settlers in Kenya for it is like nothing that we meet with in India itself. There is a recklessness about human life, that astounds one, when it is met with for the first time. I have just read in some back numbers of the "Kenya Observer" and the "East African Standard" some comments on the notorious incident of the flogging to death of an African servant by a man named Abrahams, who appears to have tortured the victim in the most fiendish manner, by flogging him again and again, putting questions to him at intervals, which the lad refused to answer, and then flogging him again, pouring water over him when he fainted in order to bring him to his senses and then torturing him with the reiterated question,—"Who told you to ride that mare?" At last the boy died. The incident was reported in the Indian Press and commented on in *Young India*. I wish to make some further comments, concerning the mentality behind it.

Some years ago, much less notice would have been taken in Kenya of an incident like this. Hardly any comment would have been passed. Quite possibly the torturer would have got off with a fine,—because it is supposed to 'lower the white man's prestige' to put a white man in prison. This time the guilty party was given two years' imprisonment. It should be noted that the Englishman's quarters in jail, in Kenya, just as in India, are very different from the quarters given to other races. Imprisonment is not the hardship that it appears, and there would be many compatriots to sympathise and provide comforts.

I would, in a parenthesis, call attention to one point before I go on. Suppose, if it were possible, that an African had treated a white man in a similar manner. Even-handed justice is supposed to take account only of the crime itself. Would a mere imprisonment of two years' duration be regarded as sufficient penalty for such an offence, if a European had died under such torture? Would there not be capital punishment at least, with flogging beforehand, and anything added which would make what is called 'exemplary punishment'? There has been no exemplary punishment in Abrahams' case, though the presiding judge declared that he was 'determined to put down this sort of thing with a strong hand in order to prevent its recurrence.' Let me give an example of punishment of an African which has just come to my notice. An African clerk came into the room of a matron in a hospital in Rhodesia recently at 11 o'clock at night. He did nothing whatever though he was suspected of going into the room with evil motives. There was not the slightest evidence from the matron herself that he attempted to make any assault. But for the mere suspicion, he was condemned, and was sentenced to fifteen lashes and five years' penal servitude with hard labour. Compare this sentence on an African with the sentence passed on the planter Abrahams, who was convicted of flogging an African to death under circumstances of inconceivable cruelty! Very soon if this state of things goes on, the words 'British justice' will

*This article was written a few weeks ago for *Young India* but was crowded out till to-day.

be used only with mockery and laughter in Africa and the East.

But to return to the Kenya newspaper on the Abrahams' flogging case at Nakuru. The comments made here brought back to me the whole atmosphere of the Kenya Highlands,—the callousness, with which such deeds are usually talked about, and mingled with what one might almost call lightness and frivolity. In addition, there is a dawning consciousness, in the Editorials, that Great Britain and the rest of the civilised world are beginning to take more serious notice. Therefore it is regarded as necessary to explain, for consumption abroad, how rarely they happen and how strongly the Kenya Government is determined to put them down.

The paragraph that chiefly struck me came in the 'Random Notes' of the week, in which one of the Staff attempts to be humorous. It would naturally be supposed that this weekly humorist would leave the Abrahams' case alone. But he cannot resist the temptation of dealing with it. He writes:—

'One often has to complain of inaccuracies in English papers in London, which deal with East African subjects. But there is generally an excuse; because, of course, journalists in London cannot be expected to know everything. But there was no excuse for the person, who sent a cable to the English papers, stating that the native at Nakuru who died as the result of punishment had ridden his master's mare to death. The mare was very little harmed, as a matter of fact. And why not spell the man's name correctly?' (The italics are mine.)

Notice the phrase, "who died as the result of punishment." We know, from the evidence, how this African servant was flogged until he fell down senseless, and then how water was poured on him and he was flogged and flogged again until he died. Now we learn from Kenya itself that the animal on which he rode without leave was hardly injured. The mare we read "was very little harmed." So that the flogging was on account of a merely trivial offence. The acknowledgment of this fact is a redeeming feature of the account. As a class, the settlers in Kenya are frank and straightforward in what they do. They would object to that lying telegram about the mare being ridden to death being sent to London. But the last phrase about the man's name, somehow, brings the picture of the callousness with which such deeds are done, and with which they are thought of, in Kenya, home to me in a peculiar manner, though I do not quite know how to explain it. The only comment about the African lad himself is this: "And why not spell the man's name correctly?" The African is brutally flogged to death; a hopelessly inadequate sentence is given to the master who did the deed, yet the only comment of this Editor is, that the Kenya reporter to London did not spell the man's name correctly in transmission.

I will give from the same paper some further comments on the Colony itself, which show what the people on the spot think of it and the way it has been managed in the past.

"This part of British East Africa," says the writer, "has often been described as a Comic Opera Colony." But I was hoping that with the dignity of a new name and status, Kenya would shake herself free from such aspersions. You see, in the bad old days, we were all a little wild

and erratic. But thanks to the Great Problem and its solution in London, the eyes of the world have been turned on us, and we really ought to settle down respectfully, and avoid as far as possible any display of eccentricity or swollen head. But I fear me, that there is still a larger leaven of the Old Adam to be found in what, by courtesy, we call our public men."

I think that we can get a glimpse here, if we care to do so, into the utter irresponsibility with which the whole situation in Kenya is looked upon by the settlers. It does not matter in the very least what happens to India or England or Africa, as long as this tiny group of less than 2000 European settlers in the Highlands get their own way. It does not matter if 21 percent of the African population dies off in one single decade. Who cares? It does not matter if India goes out of the British Empire because of the way Indians in Kenya are treated. Who cares? The Colony belongs to them,—the White settlers—and no one from outside must interfere with them.

We can appreciate this attitude in India. It is the same mentality as that of General Smuts when he talks about the 'Colver Bar' at Maritzburg. It is frank and brutal, but it is outspoken. We know where we are.

But when we turn to the Chairman's recent address at the European Convention of Associations, we get at once into an atmosphere of smoke screen and camouflage, and unreality and diplomacy, which is by no means so open and straightforward. Compare with what I have already quoted the following statement by the Chairman, out of which all candour has departed:—

"He desired here to make one comment on the terms of the Kenya settlement. To say, as the White Paper said, that the interests of the natives in relation to White Settlement were paramount, was a contradiction in terms. Innumerable resolutions of that Convention and the individual relations of the white settlers to the natives showed conclusively that the interests of the White settler and the native were interdependent and complementary. It was not easy to imagine any set of circumstances adverse to the natives, which would not be also adverse to the white settlers. In regard also to the suggestion of the White Paper, that the native's interests were to be the peculiar concern of the official, he felt that they who lived in constant touch with the native and whose interest lay in the appreciation and meeting of the native's wants, were peculiarly qualified to advise on the progress of the natives and as to the lines on which it should be pursued."

The best comments on the above are as follows:—

Sir Humphrey Leggatt, who was for many years member of the Kenya Legislative Council, declared that in all his experience of the Council, the non-official members had not once brought forward and carried through a measure which was in the direct interests of the natives. Another is from Dr. Norman Ley, for 17 years medical officer in East and Central Africa, who has asserted that there was no one in British East Africa, familiar with native opinion, who knew of any tribe that would not prefer to see Europeans leave the country. He adds that the labour system introduced by the settlers provides the principal explanation.

The following further facts may be added:—

(i) The amount taken from the natives by direct and indirect taxation is admitted by the Colonial Office to amount to £s. 725,000. Out of this only £s. 21,000 are spent on native education.

(ii) The settlers not long ago put pressure on the Government to enact by law a system of forced labour on their behalf which has only quite recently been rescinded by the Colonial Office.

(iii) A hut and poll-tax has been imposed which must be paid in money. The tax has the definite object of driving the natives out of their reserves to work for Europeans.

(iv) The same medical officer quoted above states:— "The physical condition of unskilled native labourers when they return home is inferior to their condition on leaving home for the White settler's estates. One can always tell, from their appearance, in which direction men are going when one meets a gang on the road."

(v) The census for 1921 shows a decrease in the native population of 21 per cent in ten years.

(vi) A Registration Act, called a 'Pass Law,' has been passed whereby each native has to carry in a receptacle on his own body a certificate, which gives his thumb and finger impressions his list of 'desertions' etc. This is bitterly resented by the natives.

(vii) If a native leaves his work he may be criminally prosecuted and hunted down as a 'deserter.' The expenses of the employer who prosecutes are paid by the Kenya colony Government.

(viii) The missionaries in Kenya have never openly and publicly objected to any of these things, though they are now supposed to be fitted to represent native interests in the Council. Only the Bishop of Zanzibar protested strongly and publicly against the Kenya Free Labour Regulation fitted to be put on oil owing to agitation in England, not to agitation in Kenya.

In the light of all these facts, which are plain as the day, the Chairman of the European Convention of Associations declares that "he felt that they (i.e. the White settlers), who lived in constant touch with the natives and whose interest lay in the appreciation and meeting of the native's wants, were peculiarly qualified to advise on the progress of the natives and as to the lines on which it should be pursued."

In all that I have said above, I do not wish for a single moment to imply that all Englishmen in Kenya Highlands are out to rob the natives and to drive the natives to destruction. I am quite certain on the contrary that the majority wish to treat the natives well and to give them a fair deal. But they have inherited a system,—these better minded Englishmen—which is one of the very worst in the world, and they are today taking part in that system. The system is based on (i) confiscation of the natives' lands and (ii) dependence on native labour for the cultivation of huge European estates. This can in the long run result in nothing else except the ultimate degradation of the natives. In West Africa, where the confiscation of native land has been strictly forbidden by law, these evils of the plantation system have been successfully avoided.

My Mission

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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No 14

For the Readers Past and Present of 'Young India'

It is not without much hesitation that I resume the editorship of *Young India*. I do not know whether my health can yet sustain the energy required for conducting the paper. But I cannot forego. I can only dimly understand God's purpose in bringing me out of my retirement in *Yerwada*. In taking up the editorial control of *Navajivan* and *Young India* I am following the Light as far as I see it.

Nor have I any new message to deliver to the reader. I had hoped for release by an act of a *Swaraj* Parliament and to be able to take my humble share in serving Free India. That was not to be.

We have yet to attain freedom. I have no new programme. My faith in the old is just as bright as ever if not brighter. Indeed one's faith in one's plans and methods is truly tested when the horizon before one is the blackest.

Though therefore so far as my mind can perceive, there will be no new method or policy developed in the pages of *Young India*, I hope they will not be stale. *Young India* will be stale when Truth becomes stale. I want to see God face to face. God I know is Truth. For me the only certain means of knowing God is non-violence—*Ahimsa*—love. I live for India's freedom and would die for it, because it is part of Truth. Only a free India can worship the true God. I work for India's freedom because my Swadeshi teaches me that being born in it and having inherited her culture, I am fittest to serve her and she has a prior claim to my service. But my patriotism is not exclusive; it is calculated not only not to hurt any other nation but to benefit all in the true sense of the word. India's freedom as conceived by me can never be a menace to the world.

But if it is not to be such a menace, the means adopted for gaining it must be strictly non-violent. My interest in India's freedom will cease if she adopts violent means for their fruit will be not freedom but slavery in disguise. And if we have not yet attained our freedom, it is because we have not been non-violent in thought, word and deed. It is true that non-violence has been adopted as a policy i.e. because we are convinced that by no other means can India achieve her freedom. Our policy is not, must not be, a camouflage. We may not harbour violence under cover of non-violence. Whilst we claim to be non-violent for a particular purpose and a particular period, our thought and

and word must accord with our practice for that purpose and that period. Even so does an honest gaoler act towards a condemned man. He protects his life at the peril of his own till the date of the extreme penalty. He thinks and speaks of his safety. He is, for the time and the period, non-violent in thought, word and deed.

We pledged ourselves to be non-violent towards each other and our opponents whether administrators or co-operators. We were to appeal to their hearts and evoke the best in them, not play upon their fear to gain our end. Consciously or unconsciously the majority of us—the articulate portion—have not been true to our pledge. We have been intolerant towards our opponents. Our own countrymen are filled with distrust of us. They simply do not believe in our non-violence. Hindus and Mussulmans in many places have provided an object lesson not in non-violence but in violence. Even the 'changers' and the 'no-changers' have flung mud against one another. Each has claimed the monopoly of truth and with an ignorant certainty of conviction sworn at the other for his helpless stupidit.

The pages of *Young India* can only, therefore, illustrate the utility and the necessity of non-violence in dealing with the questions that engage public attention. So much for the central policy of *Young India*.

A word as to the business side. Some of the readers will recollect that I announced that when at the instance of Mr. Shaheedul Bunker and other friends, I took up the editing of *Young India*, I told the public that it was run at a loss and that I would be obliged to give it up if the loss continued. I do not believe in publishing newspapers indefinitely at a loss or by means of advertisements. If a paper supplies a want, it must pay its way. The subscription list however ran up steadily week by week and it began to yield profits. But during the last two years as the reader is aware the list has fallen from 21,000 to 3,000 and it is now being run at a loss. Happily *Navajivan* has made up for it. But even that method is wrong. *Young India* must stand on its own bottom or fall. It is likely that if I still retain the personal affection of the old readers, *Young India* will soon pay its way. But I have mentioned the loss not only to acquaint the public with the true state of affairs but also as an introduction to an important announcement.

When Messrs. Bunker and Vojnik suggested that the Gujarati *Navjivan* which was then a monthly, should be turned into a weekly and edited by me and when I undertook the responsibility, I announced that it would be given up if it proved a loss and that if there were profits, they would be utilized for some public purpose. *Navjivan* soon became profitable but at the instance of Sheth Jamnalalji, *Hadi Navjivan* was commenced. It too had just begun to pay its way when my arrest took place and the circulation steadily fell. It is now again being issued at a loss. But in spite of these losses the large circulation of *Navjivan* and other publications enable the management to devote Rs. 50,000 to public work. Swami Anandananand who is managing the *Navjivan* press has left it entirely to me to allocate the money and as I know no other and better method of utilising it, I propose to devote the sum through the agency of the Provincial Congress Committee to the spread of the spinning wheel and Khadi in Gujarat including Kathiawad. Preference will be given to their spread among poor women and the suppressed classes. It is due to my co-workers that I should inform the public that with some of them the work is a labour of love. Where they receive payment, it is just enough for their wants. The result of such work is before the public. I know that if from the sweeper upward I could secure 5000 workers, with the efficient management I have the good fortune to have to-day, it would be possible to show a better surplus.

I should also like to add that if *Young India* again shows profits, as it did before my imprisonment, they will be distributed for all-India work. If any profits are derived from *Hadi Navjivan*, they will be devoted to the spread of Hindu.

M. K. Gandhi

Notes

Thanks

It would be ungrateful for me if I did not publicly tender my thanks to the editors who one after another took charge of *Young India* at a most critical period in its career. Shweish Qureshi with his sledge-hammer style proved too strong for the Government and they hardly allowed him breathing space. Then followed Rajgopalachari with his scholarly contributions exhibiting a wonderful grasp of the deep truths of Satyajata. George Joseph's trenchant style is still fresh to the reader. To all these friends my deepest thanks are due for coming to the rescue. The management staff was no less industrious in its zeal for the national cause.

The Khilafat

I have been asked to give my opinion on the Khilafat trouble. I have none to give. It were impertinence for me an outsider to thrust my views on my Moslem brethren. It is a question which the Moslems must settle for themselves. All that non-Muslins can do is to assure them of their deep sympathy in their affliction. The existence of the Khilafat is an essential part of their faith. Everyone who holds his own religion to be dear to himself is bound to express genuine sympathy with those of a different

faith. The heart of every Hindu who values Moslem friendship must go out to the Mussalmans in their great sorrow. They have a more anxious time now than when the Khilafat was attacked from without. But now that the danger comes from within and several sections are contending for their own views, it must tax the utmost resources of those who are engaged in solving the problem in a manner that is consistent with the deep truths of their own faith and acceptable to all sections. This much is quite clear to me that the future of the Khilafat, indeed of Islam itself in so far as it can rest with man, lies in the hands of Indian Mussalmans. That is the burden, theirs the privilege. May God grant them the power to see the right path and the strength to follow it.

'Commercialising Vice'

This is the expression that Mr. Andrews has used in connection with opium traffic on which the reader will find in another place an informing contribution from his pen. As he handed it to me, he said he had improved upon my description of the traffic. I have described it as 'organising vice.' Mr. Andrews calls it 'commercialising vice.' I dare not dispute with a scholar of Mr. Andrews' stamp the superiority of either phrase-making. But I would commend to the reader's careful attention Mr. Andrews' essay. And when he has digested the gruesome facts with which Mr. Andrews has fortified his impeachment of the opium traffic, let the reader recall the fact that it is British India that grows and supplies opium to British Singapore and then recall the further fact that our children are educated in Government schools from the proceeds of this organised and commercialised vice.

Spare Hours

Mr. C. Rajgopalachari's appeal to the students printed elsewhere deserves the careful attention of all students not merely of national schools but also of Government schools. Scholastic non-co-operation like every other had a touch of violence about it. Hence the gulf between the boys and girls belonging to national and Government schools. As a matter of fact there should be no such gulf. Mr. Rajgopalachari's suggestion if adopted will serve a double purpose. The adoption will bridge the gulf and provide a means beneficial to the nation of utilising the spare hours that students get during vacations. The advance must be made by non-co-operation students. They will not only thereby not surrender an iota of their principle but they will actually emphasise its non-violent and therefore vital part. There need be no despair if the advance is rejected. The suitor may feel sure of success, if it is fellowship that prompts the advance.

An Example to Copy

The boys of the National School at Dharwad have sent me a parcel of yarn spun by them and written to me that it was spun continuously for seven days and nights. I learnt in the Sassoon Hospital that the boys of the Chinchwad institution kept several wheels going continuously for a month and a half. If all who can spin were to follow the example of these good boys, we should solve the Khadi problem in no time, and as I believe

In the capacity of the spinning wheel, if it was universally adopted, to give us Swaraj, I have no doubt that the devotion of the boys of the Dharwad National School and the boys of the Chinchwad institution will take us many a step in the direction of Swaraj. And as such spinning can only be a labour of love, it enables us either to reduce the price of Khadi or to give better wages to those who spin for their livelihood or supplementing it.

Mr. Majli and the Jail Treatment

As a fellow-patient I wrote a brief note to Mr. Majli of Belgaum by way of consolation. Mr. Majli, as the reader is aware, was discharged from prison because he was ailing rather seriously. In reply to my note he writes:—

— Your letter in your own hand-writing could not but make me feel at first highly pleased, but soon after highly obliged. Every day I had an usual high fever lasting for full sixteen hours. I am getting fever every alternate day—but your advice is still stamped on my brain—therefore and I succeeded in last in observing silence throughout the period of fever. I am now perfectly at peace in mind but my body is again showing signs of disturbance & irritation as a result of the new development of this fever of alternate days.

"I read in the papers an interview that had a reply to it regarding the treat seen. I noticed that of the three facts stated, two are mis-statements. I was not given splitting up and a
habit of the same, etc., but (splitting up & I do it every day). Secondly, I was kept in outer darkness under lock for all the 24 hours of the day except 15 minutes "working." Though I have never said I was held, when I was about to kill, I was refused even the opportunity to even the hedge (bush) which I could not digest. I leave it to you to give publicity or not. I assure you I am not writing this."

Mr. Majli is a great worker. The readers will share the hope with me that he may be soon free of all ailments and find himself in happiness. Regarding the contradiction, the uninitiated reader may not be able to notice much distinction between twisting of yarn and spinning, as a mere piece of work. The distinction for Mr. Majli was vital. Thousands of Indians to day regard spinning as a social duty and therefore a pleasure, whereas twisting has no such value for them. Whilst, therefore, in his wth state Mr. Majli would regard twisting as an insufferable task, he would regard spinning as labor for his afflicted soul and a diversion to take the thoughts of his ailment away from him. Moreover, whilst a practised worker can twist one pound of yarn without much difficulty, an ailing person like Mr. Majli can hardly twist a quarter of a pound. Let the reader understand that I know what twisting yarn means, and as I like physical work I assure him that I do not exaggerate when I say that Mr. Majli can hardly twist a quarter of a pound a day without undue strain on his frail body. The seclusion under lock for 24 hours of the day with 15 minutes' walk in the open was a torture and if Mr. Majli was given *jowari* bread and refused the rice diet, it was the surest method of making him worse. I do not, however, print the foregoing letter by way of complaint against the jail authorities, because very often these things happen without any deliberate intention of inflicting hardship on prisoners. What is at fault is the whole system of jail administration which I have already described as soulless, and much worse is an attempt made by the Government to deny or twist facts. Mr. Majli has apologised for

sending the contradiction. There was no occasion for it. He is, after all, a prominent worker in Karnatak. How nice, however, it would be if every one of us could sincerely say to himself: "I am not worth anything"! Then we would all be fellow-servants and fellow-workers among whom the only competition would be to do the maximum of work without the slightest desire for gaining prominence or publicity. Swaraj could then be won and run without any difficulty. Innumerable difficulties arise when everyone wants to lead and advise and nobody wants to work.

M. K. G.

Vacation Thoughts

For Youths in Schools and Colleges

For weeks in schools and colleges
In a few days you will all be free from the toil
of your school and college studies and the anxieties
of having to prepare for examinations, and will enjoy
a long vacation. Some among you will continue to
remain during this period in big towns but a large
number among you will go back to your homes in
the villages and smaller towns. My appeal is intended
for you all, but I urge it especially on those who
will spend this long holiday in rural parts. Some of
you may have sacrificed a great deal, and others
done but little work for the Congress cause up to
now, but during this vacation there is a splendid
opportunity for you all to help the National movement.

The Sacrifice Asked

The work of the year is Khadi, and my appeal to you is that you should use your leisure time during the long vacation to help us in the Khadi work. This will not entail any sacrifice on your part for any change in your plans for the future such as you may have chalked out and for which you are preparing. It will only involve a bit of physical labour, which the weakest among you can do without detriment to any literary studies or other occupations in which you may engage yourself.

A Little Cotton

The essential of the Khadi programme are very simple indeed. Every family that can afford it should keep a little garden of its own. A Muttress (about 125 lbs.) of cotton is the family standard. If spinners are available, there will be more than enough to make all the clothes which the family, including women and children, can wear for a whole year.

A Few Minutes Daily

The spinning of this quantity of cotton is easily done in the course of six months if the members of the family sit each but a few minutes at the wheel, giving between them not two hours every day. It can safely be asserted that there is no family but its women, girls, boys, and even the men can afford to spare out of their winter-hours this much time daily between them all.

An Hour's Carding for a Week's Spinning

The cotton has to be prepared for spinning. If a young man sits at the carding bow for about one hour any day, he can in that one hour prepare cotton enough for the entire family's spinning for a whole week. If a young man sets up a bow during the vacation, he has time not only to learn the art, but also to card and prepare slivers ready for spinning for the whole year for his family in the course of these two months, if only he sits regularly for an hour a day at the bow. If the cotton is unginned

stuff, the ginning of a maund of cotton in an ordinary hand-gin, one of the simplest of household tools, will take but an inappreciable time. The seeds will be good food for the cow and the cotton is ready to be carded. If ginned cotton is procured, this part of the work is saved.

Carding, the Key-stone

The Key of the whole programme is the carding. Our efforts at spinning have hitherto found their greatest obstacle in the difficulty of procuring carded cotton. Almost any one can be induced to spin if you give well prepared slivers and a good wheel. Wheels stop working because carded cotton is not regularly available. Attempts to get professional pujaris to card cotton and sell the slivers from the Congress offices are bound to prove costly, irregular and unsatisfactory. If there is one cause more than another for the apparent set-back in spinning activities among the leisured classes, it is due to the carding difficulty. Like spoon-feeding, supplying slivers to spinners, is not a healthy method of stimulating growth. This difficulty is however only apparent. If tackled properly it disappears at once. Carding should become an ordinary accomplishment of young men. It is here that you can do yeoman service during this coming vacation.

Most Easy

Any young man can learn the art of carding in a day or two. A middle-sized pujan can be easily hung up in any room and as already stated, a young man can learn and practise and also finish the actual carding and slivering of cotton for a whole year's use for his family if during this vacation he gives but one hour in the morning every day at the bow.

A True Story

It was nearly three years ago that I brought a carding-bow from Satyagraha Ashram along with one of Mahatma Gandhi's big charkhas. The charkha became an active member of the family. But the bow, after some vain attempts to set it up went to a corner in the lumber room. There were slivers which a friend had supplied and this was more than enough for the spinning that went on. A Congress Committee borrowed the carding bow for some time. I don't know if it was useful there, but it was soon returned and it went again to the lumber room and thereafter was forgotten. My young friend S. G. of the Ashram came here last year, and I asked him if he could set up and work a carding-bow. "Oh yes," he said. But after inspecting a local bamboo shop, he said there were not green bamboos such as he wanted, and we gave it up and forgot the subject again.

This year Shivaji, Vinobaji's brother accompanied me when I returned home from the Khadi tour.

"Can you set up this bow?" I asked him one day.

"Oh, yes" he said. And this time I was more active and got the two or three strips of good bamboo and strings that were wanted. It did not cost us quite four annas, and more than half an hour's labour. The carding-bow was installed.

Shivaji examined the tune of the gut like a veritable musician, shook his head and took it out and restrung it. It was quite ready.

"Where is the beater?" I asked. We searched for it, but it was not to be found. Either the Congress Committee forgot to return it with the bow or it was mislaid somewhere else. Subbiah, my typist, would not brook delay but went to the town and

returned in the evening with a new and beautifully made beater and a pound of cotton to start work. He boldly sat at the bow and after a few preliminary awkward blows, and warnings from Shivaji, he pulled along well enough. He soon got tired as all enthusiastic beginners at any game do. My son young Narasimhan stepped in. I smiled, for I thought the lad was too weak-limbed a boy for such work. But to my astonishment he went on all right. The thing proceeded regularly after this. The unmistakable music showed that the hands were deft enough and the young men not idle. Subbiah proudly came to my room on the second day with a neat paper roll containing quite a decent quantity of clean white slivers. "Really," I asked, "Did you do this?"

"Yes," said he. "It is quite an easy affair." The third day my son came with a still larger roll of slivers. It was delightful.

"The problem of spinning is solved," said I.

And so it is, reader, for every one can easily learn this simple art of carding and place the Charkha to say on an independent and unshakable basis.

You become an independent centre of work

The Tamil Nadu Khadi Board is arranging to open a colony where young men can stay without any expense for food or lodging and learn all about carding and spinning. They will have to work industriously in this colony but the result will be as Mr. Santanam, the Provincial Khadi Secretary puts it that every one of them becomes an independent centre of Khadi work. If you set up a bow in a room in your hostel, you can on Sunday card enough cotton to distribute slivers for all your friends and neighbours for the whole week. Every hostel could become a veritable centre of active Khadi work absolutely standing on its own legs.

Yarn spun can easily be made into cloth. You can easily find a weaver for your yarn. If it is thick it can be made into coating, towels etc. If thin enough, it can be made into dhotis. The best yarn should be made into sarees for the women-folk. If you cannot find a local weaver, the Provincial Khadi Board would be glad to arrange the weaving for any one who has yarn, provided there is sufficient yarn given at a time, say 5 lbs.

Your Quota of Service

This, then is the true Khadi Programme in which you can give your quota of service. If you learn carding, you substantially solve what has hitherto been the hardest part of the problem. You qualify yourself to be a worker of the first class and by your example, wherever you are, you do immense service to the movement.

There are other lesser things you can do; you can speak to men and women and induce them to wear Khadi;—of course you can do this only if you are yourselves exclusive devotees of Khadi. You can hawk khadi. You can collect funds for Khaddar work. But all this is not such valuable service as your own carding and spinning.

C. Rajagopala Chari

Bombay Branch

Subscription for *Young India* can be paid at the Bombay Branch of our office situated on the Princess Street opposite Pattri Buildings.

Manager, *Young India*

Young India

3-4-24

My Mission

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Pundit Ghasita Ram "President, all-India Sub-Assistant Surgeons' Association, Punjab Province, Amritsar" sent to the Editor some days ago 'an open letter' addressed to me. After omitting from it laudatory phrases and sentences of good wishes, and after correcting obvious grammatical errors, the letter reads :

I am a Brahman, doctor and an old man like you. It will not be out of courtesy if I in this triple capacity offer you a piece of counsel. If you see wisdom and truth in it and if it appeals to your common sense and sentiments, kindly take it to heart.

You have seen much of the world; you have read much of it. Consequently you possess a wonderful experience of it, but in this world of mortals none till now has been able to accomplish the task he has undertaken in his lifetime. For instance Buddha in spite of his high morality could not convert the whole of India into Buddhism.

Saint Karacharya in spite of his high intellectuality could not make all India Vedantist. Christ in spite of his high spirituality could not bring into the fold of Christianity the whole Jewish nation. I do not think, and I am not prepared to believe for a single moment about the accomplishment of your task. Still in view of these historical facts if you believe in the accomplishment in your lifetime, then Sir, I venture to say that it is nothing but a dream.

This world is a place of trials, troubles, and tribulations. The more a man sinks into it, the more he is restless and eventually he loses his spiritual calmness and peace of mind. Consequently the Mahatmas of olden times kept themselves aloof from the worldly worries, anxieties and cares and strove to gain perfect peace and true quality of mind and enjoyed an everlasting happiness and bliss thereby.

The J.H.U. has brought a great change in your life and vigor and the disease has reduced you much. Therefore in the fitness of things, you may live a calm life and spin the thread of your remaining days in a certain solitary cave in the meditation of God, and in realization of your own self in perfect spiritual tranquillity and calmness, because your health will not allow you to bear the burden of the worldly cares any more. It shall not be out of place to mention that you are absolutely convinced of the goodwill, mercy and sympathy of good officers. That very system of European medicines and surgery which you condemned more than once, has saved you from the jaws of monstrous death. The English officers helped you in time of your trouble and need.

"A friend in need is a friend indeed." Now it remains for you to show your true friendship and to become the true ally of the British Raj in gratitude for the safety of your life and your release from the jail. If anyhow you cannot do so by your words and deeds then pray do not come into the arena of political activity but still if your restless soul does not allow you to sit in rest, then in this Bhumi the motherland of great sages and saints Rishis and Mritis, take up the task of spiritualizing your brother Indians, teach them a lesson of true realization of the self. By doing so, instead of putting this Kingdom of Earth, you will gain the Kingdom of heaven.

In my opinion the writer is desperately in earnest and merits an answer on that account if for nothing else. But it enables me, too, to clear up certain misconceptions about my mission in life.

Let me first however dispose of the advice about my views on medicine. I have not *Indian Home Rule* before me, but I recollect sufficient to be able to say

that I have nothing to revise about the views set forth there. If I had written it for English readers and in English I would have put the same thought in a manner that would have been more acceptable to the English ear. The original is in Gujarati and was written for the Gujarati readers of *Indian Opinion* of Natal. Moreover what is written there has reference to an ideal state. It is a common error to think that condemnation of measures involves that of men. Medicine does often benumb the soul of the patient. It may therefore be considered evil but not therefore necessarily medicine-men. I had precious medical friends when I wrote the book and did not hesitate to seek their advice in times of need. That was as the writer implies inconsistent with my belief regarding the use of medicine. Several friends have said to me the same thing in so many words. I plead guilty. But that is to admit that I am not a perfect man. Unfortunately for me I am far from being perfect. I am an humble aspirant for perfection. I know my way to it also. But knowing the way is not reaching its end. If I was perfect, if I had acquired full control over all my passions even in thought, I should be perfect in body. I am free to confess that daily I am obliged to expend a great amount of mental energy in acquiring control over my thoughts. When I have succeeded, if I ever do, think what a store-house of energy would be set free for service. As I hold that appendicitis was a result of infirmity of thought or mind, so do I concede that my submission to the surgical operation was an additional infirmity of mind. If I was absolutely free of egoism, I would have resigned myself to the inevitable; but I wanted to live in the present body. Complete detachment is not a mechanical process. One has to grow to it by patient toil and prayer. As for gratitude, I have more than once publicly expressed my gratitude to Col. Maddock and his staff for the kindness with which they overwhelmed me. But there is no connection between the kind treatment I received from Col. Maddock and the system of Government I condemn. Col. Maddock himself would think little of me, if I revised my views about Dyerism because he, Col. Maddock, was a competent surgeon and did his duty as such. Nor have I any cause to be thankful to the Government for providing me with best surgical assistance or for prematurely releasing me. The former they were bound to provide for every prisoner. The latter has embarrassed me. I knew my course in prison whether well or ill. Outside the prison-walls, although I am slowly regaining my health, I do not know with certainty how to shape my course.

Now for the central point of the letter. The confusion in the writer's mind has arisen because of his misconception of the work of the prophets he names and of an awkward (for me) comparison between them and me. I do not know that Buddha did not accomplish his task which was to reach Nirvana. Tradition has it that he did. Conversion of others was a bye-product, if one may so describe a sacred function. The Gospels record it of Jesus that he testified on the Cross of his own work, 'It is finished.' Nor has their work of love died after them. The

truest part of it will live for ever. The two or three thousand years that have gone by, since their ministry, are but a speck in the vast time circle.

I do not consider myself worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with the race of prophets. I am a humble seeker after truth. I am impatient to realise myself, to attain *Moksha* in this very existence. My national service is part of my training for freeing my soul from the bondage of flesh. Thus considered, my service may be regarded as purely selfish. I have no desire for the perishable kingdom of earth. I am striving for the Kingdom of Heaven which is *Moksha*. To attain my end it is not necessary for me to seek the shelter of a cave. I carry one about me, if I would but know it. A cave-dweller can build castles in the air whereas a dweller in a palace like Janak has no castles to build. The cave-dweller who hovers round the world on the wings of thought has no peace. A Janak though living in the midst of 'pomp and circumstance' may have peace that passeth understanding. For me the road to salvation lies through incessant toil in the service of my country and therethrough of humanity. I want to identify myself with everything that lives. In the language of the Gita I want to live at peace with both friend and foe. Though therefore a Mussalman or a Christian or a Hindu may despise me and hate me, I want to love him and serve him even as I would love my wife or son though they hate me. So my patriotism is for me a stage in my journey to the land of eternal freedom and peace. Thus it will be seen that for me there are no polities devoid of religion. They subserve religion. Politics bereft of religion are a death-trap because they kill the soul.

Plea for Patience

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some correspondents are anxious for my views on Councils entry and Hindu-Muslim questions. Others are equally insistent that I make no hasty pronouncement. I am myself most eager to express my opinion on both these questions but I want to avoid all avoidable mistakes. I owe a duty to those who differ from me. They are valued co-workers. They love their country just as much as I claim to do. Some of them have recent sacrifices to their credit to which I can lay no claim. They have a longer first-hand experience of the country than I have. Their opinions therefore deserve all the respect and consideration that are due to their position and ability. Above all, I must not embarrass them by any ill-considered opinion. This is a thankless task. The Government have rejected every advance made by them. The former have stood defiant behind their armed entrenchments even in such trifles (to them) as the removal of the prohibition against Mr. Horniman and the release of Maulana Hafsat Mehabi. In these circumstances it would be improper on my part without the utmost consideration to say anything that may in any way disturb the plans the *Swarajists* may develop for meeting the emergency. I am trying to grasp the situation and understand their view-point.

Nothing can possibly be lost by patience. Haste may cause unnecessary mischief.

The same may be said of the Hindu-Muslim question with greater emphasis. It is a problem that requires the most delicate handling. Every thought has to be examined. Every word weighed. A hasty adjective may cause an explosion. Though therefore I hold decided views on the question and am most anxious to express them, I must forbear. Both Hindus and Mussalmans occupying front positions in the community are asking me not to say a word without fully studying the situation. I have a letter which goes so far as to say that I shall know little until I have travelled and seen things for myself. Without going so far with my correspondents I give my assurance to them and all who think with them that I shall not write or say a word without a careful and prayerful study of the question. For me the attainment of *Swaraj* depends not upon what the English Cabinet thinks or says but entirely upon a proper, satisfactory and lasting solution of the thorny problem. Without it all before us is dark. With it *Swaraj* is within immediate reach.

Whilst therefore these conferences are going on, I respectfully urge those who are interested in my opinion on these important questions to go on with the constructive programme. Every yard of yarn spun or khaddar woven is a step towards *Swaraj*. Every one who refrains from harbouring an evil thought of his Hindu or Mussalman brother as the case may be contributes to the solution. Every writer in the Press who economises his adjectives and ceases to impinge motives or inflame public opinion makes easy the path to a proper solution. The other day the *Times of India* published illuminating extracts from the vernacular press showing the present mentality of some writers. They tell us how not to do the thing. Granting that a Hindu or a Mussalman utters a hasty word, it is no business of a pressman who wishes well to his country immediately to advertise it. It would be criminal to exaggerate such blunders. I am not sure that the statements advertised in those extracts were even made by the parties concerned. No expression of opinion from anybody is needed to demonstrate the necessity of being accurate, of curbing our tongues and checking our pens.

Spinning Activity in Tirupati

We take the following very informing letter from the latest Khadi Bulletin issued by Mr. Maganji Gandhi:—

The Secretary, Congress Committee, Tirupati, writes:—

"There is a steady demand for charkhas and cotton from all sections of the people, Hindus, Mussalmans, Brahmins, non-Brahmins, pleaders, merchants, students etc. I have got a good carpenter now, who is repairing bad ones, and is preparing new ones according to your measurements. I hope to get at

least fifty students to spin regularly though there will be many spinning irregularly. They are coming in for *Charkhas*. The difficulty is with cotton. I have arranged to purchase all cotton from a friend of mine who has cultivated cotton just about four miles from the town. The cotton is very good and I intend supplying the people the raw cotton as it is. I find it more convenient to remove seeds with bands and card also with bands, than to use the ginning wheel and the services of the carder. Our carding is certainly better and does not take much time. This admirably fits in for work on a limited scale in each house. My wife is able to gin and card for me, and for herself, as much cotton as would serve us about 2 hours spinning. She takes about half an hour. Each house can do that for itself and save some money and a lot of inconvenience due to bad carding by professional carders.

"At the outset I may inform you that most of the Vakils are spinning very regularly every day, one of them gave a viss of yarn to be woven into cloth about 10 days ago and has got his cloth. A bead-clerk of the local Munsif's court gave me about half a viss of yarn and he has also got his cloth. A widow gave me about a viss and a quarter of yarn and has got her cloth. Another young boy, a non-Brahmin, gave a viss of yarn and got about 13 yards of cloth. A municipal school teacher gave one viss of yarn and he will get his cloth in about a week's time and so on.

"An old gentleman of about 60, a retired pleader and a religious recluse has got his old *Charkhas* three in number repaired and has begun to spin along with his religious studies. A retired Tehsildar is troubling me for a *Charkha*, has learnt spinning in 2 or 3 days at the Congress office, and has promised to take the *Charkha* to-day or to-morrow".

In a further letter he writes:—

"Our merchant friends have instituted a silver cup for the best spinner who successfully competes three successive competitions. The competition will commence when 50 charkhas are introduced by the merchant community. In many small shops charkhas are working steadily."

In the latest letter he says:—

"After I last wrote to you, I have begun to take stock of work to be done in the district. One of our workers goes about the town taking down names of those who have *Charkhas*, and those who have no *Charkhas* but want one, those who want cotton, spindles, etc. He will take about 15 days to go to every house in the town. At the end of that period he will have to go to those houses and give them what they want.

"I think there are more than a hundred *Charkhas* working regularly in the town and I believe many more are working irregularly. Our Municipal chairman does his own carding with a carding bow I supplied him. He spins good yarn. Our Vakil friends are also spinning regularly. Mr. Vardachari, a vakil of this place, an asthmatic patient spins very regularly and some days when he has no court, he spins for 3 or 4 hours at a stretch. He tells me spinning gives him relief as no other medicine does. He has therefore kept his *Charkha* in a room where he keeps his favorite Veena. *Charkha* finds a place therefore along with his best and sacred things."

Government Monopoly Opium

(By C. F. Andrews)

The incredible grossness of the mis-statement made by Mr. John Campbell at Geneva, last May, when he informed the assembled press representatives from every part of the world, that "from the very beginning, India had handled the opium question with perfect honesty of purpose, and not even its most ardent opponents, including Mr. Gandhi, had ever made any reproach in that respect," should be sufficient to warn every true lover of his country how the present Government has been driven by the exigencies of its military budget and its own commercial outlook to cling to an opium revenue that is immoral. The fair name of India has been brought into disgrace, and there has been no remedy.

Mr. John Campbell was sent again to Geneva last September, as adviser for 'India' at the League of Nations' Assembly. The rest of the civilised world almost unanimously wished for the uses of opium to be confined to those of medicine and science. Its use as a drug and a poison was to be prohibited. The Government of India blocked the way for two reasons. Its export opium traffic with the Far Eastern ports is clearly neither medicinal nor scientific. It is purely for the cultivation of a vice. Furthermore, the internal opium traffic in India itself is unregulated by any Dangerous Drugs Act. It is true that much opium is used in India by the common people for medicinal purposes; but it is equally true that much is used for practices of vice. The demoralisation of Assam during the last twenty years is proof of this. The condition of things in our larger Indian towns is a corroboration if any were needed. The average opium revenue each year comes to more than £ 4,000,000. The British Government in India that had carried on by force its opium traffic with China for nearly 100 years (declaring all the while that it was 'moral') cannot repent of its misdeeds in a single day. The fear of the loss of £ 4,000,000 per annum has been a very great incentive to the defence of the opium traffic in our own times, just in the same way that it was also a leading motive in defending the traffic with China.

Mr. Gandhi's comment on this opium traffic exactly expresses the facts:—

"There will be no defence," he writes, "to urge that the vice has existed in India from times immemorial. No one organised the vice, as the present Government has, for purposes of revenue."

Lord Inchcape's Retrenchment Committee has recently made the following frank statement:—

"The bulk of the expenditure in the Opium Department represents the cost of the opium purchased from the cultivators. We recommend that the possibility of reducing the price paid to cultivators be carefully watched, with a view to reduction. We are informed that there will be a reduction of about twenty lakhs in expenditure for 1923-1924, and in view of the importance of safeguarding this important source of revenue, we recommend no further reduction." (The italics are mine).

According to Lord Inchcape, it is evidently necessary not to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. The fanning of the opium revenue must be 'carefully handled.' The Government of India is not usually so open and frank in its statements about opium as this.

How the opium vice is organised in the Far East may be understood from the Straits Settlements. Both

the Straits Settlements and India signed the Hague Convention in 1912-13, which declared:—

"The Contracting Powers shall take measures for the gradual and effective suppression of the manufacture of, internal trade in, and use of prepared opium, (i. e. for opium smoking) with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned, unless regulations for the subject are already in existence. The Contracting Powers shall prohibit the import and export of prepared opium. Those Powers, however, which are not yet ready to prohibit immediately the export of prepared opium, shall prohibit it as soon as possible."

It would appear to the ordinary reader that such articles, signed by Contracting Powers in 1912-13, were binding. Every Power should clearly do its utmost to prohibit opium smoking. Will it be believed then, that as late as 1918, sixty per cent of the whole revenue of the Straits Settlements was derived from opium, practically the whole of which was consumed in opium smoking? India supplied by far the greater part of this opium. In 1923, the percentage the revenue exceeded forty-eight per cent. So the miserable story of pandering to vice for the sake of profit and breaking solemn promises made at the Hague Convention, goes on!

It must be remembered that Singapore is one of the richest ports of the world. The wealthy merchants there pay hardly any income tax towards revenue and very little customs duty. The Colonial Office list for 1923 reports:—

"Except in the case of petroleum, opium, liquors and tobacco, the ports are free from duties on imports and exports; nor are tonnage duties levied for general purposes."

Thus the amount paid to the local Government in taxation is very low indeed. The dividends of these rich Singapore merchants grow heavier and heavier owing to the takings which come from the opium dens. The Government of India, which provides the opium, shares in the profit. The Prince, who owns Monte Carlo, makes his income greater out of the takings of the gambling houses. Is there really any material difference between these two forms of commercialising vice?

The figures for revenue and expenditure in Singapore are so remarkable, that I give them below as follows:—

Revenue	23,262,015	dollars
Expenditure	15,966,345	,
Opium Revenue	15,706,741	"

It will be noticed that in that special year, 1918, the opium revenue very nearly covered the whole expenditure of the colony! I have not got the full figures for 1923, but the opium revenue was about 14 million dollars.

The story is not yet fully told. The opium dens are frequented by the dock labourers, who come from China to load and unload the ships in Singapore Harbour. The great attraction of Singapore to these illiterate Chinamen is the gambling and the opium smoking. As long as these two attractions remain, there will be no labour strikes. It is true that the opium addict dies after a very few years; but others come pouring in to take the dead men's places. All moral and mental stamina vanishes. The Chinese labourer becomes a mere tool for doing a certain amount of dull, heavy, mechanical work, and then getting back to his drug. There could be no more deadly system, to be used in the Capitalists' interests for the defeat of honest, intelligent labour. There could be no greater degradation to man, who is made in the image of God.

Each packet that is sold in these opium dens in Singapore is marked 'Indian Monopoly Opium.' It is marked thus, because smokers of opium prefer Indian opium to any other quality. I have seen these opium dens in Singapore. They are like ordinary shops. There is no shame or disgrace attached to them. Doctor Connelly, a resident of the place, writes in April, 1923:—

"Great numbers of Chinese artisans used no opium when they entered Malaya from China, but contracted the habit under the British Flag."

Miss La Motts in commenting upon this, quotes from the *Times* newspaper, London, of July 20, 1923:—

"The Recorder in passing sentence (for opium smoking) said that there was no doubt that the practice of taking cocaine and smoking opium was doing much to demoralise society. Feeling that this was so, Parliament this year increased the personal penalty from six months to ten years' penal servitude. Parliament was determined in excising this moral cancer from the social system."

A further incident, in my own personal experience, will show the extreme care with which the sale of opium is guarded in the West. I was told by the Doctor, during an attack of diarrhoea, to take a medicine containing a very slight quantity of opium. I gave the prescription to the chemist, and when he offered me the medicine, I asked for the prescription to be returned to me. But the chemist said he was obliged by law to keep it, because, if I wanted some more of that special medicine, containing opium, then, under the Dangerous Drugs Act, I must get a new prescription.

Think of the extreme care with which every single Englishman and Englishwoman is guarded. And then think of these Chinese labourers, attracted to Singapore by the license for unlimited opium smoking,—like moths round a candle going to their death. Then remember that every one of those packets that are sold is registered as "Indian Monopoly Opium."

A very short time ago, I was passing near the banks of the Ganges, not far from the sacred city of Benares. There I saw acre after acre covered with beautiful flowers that were spotlessly white. At first, the sight filled me with intense joy, for the morning light shining upon the pure white flowers was extraordinarily beautiful. But later, with a sharp mental agony I realised, that the white flower was the opium poppy and that all these fair fields were soon to be plucked, and the poppy seeds boiled down, and the deadly juice extracted, which under strictly medical use might become an untold benefit to man, but when cultivated for smoking purposes might become man's deadliest foe. These were the very fields where Gautama, the Buddha, had walked, and saints innumerable of the Hindu and Buddhist faiths—men, who had brought peace and healing to mankind. But here, here, in this sacred Buddha land, a foreign Government was organising this deadly vice, as it had never been organised in the history of the world before. It was making it into a form of commercialised profit, from which, larger and larger dividends might be reaped by the wealthy merchants of Singapore, and other ports.

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Notes

The Satyagraha Week

The reader does not need the reminder that this is the sacred Satyagraha week. It was on Sunday the sixth April 1919, that the first all-India hartal took place as a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Act. It was that day that thousands men and women all over India kept a twenty-four hour fast. It was on that sacred day that the nation recognised with the strength it has never done before the necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity and that Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and others met in hearty co-operation and it was on that day that an all-India Swadeshi spirit, not in vengeance but as a vital necessity in the life of the nation, was born. It was on the 13th that the Jallianwala massacre took place. We have been observing both these days and the intervening days from year to year as special days for purification, searching of hearts, for cultivating better relations among all the different sections and for promoting Swadeshi which has centred gradually round the spinning wheel. I was grieved to learn from a friend that in Amritsar, the scene of the black tragedy, the week was least observed last year. I wonder how Amritsar and the rest of India will have observed the week this year.

Am I Unfair?

I have the good fortune to possess friends who keep me on the right path when I am inclined or likely to stray away from it. One such friend thought that in my letter last week to the readers of *Young India*, I was less than fair to the Government of Bombay in as much as I declined to render thanks to them for having given me the best medical assistance and made the path to recovery easy by freely permitting friends to visit me. In my friend's opinion the treatment was a sign of change of heart due to the advent of the new Governor. I have deeply thought over my friend's argument and I am reluctantly obliged to adhere to the conclusion that I owe no thanks for the best medical assistance and the facilities given to friends to visit me, unless thanks are due to a Government every time it does its duty. I have made a public acknowledgement of the fact that Government did for me during my illness all that it could reasonably be expected to do in respect of a prisoner. But I am unable to render thanks to the Government in such in the same sense that I have rendered them to Col. Maddock, Col. Murray and Major Jones.

They need not have been as kind as they were and I would still have acknowledged that they had done all they could be expected to do in their respective spheres. The personal element was a factor in these gentlemen's conduct towards me, and I was bound to give them my thanks. To finish this part of the argument, if I may state it without indecency, I may say that my scrupulously correct conduct as a prisoner had not a little to do with the happy relations that subsisted between the officials and indeed also the Government and myself. I state this merely to emphasise the truth tested by me on scores of trying occasions that uniformly correct conduct will disarm the fiercest opposition, prejudice and suspicion.

Now for the supposed change of heart. I wish I could see it. I am longing for it. The reader may know that the slightest real change of heart will make me capitulate without delay. But it will have to be very real. The Government have failed even in so simple a test as the release of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, and the removal of the ban against Mr. Horniman. I own that from a strong believer I have become an equally strong unbeliever in this Government. I am however sane enough to be able to perceive a sincere change of heart. It has been suggested that Sir George Lloyd would not have treated me during my illness as His Excellency Sir Leslie Wilson has done. I do not believe it. In spite of Sir George Lloyd's utter dislike of me, he would have given me the same medical assistance and facility that were given to me by the present Governor. Indeed it was he who sent Col. Maddock to examine me when I first became at all seriously ill in the Yerowda jail about eight months ago. Col. Maddock was asked to visit me weekly during convalescence and send the Governor weekly reports. I have a higher opinion of the British officials than most people imagine. They have a high sense of duty. Only the honesty of an ordinary official does not travel beyond the line of policy. It is no fault of his. He is heir to a system handed down for generations—a system which is based on exploitation of the weak by the strong. The official breaks down when the system which sustains him is in jeopardy. But it is my belief that no other human being will do better under that system. The sooner therefore it is destroyed or radically altered the better for us all.

Deck Passengers

I invite the reader's attention to Mr. Chaturvedi's interesting and instructive experiences in East Africa.

His bitter experiences as a deck passenger revive painful memories. The picture he has given is not overdrawn. Three parties can change the disgraceful state of things:

- (1) The British India Steam Navigation Company,
- (2) The Government,
- (3) The passengers.

The British India S. N. Company will not worry because its concern is to secure the largest profits. We may expect nothing from the Government, till we have the power to move it. The passengers are the real parties affected. Unfortunately the majority of them are inured even to avoidable hardships. The others secure relief by bribes. It is only when a sensitive passenger travels as a deck passenger that he causes stir. He does not make reform in the treatment of deck passengers his life-work and so nothing is achieved. Only when self-respecting persons like Mr. Benarasidas insist on proper sanitation and accommodation not merely for themselves but for all, may substantial change be expected.

Charkha Abroad

Mr. Chaturvedi's remarks on the spinning wheel are the most instructive. If Indians of East Africa can popularise the bow, the wheel and the loom among the natives of the soil, they will have rendered them a signal service. The possibilities of the wheel are as wide as the world itself because its spread requires little capital. It merely needs fellow-feeling, ordinary organising ability and technical skill which can be easily acquired.

Khadar in East Africa

Should the Indians of East Africa wear Khadar? Shrimati Sarojini Naidu is reported to have replied in the negative. I can hardly believe it. Be that as it may, East Africa should use Khadar as far as possible. It is not necessary for them to take or be under the vow of Khadar, as we at home must be. What the Shrimati must have laid stress upon is cleanliness and neatness. Khadar clothing must be kept spotlessly clean and worn neatly. One often notices a tendency towards neglect of these necessary qualities. If Khadar is to become popular with the upper classes the wearers must be clean and neat. The roughness and thickness of well-washed Khadar are a recommendation rather than otherwise. The absorbent property of rough Khadar makes it hygienically sound. Its loose texture gives it a softness that is pleasant to the wearer.

As We Have Sown

Mr. Andrews's pathetic remarks on untouchability deserve to be pondered over by every Hindu. I knew nothing till Mr. Andrews told me that untouchability was practised even by Syrian Christians of Malabar. As a Hindu I hung my head in shame when I heard the news. For I realised that the evil was copied by them from the Hindus. The retort of his fellow-passengers which Mr. Andrews received when he broached the subject of the disabilities of Indians in South Africa was well deserved. Whilst it is true that the Europeans in South Africa need not treat us as we treat our own people at home, our mouths are shut when our own sins are flung in our faces. We are reaping fruits of what we have sown.

My Offer

Shrimati Sarojini's splendid work in South Africa has told. Letters received by me from South Africa show that her presence has brought fresh courage to the Indian settlers. Mr. Duncan's fruitless efforts to justify an unjustifiable measure show also that the Europeans of South Africa have felt the force of her wonderful work. Mr. Duncan's assertion that the agreement of 1914 did not bind the Union Government to take away vested rights as the Class Areas Bill admittedly does, ought to carry with it the understanding that if such an agreement can be proved the Bill will not be proceeded with. Even though a non-co-operator, I beg to make the proposal that if the Government of India receive an undertaking from the Union Government that if the agreement can be proved to the satisfaction of an impartial tribunal they will suspend the Bill pending such enquiry, I shall be prepared to appear before such a tribunal to prove the agreement. Nor is precedent wanting for such a course. When the interpretation of the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885 and the propriety of its enactment in spite of the London Convention were in dispute, the matter was referred to arbitration by the Imperial and the Transvaal Governments.

To Correspondents

I have before me a heap of correspondence and other documents for publication. It is impossible for me to find space for it, if *Young India* is to retain its present size. The correspondents will please therefore forgive me if they miss their contributions in these columns. The fact is that as an esteemed friend remarked to me *Young India* is not a newspaper. It is a viewpaper. And then too it is being used to-day predominantly for distributing my views and in my own way. Its scope being therefore circumscribed, correspondents will do well not to send contributions which have no special feature about them and which have no bearing on the message for which *Young India* stands. M. K. G.

Untouchability

(By O. F. Andrews)

When any one, who is not by religion a Hindu, writes on the subject of Untouchability, it is necessary for him, first of all, to state the grounds on which he feels compelled to write. For this is obviously, in the first instance, a Hindu question, with which Hindus can most effectively deal. For that reason, during an interval of many years, while undertaking public work in India, I studiously refrained from writing or speaking on the subject. At one time, after my earliest visit to Africa, I mentioned to Mr. Gandhi this natural instinct, which had prevented me from writing on Untouchability, and he advised me to continue to obey the instinct which was a right one. But events have happened thick and fast since then, and further reasons have come into existence which have made it appear necessary for me to speak now, although I had been almost silent before.

The chief reason,—which came to me with a shock of horror and surprise, when I first visited Malabar and Travancore,—was to find that this was not an

isolated Hindu problem at all. For more than a thousand years the Christian Churches in the South of India, where 25 per cent. of the population were Christian, had been keeping up an attitude of strict 'untouchability' towards certain classes of the community. Their moral attitude had in no way differed from that of the neighbouring caste Hindus. Ever since that discovery was made I have felt that the ground for my original silence was taken from under my feet, and that it was necessary to speak out and share the blame of the curse of untouchability in India with my fellow Christians and Hindus alike, as one with them in belonging to a community which practised the guilty act.

I made also a further discovery, that among Mahomedan and Christian villagers in India there was often the same reluctance to share the wells with the untouchable classes that existed among the caste Hindus.

More and more, therefore, recently, it has appeared to me that it has become a matter in which the whole national life of India is involved and in whose guilt the whole of India must share.

But a second reason arose in South Africa itself, which almost compelled me at the time to speak out. My friend Willie Pearson did so without giving any offence, so intense and burning was his love. My own love, that could not reach so deep as his, had to wait. The second reason was this. Every day in South Africa, in 1913-1914, we were faced with 'untouchability'. Here it was not practised by Indians, but by Europeans. Everywhere,—in the railway train, in the electric trams, in the restaurants and hotels, even in the houses of Europeans, and—with deep shame I say it,—in the Christian churches, the Indians had become segregated. From the very first moment that we realised this glaring injustice we spoke out publicly against it. Then, like lightning, the flashing retort came back from the Europeans, that Indians should not object to such segregation because they treated their own fellow-countrymen in a similar manner in India. In a speech, which I recently delivered in Poona, I told the story, how on board a ship going to England the whole argument which I had with a European, who knew South Africa, turned on this point; and there were many listening around. "Look at your untouchables in Malabar!" my opponent cried. "Look at every part of India! What are you doing to remedy that? Why don't you go there? Why do you come to England, to tell us our duty in Africa? Why don't you stay in India, and tell them their duty to their own fellow-countrymen?"

"Good God," said another to me, with arrogance and scorn, "if we treated Indians, as they treat one another—Good God, man, why can't you open your eyes and see what's happening there, instead of fussing about in Kenya and Uganda and South Africa, making yourself a nuisance to every white man? Leave those places alone for God's sake, and go down to Tsavancore!"

This, that I have written down, was almost word for word what was said to me on board that steamer. It has been repeated over and over again

to me on various occasions with such iteration that I have nearly come to know it by heart. It is no true argument at all; because two wrongs never made one right. The arrogance, with which it is always uttered, shows that it is only a screen for a guilty conscience and an excuse for what is really recognised to be wrong, but cannot openly be acknowledged. Nevertheless, the one answer to it, that is irrefutable, is to remove untouchability in India. This provides the key not only to Swaraj but also to unlock Kenya and South Africa and Fiji and to remove the insult from the head of every Indian abroad.

It has been often said by authorities and dignitaries in Church and State, that the Satyagraha movement inevitably leads to racial hatred and sedition, and to the dislike and contempt of the foreigner, and to the stirring up of bad blood against Englishmen as such, who desire for India nothing but good. There could hardly be a more direct refutation of all these heresies than the present Satyagraha movement in Malabar, which has been started after infinite patience and pleading, against the caste exclusionists. The very same invincible weapon is being used which was used at Guru-ka-Bagh and at Nagpur. The very same suffering is being suffered. Mr. Gandhi has stated publicly, that he had on one occasion offered Satyagraha towards his own brother. This was in reply to the charge, that he was deliberately stirring up race hatred against the English. Here, in Malabar, we have caste Hindus pleading by Satyagraha against their own brethren. In the end, they are certain to prevail; it will be a victory of love, not force; its outcome will be love, not hate.

The victory, once gained in Malabar, will be a signal for a new triumph in every part of India. The joy will be felt not by India alone, but by every Indian abroad, and by all the world.

P. S.—After writing this article, the following paragraph caught my attention from a Karachi daily paper:— "On February 7th two decently dressed Mehwars, Khamo, son of Kyemo and Devo, son of Bala, were forcibly rejected from tram-car No. C1 at 9 p. m., and notwithstanding their protests, were not allowed to travel by the car."

This is an almost exact parallel to what might happen any day in Durban, if an Indian, however well-dressed, got into a certain portion of the tram car, or of the train.

Furthermore, I have noted that the Satyagraha movement against untouchability in Vykom, Malabar, has been temporarily suspended, pending a further appeal to the consciences of caste Hindus to enable them to realise the iniquity of their attitude of exclusion. This does not imply any weakening or disbelief in the weapon of non-violence which has been already used. Rather, it implies the carrying out to the uttermost of the principle of love and forbearance, so that the eyes of the blind may be opened to the truth.

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Manager, Young India.

Young India

10-4-24

Campaign of Misrepresentation

(By M. K. Gandhi)

At the present moment there seems to be a wilful attempt being made to widen the 'gulf between Hindus and Mussalmans. Some newspapers, both Hindu and Muslim, are leaving no stone unturned to inflame passions and unfortunately they do not hesitate to resort to exaggeration and even misrepresentation. Where they are not themselves consciously guilty of such methods, they recklessly copy without verification everything in the nature of a sensation that appears in any other newspaper.

One such statement was made with reference to Maulana Mahomed Ali. He was reported to have said that an adulterous Mussalman was better than myself. That there should have been found any person willing to believe such a thing of Maulana Mahomed Ali shows the degree of tension that exists between Hindus and Mussalmans. The reader will find in another column a translation of the two letters written by the Maulana, one to Swami Shri Shraddhanandji and the other to *Trij*. In my opinion the letters dispose of once for all the calumny against the Maulana that has been going the round of the Press. Enemies of India's freedom have not hesitated to distort the Maulana's statement and use it for the purpose of setting the Hindus against the Maulana Saheb. I venture to commend his letters to the attention of every thoughtful Hindu. The letters in my humble opinion demonstrate the transparent honesty of the Maulana.

What is the original statement which has been so cruelly distorted by some newspapers? He says in effect that the creed of Islam is better than my creed. Is there anything offensive in the statement? So long as there are different religions, is not the Maulana's position the only logical and honest one? I have very dear Christian friends in South Africa and in India. They pray for light for me. One of them, a retired solicitor of standing in South Africa, urges me to accept Jesus Christ and his salvation. He says that without that all my effort will be useless. Thousands of Christians certainly hold that a righteous man without belief in Jesus Christ is less than an adulterous Christian. Does an orthodox Hindu fare better? If he does, why is there all this feverish agitation regarding Shuddhi? In making the choice of a husband for his daughter, will he choose the best character irrespective of religion or the best man in his own sect? And if he will restrict the choice to his own circle, does it not show that he too like the Maulana believes that his creed is the best of all?

The Maulana has stated the religious law in picturesque language and feeling safe, as he had a right to do, that I could not be offended, he chose me as one of his best Hindu friends for his illustration and showed that his creed he held superior to

persons, no matter how dear they might be to him. I hold that he deserves to be honoured for the staunchness of his faith rather than be accused of coldness for a friend or disrespect for the latter's creed.

Nor need his prayers for me that I should find it in my heart to accept Islam cause any alarm or surprise. He would not be a true friend if he did not wish the best (according to his belief) for me. My creed is truth and non-violence in their extreme form. I may be wrong. But if I wish well to my friends I cannot but wish that they may have the same creed so long as I continue to believe it to be the best. I remain within the Hindu fold because it stands best the test laid down by my creed.

The Swami in his note whilst heartily and unreservedly accepting the Maulana's letter remarked that his creed made no difference between practice and profession as the Maulana's appeared to him to do. The second letter of the Maulana clears up the point and clinches the whole argument when he says that his creed too does not divorce practice from profession. He adds that in his letter he merely compared the world's creeds as creeds and gave his opinion that his was the best. Could he do otherwise and still be a Mussalman? If he thought otherwise, would he not then as an honest man be bound to profess the creed he considered better than that of Islam?

I hope that the heart of every true Hindu will go out to Mahomed Ali when in the midst of his domestic bereavement and the sickness of his great brother he is trying his utmost to heal the breach between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Surely Hindus who strive for unity have enough fanaticism within to recognise that Mussalman co-workers fare no better.

The other incident is reported to have occurred in the Tibbya College. I asked my son to write to Dr. Ansari to let me know what actually did happen. I quote his reply in full except six words which give the name of the newspaper which has been offending against the law of self-restraint and verification. I omit the name because the purpose is not to select newspapers for criticism but to find a remedy for the disease that has become rampant in the Press. Dr. Ansari writes:

The incident in the Tibbya College is a very petty one. On the day of the celebration of Mahatma's birthday in the Tibbya College one of the speakers compared him to Jesus Christ in which a Muslim student took exception and observed that no living person, however eminent in all respects, should be compared to prophet. Some of the students protested against the Muslim student's remark upon which the latter tried to explain what he had meant and regretted that he was misunderstood. This is the whole story and it is evidently absurd to suggest that members of the staff were involved in it or that there was the slightest likelihood of a breach of peace.

The papers which you mention are extremely partisan ones whose characteristic feature it is to purvey news calculated to set one community against the other and to present trifling incidents in a very highly exaggerated form. It would not have been so very sad if these papers alone were to blame because they are neither important nor well-known. But the misfortune is that the spirit of animosity is swaying almost all the vernacular papers—Hindi and Muslim—in Northern India.

"Nor are the incidents referred to by you the only ones in reporting which these papers have betrayed such a deplorable and narrow-minded bigotry. Blind fanaticism and a reprehensible desire to run the other community down by every means has to-day become an essential part of the life of a vernacular paper of Northern India."

The newspaper readers know the exaggerated manner in which the incident has been described. The Muslim student who took exception to the comparison was after all justified in so doing. It is not necessary for the purpose of honouring a man to compare him with any other honoured man much less with revered prophets. The information Dr. Ansari gives about the vernacular press in Northern India is calculated to cause alarm and anxiety. It is to be hoped that the papers which make a living out of sensations will put patriotism and truth before their pockets. I have heard it suggested that Muslim editors say they will cease to revile Hindus and Hinduism when the Hindu editors leave off reviling Islam and Mussalmans. Hindu editors want to reverse the process. I suggest that both make the desired improvement simultaneously.

I do not wish to suggest that truth should be hushed. There has been that kind of indelicate delicacy before now. What is necessary however is that whilst truth may be fearlessly told, exaggeration and innuendos should be scrupulously avoided.

Maulana Mahomed Ali on His Critics.

[The following are the letters addressed by Maulana Mahomed Ali, the one to Swami Shri Shraddhanandji and the other to the Editor, *Tej*, Delhi. The letters are referred to in the leading article. M. K. G.]

Letter to Swamiji

Respected Swami Maharaj,

I am sorry I could not write to you yesterday regarding the matter referred to by you as per promise, as I had gone out to pay a visit to H. H. the Newark Sahib of Ramgarh and had to remain there from 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. I have just now seen in the 'Tej' a requisition by four of your Arya friends that I should resign from the Congress. I could not help feeling annoyed at it, although I confess it grieved me also. I am aware that some persons of this type have been engaged in this sort of activity for some time past, but I was led to think that after the reply that I had given to a question addressed to me at a public meeting in Lucknow, which appealed so much to a Hindu gentleman present, that he shouted out in his enthusiasm that 22 crores of Hindus were ready to stand or fall by me, these gentlemen would not venture to pursue their line of activity any further. I now realise how vain this expectation was. Although the manner in which the controversy is conducted at present is such as to render it absolutely unnecessary on my part to give a single word in reply, till as I have already promised to explain the matter fully, I beg to make the following statement as desired by you:

The fact is as I had stated verbally to you. Even then, some Mussalman friends have been constantly flinging at me the charge of being a worshipper of Hindus and a Gandhi-worshipper. The real object of these gentlemen was to alienate from us the Mussalman community, the Khilafat Committee and the Congress, by representing that I had become a follower of Mahatma Gandhi in my religious principles. I had, therefore, on several occasions plainly declared that in the matter of religion, I professed the same belief as any other true Mussalman, and as much I claimed to be a follower of the prophet Mahomed (asb) be peace) and not of Gandhi. And further that since I hold Islam to be the highest gift of God, therefore, I was impelled by the love I bear towards Mahatmaji to pray to God that he might illumine his soul with the true light of Islam. I wish, however, to emphatically declare that I hold that to-day neither the representatives of Islam nor of the Hindu, Jewish, Nazarene or Parsi faiths can present another instance of such high character and moral worth as Gandhi and that is the reason why I hold him in such high reverence and affection. I deeply revere my own mother, and if contentment and gratefulness under all circumstances be the true measure of Islam, I claim there is no person, howsoever well-

versed in religion, who has understood it better than she. Similarly I regard Maulana Abdul Bari as my religious guide. His loving kindness holds me in bondage. I deeply admire his sincerity of heart. But inspite of all this, I make bold to say that I have not yet found any person who in actual character is entitled to a higher place than Mahatma Gandhi.

But between belief and actual character there is a wide difference. As a follower of Islam I am bound to regard the creed of Islam as superior to that professed by the followers of any non-Islamic religion. And in this sense the creed of even a fallen and degraded Mussalman is entitled to a higher place than that of any other non-Mussalman irrespective of his high character, even though the person in question be Mahatma Gandhi himself.

At Lucknow, when just before the commencement of my speech, some one placed a printed copy of the question in reference in my hand for reply (copies of which had also been freely distributed among the audience) I had stated that I did not want to answer any such questions, as I did not consider that any one, unless he could prove that he bore a greater affection towards Mahatmaji than I did, was entitled to charge me with having reviled him. It was only when I was told that the point at issue was not that I had reviled Mahatmaji, but that I had reviled the Hindu religion, that I gave the above-stated reply. A report of my speech had appeared in the *Hindu* at that time, i.e., about one month back. I had said further therein that every Christian believed that a Christian, however degraded or fallen, was entitled to a higher place in regard to the matter of belief as contra distinguished from actual character than any Mussalman or Jew, irrespective of his high character and the same was the case with Hindus or followers of any other religion. My reply proved so satisfactory that as I have already mentioned a Hindu friend shouted out that 22 crores of Hindus were prepared to stand by me and several Hindu members of the audience acclaimed it with cries of Bandy Maram, Allah Akbar, while the persons who had brought the printed copies of the question were completely silenced. The beauty is that one of the friends who have now come forward with a requisition demanding my resignation had quite recently sent a warm invitation to attend a public meeting at Delhi. Dear Sir,

I cannot under these circumstances possibly retire from any of my activities as a result of what these gentlemen might say or think. Besides the matter is well within the jurisdiction of the Congress. I wish, however, to state here, and I hope you will bear me out in my statement, that if I, although I am the meanest and the most insignificant among the followers of Islam, am to be regarded by these gentlemen as an enemy of Hindu-Muslim unity and a reviler of Mahatmaji and the religious principles which he professes, then I am afraid they will not find a single Mussalman who will completely satisfy them.

I beg to state once more that were I not bound by my promise to you, this letter might not have been written at all as I am most unwilling to add one more to the numberless controversies that are ruing in the country at present. As for the friends who have thought fit to raise such an unpleasant controversy at a time when the death of my daughter and the dangerous illness of a brother and mother have rendered me physically unfit to engage in any such controversy, I think it best to leave them to be judged by their own conscience. I again beg to record my thanks to you for your confidence and with these words take my leave. If you write anything to the press in this connection, you may publish this letter as it is.

Yours etc.
(Sd.) Mahomed Ali

Letter to the Editor, "Tej," Delhi

Dear Sir,

There was one sentence in Swamiji Maharaj's letter which is liable to give the impression that I do not consider right action as essential for salvation. That is not at all my belief nor that of any other Mussalman. The essential conditions for salvation are faith, purity of action, persuading others to do good and to warn them against evil and to submit to all consequences of your actions with patience. I hold that a non-Moslem is perfectly entitled to reward for his good actions even as a Mussalman is liable to be punished for his evil deeds. The point at issue was not at all as to the essential conditions for salvation, but only regarding the distinction between Belief and Conduct. That is the reason why I gave to Mahatmaji the highest place among all the Mussalmans that I know of so far as actual character was concerned.

But to consider one's creed as superior to that of every non-Muslim is the duty of a Mussulman. By stating this I refuted the charge of Gandhi-worship levelled against me and that was precisely my object and not to hurt the feelings of my Hindu brethren or to revile Mahatma Gandhi. If any one can have reason to complain it is my own co-religionists, none of whom I considered to be worthy of being ranked with Mahatma Gandhi in excellence of character.

(Sd.) **Malomed Ali**

What It is Not

(By M. R. Gandhi)

The situation in India illustrates another curious basis of difference between us. I hold to the "non-resistance" idea. Gandhi as I understand him proclaims the Way of Love. And yet he does not see that "Non-co-operation is a way of violence." Suppose the milk drivers of New York had a real and just and even terrible grievance. Suppose that they should strike and cut off the milk supply from the babies of New York. They might never raise a hand in violent attack on any one and yet their way would be the way of violence. Over the dead bodies of little children they would by "non-co-operation" win their victory. As Bertrand Russell said of the Bolsheviks, "each suffering makes us question the means used to arrive at a desired end." Non-co-operation means suffering in Lancashire and is an appeal in the end to violence rather than reason.

This is not quite to the point and yet it does illustrate in a way what I have in mind. The advocates of Home Rule in India are now in the legislative bodies and there they purpose to block progress by non-co-operative methods. In England, the country in which by historical accident civil institutions got a chance to develop, as John Fiske pointed out, through absence of war, the process of growth has been by the method of co-operation.

The above is an extract from an article in *Unity* (14th February 1924) sent by an unknown American friend.

The article is a letter addressed to Mr. Holmes by Mr. Arthur L. Weatherly. The letter is an endeavour to show that an idealist, if he will be practical, has to water his ideal down to suit given circumstances. The writer has packed his letter with illustrations in support of his argument. As I am not for the moment concerned with his main argument, I hope I am doing no violence to him by merely giving an extract from his letter. My purpose is to show that Mr. Weatherly's view of Indian non-co-operation cannot fail to be of general interest to the reader.

Mr. Weatherly has laid down a universal proposition that "non-co-operation is a way of violence." A moment's thought would have shown the falsity of the proposition. I non-co-operate when I refuse to sell liquor in a liquor-shop, or help a murderer in his plans. My non-co-operation, I hold, is not only not a way of violence, but may be an act of love, if love is the motive that has prompted my refusal. The fact is that all non-co-operation is not violent, and non-violent non-co-operation can never be an act of violence. It may not be always an act of love. For love is an active quality which cannot always be inferred from the act itself. A surgeon may perform a most successful operation and yet he may have no love for his patient.

Mr. Weatherly's illustration is most unhappy and incomplete for the purpose of examination. If the milk drivers of New York have a grievance against its Municipality for criminal mismanagement of its trust and if, in order to bend it, they decided to cut off the milk supply of the babies of New York, they would be guilty of a crime against humanity. But suppose that the milk drivers were underpaid

by their employers, that they were consequently starving, they would be justified if they have tried every other available and proper method of securing better wages, in refusing to drive the milk carts even though their action resulted in the death of the babies of New York. Their refusal will certainly not be an act of violence though it will not be an act of love. They were not philanthropists. They were driving milk carts for the sake of their maintenance. It was no part of their duty as employees under every circumstance to supply milk to babies. There is no violence when there is no infraction of duty. Suppose further that the milk drivers in question knew that their employers supplied cheap but adulterated milk and another dairy company supplied better but dearer milk and they felt for the welfare of the babies of New York, their refusal to drive the milk carts will be an act of love even though some short-sighted mother of New York might be deprived of the adulterated milk and may not have bought better but dearer milk from the more honest dairy company whose existence has been assumed for the purpose of our argument.

From the imaginary heartless milk drivers and the heaps of dead bodies of New York babies, the writer in *Unity* takes us to Lancashire and pictures its ruin when Indian non-co-operation has succeeded. In his haste to prove his main argument, the writer has hardly taken the trouble to study even simple facts. Indian non-co-operation is not designed to injure Lancashire or any other part of the British Isles. It has been undertaken to vindicate India's right to administer her own affairs. Lancashire's trade with India was established at the point of the bayonet and it is sustained by similar means. It has ruined the one vital cottage-industry which supplemented the resources of millions of India's peasants and kept starvation from their doors. If India now strives to revive her cottage industry and hand-spinning and refuses to buy any foreign cloth or even cloth manufactured by Indian mills and Lancashire or Indian mills suffer thereby, non-co-operation cannot by any law of morals be held to be an act of violence. India never bound herself to maintain Lancashire. Visitors to taverns or houses of ill fame would be congratulated on their self-restraint, and will be held even as benefactors of keepers of taverns or questionable houses, if they ceased to visit those places even without notice and even if their abstention resulted in the starvation of the keepers of those houses. Similarly if customers of money-lenders ceased to borrow and the latter starved, the former cannot be regarded as violent by reason of their withdrawal. But they might be so considered if they transferred their custom from one money-lender to another through ill-will or spite and without just cause.

Thus it is clear that non-co-operation is not violence when the refusal of the restraint is a right and a duty even though by reason of its performance some people may have to suffer. It will be an act of love when non-co-operation is resorted to solely for the good of the wrong-doer. Indian non-co-operation but cannot be regarded

as an act of love because it has been undertaken by a weak people in self-defence.

Mr. Weatherly's reference to the obstructive programme of the Swarajists cannot for reasons stated last week be examined for the time being.

Sarojini's Magnetism

Just at the time of sending the last post for *Young India* I received a letter from my son who is in charge of *Indian Opinion*, Natal, giving a graphic account of Mrs. Naidu's visit. I know that the reader will like to have it at the earliest opportunity. I give below a translation of the letter which is dated 15th March 1924:—

"This is a hurried note. I have barely two hours to catch the mail.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has been in our midst for the past twenty days. Her work, by now, has produced a very good effect on the people of this country, particularly the Europeans. Johannesburg was hostile when she came, but her eloquence has disarmed much of the opposition and the mischief-makers have been shamed into silence. Towards the end of her tour in the Transvaal Europeans attended her lectures in their thousands. I was not at Johannesburg myself. But I managed to meet her at Volksrust, half-way between Johannesburg and here. She was received at every station by large and eager crowds, composed of both Europeans and Indians and her compartment presented the constant appearance of a flower garden. She stopped for two days in Maritzburg. The Anti-Asiatic spirit there is acute and the reactionary element holds full sway. There had been a strong movement to disallow the use of the Town Hall to the Indians for Mrs. Naidu's reception and serious consequences were threatened if it was allowed. But the situation was saved at the last moment by the *Maritzburg Times* which in a leading article wisely dissuaded the Europeans from any precipitous action. In spite of the indications of trouble, every inch of the Town Hall was packed with Indians and quite a number of Europeans occupied the gallery. The Mayor having refused to preside on the occasion, a European friend was proposed to the chair. He was howled down by the occupants of the gallery as soon as he attempted to speak. Mr. Bhagat who tried to reason, too, was obliged to sit down. Mrs. Naidu at this stage took charge of the meeting. She had hardly uttered three sentences when the gallery-leaders were seen quitting the hall one after another and in about twenty minutes' time the main element of rowdies had retired from the field. When the meeting was over a number of Europeans, unknown before, showed great eagerness to shake hands with Mrs. Naidu.

The next day crowds of Indians and Europeans could be seen in front of Mrs. Naidu's residence struggling to have a glimpse of her, the space outside being hardly sufficient to contain them. The European and coloured women felt astounded at her courage. There were missionaries who called on Mrs. Naidu wanting to make her acquaintance and the whole dramatic change was quickly followed by a cordial interview between the Bishop of Natal and Mrs. Naidu.

Durban probably excelled all the other places in the reception it gave to the great guest. A special train received her at Maritzburg. The station platform at Durban was packed to overflowing and the road outside, too, was blocked by the mass of spectators. Mrs. Naidu was conveyed to the Albert Park in a carriage drawn by the people themselves. The attendance at the meeting here was easily five thousand men and women of all classes and as many school children. The women's meeting was unique in the history of South Africa. Mrs. Naidu also delivered two lectures in the Town Hall which was filled to the full on both the occasions, some of the people actually having to return disappointed for want of accommodation. The European women had arranged a special meeting of their own to receive Mrs. Naidu.

The tour here has now extended upto Zululand, Tongaat and Phoenix yet remains to be done. Mrs. Naidu has for the present left for Cape Town after spending three days here. She intends being present

at the debate on the Class Areas Bill. She then boats through some of the towns in the Cape, goes back to Johannesburg on a brief visit, comes back here to spend a week with us and takes the first available boat in April for the Motherland.

Mrs. Naidu's energy is wonderful. She has slight fever and headache at times, but her ailments never come in the way of her heavy programme of journeys and lectures.

The authorities have accorded her excellent treatment. She is invariably given a special saloon on trains and the railway officials are courteous. Mrs. Naidu was anxious to write to you, but it has been impossible for her to do so. She has asked me specially to write to you."

M. K. G.

My Experiences in East Africa

(*Stray Notes*)

On Deck

It was my first voyage. Though I had been thinking and writing about Colonies and Colonial Indians for the last ten years I had never had an opportunity of travelling abroad. I started on my first voyage without any preparations and had to go through a lot of inconvenience. My unbusinesslike ways made matters worse for me. I travelled as a deck passenger. For the first two days life was miserable. I could not get up from my place and had no appetite at all. I was better on the third day and could walk a little. On the fifth day I completely recovered and was enjoying the voyage quite happily. I got a prejudice against two things of the third class deck—the latrines and the Khallasis. We were not less than four hundred deck passengers but the number of latrines was much limited. One had to wait sometimes half an hour at the door of the latrine to get a chance to go in. It was terrible. One cannot ease oneself properly when one feels the presence of ten people waiting at a distance of two yards. I wish the B. I. S. N. Company could make better sanitary arrangements. As regards Khallasis they were much worse. To them we were no better than a herd of cattle exported abroad. But we could raise ourselves in the estimation of these Khallasis by tipping them with a few pico. Some of my Khoja friends improved their status by this method. One can also encroach upon the rights of his fellow passengers by bribing these Khallasis.

Overcrowding is another evil on these decks. It was not a pleasant sight to see pale faces of fellow passengers huddled together in the dark dungeons below us. There can be no decency in such a crowd and overcrowding is bound to lead to demoralisation. The time has come when we must improve the lot of deck passengers by insisting on better sanitation and accommodation.

"Sahab log nahin mangta"

My great regret on board the steamer was that I could not do any service to Shrimati Sarojini Naidu who was suffering from fever every day and was travelling first class. I went up to Mrs. Naidu once and had a talk with her for two minutes. As I was returning a Khallasi told me not to come up again for "Sahab log nahin mangta." As I had no desire to annoy the Sahab log with my presence I did not go up to the first class again. But this one sentence of the Khallasi gave me some food for thought. Indeed it summed up the whole situation regarding Indians overseas so tersely. Our difficulty is that Sahab log do not

want us anywhere in their Empire. They have shut Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa against us and now they are going to shut the door of East Africa.

After travelling in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar I could easily see that the question of Emigration was the most vital point in the Kenya struggle. They want to make these territories white. We have got white Australia, white Canada and white New Zealand and now we are face to face with white Kenya. "Sahab log nabin mangta." Where are we to go? This is a difficult problem. We have been almost thrown out of the Empire.

How to dress in the Colonies

This was a question which troubled me more than even the Immigration Restriction Bill of the Kenya Government. I am accustomed to put on Dhotis and Paijamas at will but I do not like the Pants at all. On hot days I put on Dhoti. It is so comfortable. My difficulty was that our compatriots in Kenya, specially the educated ones in Nairobi, considered it unmannerly to go out in a Dhoti. Now the total number of Indians in Kenya is twenty three thousand while the Europeans number only nine thousand. It is a tropical country and some places are very hot. Why should twenty three thousand adopt the dress of nine thousand? Is it at all comfortable to put on socks and shoes on a hot day at Mombasa? Inspite of many lectures on dress that I heard from my friends in East Africa I am still unconvinced of the higher claims of Pants and socks and shoes over Dhoti and Chappal in tropical countries.

Is Khadi meant for Colonial Indians also?

As I was starting from Mombasa to Voi on my way to Tanganyika one gentleman dressed in Khadi came to see me off at the Railway Station. He told me, "Will you please do one thing for me? Ask Mahatma whether Khadi is meant for Colonial Indians or not. Srimati Sarojini Devi spoke to us that Khadi is only for India and not for the Colonies." I was not present at the meeting where Mrs. Naidu is reported to have given expression to this idea and I cannot say how far the report is correct. Leaving aside the controversial point about what Mrs. Naidu said, the question remains whether Colonial Indians should also wear Khadi.

Native Khadi in Zanzibar

Mr. B. N. Anantani of the 'Zanzibar Voice' took Mr. Vaze and myself to an old English doctor in Zanzibar, who has retired and is now teaching Khadi weaving to the Natives. The doctor is a great enthusiast and though an old man he is young in spirits. He showed us beautiful Khadi made by the Native boys. It was really an agreeable surprise for us to see the Charkha and the Indian handloom in such a place. The doctor took us to the place where Native boys were weaving and with great pride he showed us the samples of cloth made by the Natives. Evidently the Africans could learn spinning and weaving quite easily.

Charkha in Africa

I was reading a book named 'My Reminiscences of East Africa' by a German General Von Lettow Vorbeck who fought very bravely in German East Africa against the British. I was not a little surprised

when I came across the following sentence:-

"The stocks of cotton clothing in the Indian shops were simply coming to an end. We had seriously to think of starting manufacture ourselves in order to convert the abundant raw material into finished products. A curious existence now developed, reminding one of the industry of the Swiss family Robinson. Cotton fields existed in plenty. Popular books were hunted up, giving information about the forgotten arts of hand-spinning and weaving white and black women took to spinning by hand, at the missions and in private workshops spinning wheels and looms were built. In this manner in a short time the first useful piece of cotton cloth was produced."

So it was the spinning wheel which clothed the Natives and the Germans in German East Africa when machine-made cloth could not be imported. I was told by many Indians in Dar-e-salam that a large number of Natives learned spinning during the war. This leads to a question whether Charkha can help in the uplift of the Natives. We know the Natives of Africa have to buy foreign cloth worth millions of rupees every year. They import cloth from India, Japan and other countries. Why should they not make their cloth themselves? They grow the finest cotton in Uganda and Tanganyika and it will not be at all difficult for them to make charkhas. They can easily become self-dependent for their clothing. The most important problems in Africa are not those of Kenya Indians but of African Natives. Charkha may possibly help in the solution of one of these problems—the clothing of the Natives.

Shall we have a Colonial Empire?

When I saw the beautiful territory called Tanganyika for the first time I felt the temptation of becoming an Indian Imperialist. Why should we not have some colonies like Tanganyika when we become independent, I argued to myself. This is a absolutely virgin land, we can colonise it and administer it to the benefit of Natives and ourselves, it will be an opening for surplus population and so on and so on. In my first fit of Imperialism I forgot to realise what would be the cost, moral and financial, in getting a colony for administration. Germans like other European nations took Tanganyika by fraud and force. They spent millions of pounds over it. There were Native rebellions and many of the German missionaries were killed. During the war hundreds of Germans and thousands of Natives who fought for them lost their lives. In the end the Germans had to leave German East Africa and it is now in the hands of the British who rule it as a mandatory territory. It cost Britain millions of pounds to get this territory. Not less than five thousand Indian soldiers lost their lives in fighting with the Germans and the number of the wounded must be not less than fifteen thousand. Thus with the help of our soldiers Britain got Tanganyika.

When I came to know these facts and realised that it is immoral to rule over others, I gave up the tempting idea of getting an Indian Colony. But there are some Indians who hold such ideas. So the question is, "Shall we have a Colonial Empire?"

Benarasidas Chaturvedi

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My Jail Experiences

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I

The reader knows that I am a hardened criminal. It was not for the first time that I found myself a prisoner in the March of 1922. I had three previous South African convictions to my credit, and as I was regarded at the time by the South African Government as a dangerous criminal, I was moved from jail to jail and was able, therefore, to gather much experience of jail life. I had, before the Indian conviction, passed through six prisons and had come in touch with as many Superintendents and many more jailors. When, therefore during the beautiful night of the 10th of March I was taken to the Sabarmati Jail together with Mr. Bunker, I did not feel any awkwardness which always attends upon a strange and new experience. I almost felt I was going from one home to another in order to make more conquests of love. The preliminaries were more like being taken to a pleasure-trip than to jail. The courteous Superintendent of Police, Mr. Healy, would not even enter the Ashram but sent Anasuyabai, with a message that he had a warrant for my arrest and that a car awaited me at the Ashram gate. I was to take whatever time I needed for getting ready. Mr. Bunker, who was on his way back to Ahmedabad, was sent by Mr. Healy on the way and already arrested. I was not at all unprepared for the news that Anasuyabai brought. As a matter of fact, after having waited long enough for the coming of the warrant which everybody thought was imminent, I had given instructions that all should retire and I was myself about to lay myself to bed. I had returned that evening from Ajmere after a fatiguing journey where most reliable information was given to me that a warrant had been sent to Ajmere for my arrest but the authorities would not execute the warrant, as the very day that the warrant reached Ajmere, I was going back to Ahmedabad. The real news of the warrant therefore came as a welcome relief. I took with me an extra *kuchh* (loin-cloth), two blankets, and five books, Bhagavad Gita, Ashram Hymn Book, Ramayan, Rodwell's translation of the Koran, a presentation copy of the Sermon on the Mount sent by schoolboys of a High School in California with the hope that I would always carry it with me. The Superintendent, Khan Bahadur N. R. Wacha, received us

kindly, and we were taken to a separate block of cells situated in a spacious, clean compound. We were permitted to sleep on the verandah of the cells, a rare privilege for prisoners. I enjoyed the quiet and the utter silence of the place. The next morning we were taken to the Court for preliminary examination. Both Mr. Bunker and I had decided not only not to offer any defence but in no way to hamper the prosecution, but rather to help it. The preliminary examination was, therefore, quickly over. The case was committed to the Sessions, and as we were prepared to accept short service the trial was to take place on the 18th of March. The people of Ahmedabad had risen to the occasion. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel had issued strict instructions that there should be no crowds gathering near the Court-house and that there should be no demonstration of any kind whatsoever. There were, therefore, in the Court-house only a select body of visitors, and the Police had an easy time of it, which I could see was duly appreciated by the authorities.

The week before the trial was passed in receiving visitors who were generally permitted to see us without restriction. We were allowed to carry on correspondence so long as it was harmless and submitted to the Superintendent. As we willingly carried out all the Jail regulations, our relations with the Jail officials were smooth and even cordial during the week that we were in Sabarmati. Khan Bahadur Wacha was all attention and politeness, but it was impossible not to notice his timidity in everything he did. He seemed to apologize for his Indian birth and unconsciously to convey that he would have done more for us had he been a European. Being an Indian, even in allowing facilities which the regulations permitted, he was afraid of the Collector and the Inspector General of Prisons and every official who was at all superior to him. He knew that if it came to a struggle between himself and the Collector or the Inspector General of Prisons, he had nobody to back him up at the Secretariat. The notion of inferiority haunted him at every step. What was true outside was equally true, if not truer, inside the Jail. An Indian official would not assert himself, not because he could not, but because he lived in mortal fear of degradation, if not dismissal. If he was to retain his post and obtain promotion, he must please his superiors even to the point of cringing and even at the

sacrifice of principles. The contrast became terrible when we were transferred to Veravda. The European Superintendent had no fear of the Inspector General of Prisons. He could claim just as much influence at the Secretariat as the latter. The Collector for him was almost an interloper. His Indian superiors he held cheap and therefore he was not afraid to do his duty when he wished and was equally unafraid to neglect it, when discharge of duty was an onerous task. He knew that, as a rule, he was always safe. This sense of safety enables young European officers often to do the right thing in spite of opposition either from the public or from the Government, and he has also often driven coach and six through all regulations, all instructions and defied public opinion.

Of the trial and the sentence I need say nothing as the reader knows all about it, except to acknowledge the courtesy which was extended to us by all the officials including the Judge and the Advocate General. The wonderful restraint that was observed by the small crowd of people that was seen in and about the Court, and the great affection showed by them can never be effaced from memory. The sentence of six years' simple imprisonment I regarded as light. For, if Section 124 A of the Penal Code did really constitute a crime and the Judge administering the laws of the land could not but hold it as a crime, he would be perfectly justified in imposing the highest penalty. The crime was repeatedly and wilfully committed, and I can only account for the lightness of the sentence by supposing not that the Judge took pity on me, for I asked for none, but that he could not have approved of Section 124 A. There are many instances of judges having signified their disapproval of particular laws by imposing the minimum sentence, even though the crime denoted by them might have been fully and deliberately committed. He could not very well impose a lighter sentence seeing that the late Lokamanya was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for a similar offence.

The sentence over, we were both taken back to the prison, this time as fully convicted prisoners, but there was no change in the treatment accorded to us. Some friends were even permitted to accompany us. Leave-taking in the Jell was quite joyful. Mrs. Ghandi and Anasuya bore themselves bravely as they parted. Mr. Bunker was laughing all the time and I heaved a sigh of relief thanking God that all was over so peacefully and that I would be able to have some rest and still feel that I was serving the country, if possible more than when I was travelling up and down addressing huge audiences. I wish I could convince the workers that imprisonment of a comrade does not mean so much loss of work for a common cause. If we believe, as we have so often proclaimed we do, that unprovoked suffering is the surest way of remedying a wrong in regard to which the suffering is gone through, surely it follows as a matter of course that imprisonment of a comrade is no loss. Silent suffering undergone with dignity and humility speaks with an unrivalled eloquence. It is solid work because there is no ostentation about it. It is always true because there is no danger of

miscalculation. Moreover if we are true workers the loss of a fellow worker increases our zest and therefore capacity for work. And so long as we regard anybody as irreplaceable, we have not fitted ourselves for organised work. For organised work means capacity for carrying it on in spite of depletion in the ranks. Therefore we must rejoice in the unmerited suffering of friends or ourselves and trust that the cause if it is just will prosper through such suffering.

The Struggle Against Alcohol

(By O. F. Andrew)

I have just received a letter, from the Secretary of a Sevak Sangha in Bengal, asking me for my advice with regard to the prevention of liquor consumption within a certain Municipal area. Many other letters have come to me of a similar nature, and they seem to show that the great religious purifying enthusiasm of the year 1921 directed against drink and drugs has not died away, but has remained at a steady glow, ready once more to burst out into flame when the time for united action comes. In answering the letter from Bengal, I tried to make clear that every act, however small, which is performed to-day in order to restrict the drink traffic in any area is all to the good, and that any Municipality which can itself go 'dry' is a white spot on the map of India—pure white. I said that the whiteness of the khaddar movement itself would be darkened if the drink and drugs traffic remained. In the same letter I pointed out how many of the Indian States were now cleansing themselves from the deadly evil, and how Mr. Gandhi at the very height of the prohibition movement of 1921 had invited the Viceroy himself to co-operate with the people, but he had refused the invitation.

While I was in England, last Christmas, it was my good fortune to spend many days with Mr. W. E. Johnson, whose common name all over the West is 'Pussyfoot.' He, more than any one else, has been the founder of the Prohibition Movement in America. It will be remembered how deeply impressed he had been with the anti-drink campaign of the Non-co-operation movement in India during his visit, and how he had openly praised the great work that had been done in purifying and uplifting the people. He told me in England that as a moral movement making for purification against alcohol it was one of the greatest things he had ever seen in the world. Every day we talked over the drink problem and I had the rare opportunity of catching something of his own intense enthusiasm. He was in every way a most lovable man, as simple as a child in his moral outlook and with a commanding faith in God. He told me that there was nothing that he would like to do better than to come to India once more—this time as a worker in order to do all he could to help in the great struggle against drink and drugs which was surely impending in the East.

I must tell, in a few words, the way in which he overcame evil by good in London, during an earlier visit to England. The London medical students, in a riotous mood, attacked him. A stone thrown at him with great force broke his spectacles. A splinter

of glass pierced his eye-ball. He lay in intense agony for three days. At last when his very life became in danger a drastic operation was performed. The eye-ball itself was extracted. He thus lost one of his eyes altogether. Yet, even in the midst of his agony of torturing pain, he dictated a letter to the London students telling them that he bore them no ill-will at all and saying that he wished to be friends with them again. The British Government, fearing political complications, owing to the injury inflicted during a riot on an important American citizen offered him 50,000 dollars as compensation, but he returned it immediately and said that this was a matter between him and the students, which had all been forgiven and forgotten. Such a deed of true non-violence deserves to be remembered.

One point that he mentioned impressed me with its serious importance. He said that the drink issue was no longer American, but world-wide. The great capitalist liquor interests were now engaged in a world campaign of profit and it needed a world campaign of righteousness to meet them and to defeat them. During the next ten years, the whole world problem would probably be settled. When I examined the matter carefully and statistically, I could see how true this was; for since the time when America had gone dry, Great Britain had become the centre of the traffic in intoxicants, and India had become her hand-maid. Great Britain had determined everywhere to continue to make revenue out of them. Her great world Empire was to no small extent dependent on the profits made. It was easy to verify this. There was the drink revenue for Great Britain itself. There was the revenue in British India amounting to 25 crores of rupees. There were the opium revenues in the Far East which frequently paid half the expenditure of those rich British possessions. There was the gin traffic in West Africa which had not even yet been brought to an end, in spite of every moral protest raised against it. In Natal the same liquor traffic had demoralised and degraded the Indian indentured labourers and has often driven them back into a fresh indenture after the first indenture was over.

Already, while studying the morphia traffic, in connection with opium, I had found out how the manufacture of this drug on a large scale had led to the same world ramifications. All the great work of opium prevention done at Geneva under Sir John Jordan and his able band of assistants had been directed with a view to stop this at its very source. So also with these great alcohol capitalist companies. They make their huge profits by a world business. Therefore, they must be stopped at the different sources of their traffic. Every country that 'goes dry' steps up one of the sources. Mr. Johnson warned me that the British liquor interest was now directly and intimately concerned with India. India had now its immense material resources marshalled against her. For just as the same British liquor traffic had spent fabulous amounts in order to prevent Prohibition in America, so in the same manner, now that these British liquor interests realised that their own monopoly was in danger in India, they would bring every

influence to bear, politically, commercially, and financially, to prevent the spread of self-government and keep India in chains.

It was not long before I found out some of these wheels within wheels in British commercial and financial life. I was told on good authority how the 'Trade' (i. e., liquor trade), as it is significantly called, had been assisting with finances the recent Tory die-hard campaigns. It had cultivated Dyerlسا and had in no small measure led to Mr. Montagu's downfall and defeat. It may not be yet well known in India, that the 'Trade' in Great Britain gives by far the strongest financial backing to the party funds of the reactionaries in British politics. Just as American political life was corrupted by the 'Saloon' vote, so British politics to-day are disfigured by the corrupting financial influences of 'Trade'.

But it is good to turn away from these sordid details of evil and reaction, and to realize the commanding beauty of the prospect of a clean and sober India. Great encouragement, for instance, may be gained from the sight of what has already been accomplished within a single generation in the United States of America, owing to organised and united effort. Mr. Johnson gave me some of the latest figures which he had received concerning the moral effect of the first four years of Prohibition in America. He warned me that these early years, under the Volstead Act, were by far the most difficult to get through with success, because the machinery to enforce Prohibition had to be built up from the very beginning. He told me also, how he regarded it as now proved, that over a million lives had been saved owing to abstention from alcohol since the law had been passed. The arrests for drunkenness have decreased by over 2 millions in the same period. What this means, for peace and comfort, in millions of American homes, may be well imagined by any one, who has seen a man or a woman dangerously and violently drunk. The experience, which I had in England, in my earlier life as a clergyman, can never be forgotten. Certain streets, were a veritable hell on Saturday nights and the little innocent children, who grew up amid such scenes, hardly ever had a chance of escaping from the vicious circle. Other figures were given to me concerning the growth, in every district of America under Prohibition, of Church membership, of charity benefactions, of life insurance policies, and the like. It was equally encouraging to be told of immensely increased school attendance, of Colleges and Universities crowded out, owing to the moral and social change which had taken place in every part of the United States, especially in the Middle West.

We, in India, who have behind us records of sobriety and temperance, covering many centuries, can well rejoice as we behold this young western nation, acclamining with high enthusiasm its new-found freedom from the alcohol poison. In our present fettered condition, we look eagerly to them for brotherly cheer as we watch their achievement.

of this great emancipation. We can understand more clearly what we miss, because we ourselves have not yet attained Swaraj.

When I was in England recently, one of the Bishops of the Anglican Church proclaimed before the public, that if the people of India were allowed to have their own voice in their own affairs they would pass by an overwhelming majority a Liquor Prohibition measure. This was undoubtedly correct.

It is sometimes said, in answer to this, that Excise, both of alcohol and opium, has now been made a 'transferred' subject. But those, who know the facts, understand only too well, that the transference is in substance illusory and that Prohibition to-day could not be enforced in India by a popular vote however unanimous. To take one test,—is there any sign whatever, that the British residents in this country would be willing to forego their own supply of foreign liquor in order to help one step towards Indian Prohibition?

In ancient times, India exercised her own discrimination against Drugs and Alcohol by the sanction of religious restraint. This was one of the noblest exercises of religion that humanity has ever witnessed. It preserved a humane and civilised life in the East for very many centuries. To-day there is a two-fold need, if humanity in Eastern lands is to be rescued from demoralisation. On the one hand, the old sanctions of religion must be re-inforced and revived,—not dogmatically, but with the living message of purity and love. On the other hand, the new political instrument must be rightly and wisely used, when at last it comes into our own hands. It must not be exercised merely by others on our behalf, but actually by ourselves. It must not be merely a 'transferred' subject,—as though our political life could be cut up into separate compartments. It needs to be wholly and entirely the expression of the united will of the people.

On the very day when I finished this article at Jubu, two different visitors came over from Bombay by separate trains. Both of them had met, on the journey, with the painful experience of a drunken man travelling in the railway compartment. In each case, the drunken man was so violent and his language and manners were so foul that they were obliged to leave their part of the train. The growth of this terrible liquor evil is a strange portent in Indian life. It is tending to become a growing vice of our modern cities. The time has now arrived to make an organised and united effort in the direction of Drink Prohibition.

Intending Subscribers

are requested to remit subscriptions by Money Order in advance and not to advise us to send the first number per V. P. as we do not realise subscriptions by V. P. System.

Manager, Young India.

'The Whisper of the Wheel'

The following enthusiastic description of the possibilities of the spinning wheel cannot fail to be of general interest. The writer is a U. P. graduate and is himself a practised spinner. He does not wish his name to be advertised.

"I am a simple thing and anybody can understand my mechanism. I can be bought for a rupee or two. I am portable and easily accessible to all. I am much lighter than the grinding stone, therefore I am most popular with the fair sex. I am in demand at the time of marriages. My production satisfies the religious want of the Pandits because I am always sacred. I can give bread to the millions of starving villagers of India, can clothe the farmers, can give a livelihood to beggars, can give a dignified profession to the fallen sisters and those whose modesty is otherwise exposed to the assaults of lustful persons. I am in the habit of demolishing 'devils' workshops' by keeping busy all idle men's minds, if they care to turn me. I feed the weavers, the carders, the ironsmiths and the carpenters, I can save the heavy drainage of India that has been sapping her very life-blood. I can effect real unity between the different communities of India by making them interdependent, I can ameliorate the conditions of the untouchables by making it easy to find a market for the yarn produced by them, I can establish real peace in India by teaching its inhabitants self-respect and self-reliance and thus render it absolutely impossible for other nations to come to India with the idea of exploiting her. I can introduce simplicity in life and make the opulent condescend to talk with the mill hands. I can destroy the pride of the capitalists by abolishing the factory system and thus putting an end to the ever multiplying miseries of the labourers, and by being a menace to ambition and love of aggrandisement. I am thus a harbinger of peace and restorer of financial health to India and impartial distributor of wealth.

But to school students I am something more; I am an examiner of their abilities, I am a barometer to their nature. Give me to a rash boy and I will tell all at once that he is such, because his yarn will be untwisted and irregular. Place me in the hands of a serious boy; I will at once know that he is promising, because his yarn will be regular, and indicative of a balanced hand.

I am not merely an examiner; I am an instructor too. I can train the mind of a boy (if he turns me daily), so well that he will be a good surgeon if he goes to the George Hospital Lucknow with a certificate from me. His operation will mostly be successful and his judgment most accurate. I warrant a regular spinner can be a good mathematician because the same law governs both the sciences. It would be no exaggeration to say that spinning is practical mathematics. If you err, your mistake will at once be detected.

Just as bluntness in the edge of a razor spoils a shave, just as caustic acid spoils a picture and just as adoration without faith is meaningless, in the same way no amount of coaching is of any avail without concentration which the youths of these days so utterly lack. I am a specialist in training the boys in concentration and I claim to do immense good in this direction to the boy who befriends me."

M. K. G.

Young India

17-4-24

Schoolmasters and Lawyers

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I hope you have by this time been able to consult friends who were led to modify, at Delhi, the Congress resolution regarding the Triple Boycott. What final decision have you come to? Are you going to preach them over again in the same form?

"As to the boycott of Councils, I may not say anything; the leaders of the Swaraj Party might have clearly laid before you facts and arguments. The work they are doing and are likely to do is before you. As to the boycott of schools and colleges, it has, if I may say from my own experience, completely failed. I may refer to my own case. Here there are two full-fledged High schools, attended by more than 500 pupils each, while the National High school has barely 30 boys on the roll. We have tried all possible ways and means for canvassing boys, but have failed. I have been convinced that people are not prepared for this boycott.

"As to the third boycott, there were only a very few lawyers who gave up their practice. Now almost all have rejoined. The number of court-going people never diminished. The *Javad* Courts established by national workers never thrived and have since died. These courts, having had no power to enforce their decisions, and the people being not trained to submit, cannot be expected to attain any palpable success.

"Under these circumstances what are we—who boycotted our further education and prospects at the clarion-call of the Congress to sacrifice for the sake of the country only one year—to do? We have sacrificed not only one year but three. We established national schools for the people and the people heed them not. The sacrifice of the workers is not appreciated. Are not the national schools with such poor attendance a useless waste of the public money, energy and life? Does it not mean that our efforts and plans are premature? Our sacrifice gives no satisfaction to ourselves too. It is often a hindrance to patriotism or national enthusiasm. Khaddar is dearer than mill-cloth and our means are poor. Though elected delegates to

the Congress we cannot attend or have to refuse the seat, for want of the necessary money required for travelling and other expenses. We have to earn money not for luxury but as a necessity. But our ways are blocked by the Congress.

"I have a family to support and a delicate constitution, and hence cannot bear the hardships of village propaganda. The Congress has practically no work at present. What I think is that the Congress should arrange for the maintenance of workers and admit only those whom it can support. It should give permission to all others to follow their own pursuits patriotically and be soldiers of the militia (irregular army) ready at the country's call whenever required. Such people will enter Government and semi-Government schools and teach their prescribed books and lessons with a patriotic angle of vision. They will join the bar and show to the people at every step what a waste of time and money the Courts are. They will enter the military and refuse to fire on their own brethren. And so on. I know not what you intend to do after your recovery. In the meanwhile I seek your advice. I think that I am doing no better service to the people and to the country by remaining the head master of the national school here, which is not appreciated and supported by the public. May I complete my law education and join the bar and do what humble services I can to the Motherland? Will you advise the Congress to remove these boycotts and devise some other ways and means for attaining freedom? Or are you going to take up these boycotts in right earnest again? May we wait?

P. S. It is no question of Conscience and Religion. I look at Non-cooperation only as a means."

The foregoing letter sums up succinctly the argument advanced by my correspondents and visitors against the boycott of schools and law courts. As usual the sting is in the tail. The post-script yields the secret of unbelief in the boycott. One need not regard everything as a matter of conscience or religion to be able to stick to it through thick and thin. Even one's means may be so vital that giving them up may mean death. Lungs are the means whereby we breathe and sustain life. They are not life. But their destruction is destruction of life itself. No one questions that non-cooperation is a means. The question is:—Is non-cooperation as conceived in 1920 the only means of reaching our goal? The Congress decided that it was. But the Congress merely represents the opinion of the delegates for the time being. Some of us evidently consider that it was a mistake to think that it was the only means. Some others think that it was one of the means and many more should have been adopted at the same time. Yet others, though they disbelieved in it, adopted it out of regard for the decision of the majority and because they think that the decisions of the Congress have a mandatory character and bind the minority whether in matters of principle or detail. Yet others adhere to the opinion formed by them in 1920 that non-co-

operation as then conceived is the only means for achieving our goal. I belong to the last category and it will be my humble duty from time to time to show why it is the only means. My correspondent evidently belongs to the opposite school.

I have repeatedly observed that no school of thought can claim a monopoly of right judgment. We are all liable to err and are often obliged to revise our judgments. In a vast country like this, there must be room for all schools of honest thought. And the least therefore that we owe to ourselves as to others is to try to understand the opponent's viewpoint and, if we cannot accept it, respect it as fully as we would expect him to respect ours. It is one of the indispensable tests of a healthy public life and therefore fitness for Swaraj. If we have no charity, and no tolerance, we shall never settle our differences amicably and must therefore always submit to the arbitrament of a third party i. e. to foreign domination. I invite the reader, then, to share with me the respect that is due to the view set forth by my correspondent and if he belongs to the correspondent's school of thought, bear with me even though I cannot see eye to eye with him.

In my opinion the boycott of schools and law courts has been both a failure and a success. It has been largely, not wholly, a failure in that schools and law courts have not been effectively or even appreciably deserted. But it has been a success in that the halo surrounding Government schools and law courts has disappeared. People believe, much more now than they did before, in the necessity of independent national schools and settlement of disputes by panchayats. Lawyers and Government schoolmasters have lost much of the artificial prestige they enjoyed five years ago. I count these as no small gains. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not undervalue the sacrifices and devotion to the country of schoolmasters and lawyers. Dadabhai and Gokhale were schoolmasters. Pherozeshah Mehta and Budruddin Tyebji were lawyers. But I would not have even these distinguished countrymen of ours to claim the exclusive monopoly of wisdom or ability to guide. The spinner, the weaver, the farmer, the artisan, the trader have just as much right to shape the destiny of the country as the members of the so-called liberal professions. As the latter have represented the arm of authority, we have been awed by them and to that extent they have accustomed us to think that we can satisfy our wants only through the Government instead of teaching us that the Government is a creation of the people and merely an instrument for giving effect to their will. This false prestige of privileged classes has suffered a shock from which I hope it will never recover.

That national schools and panchayats have not flourished, as they might have, is due to a variety of causes, some avoidable and others unavoidable. We have been new to the work and therefore we

have not known how to go about it. For me therefore the poverty of results is not a cause for disappointment but for greater and more enlightened effort. Our failures we can convert into so many steps to success.

The village work frightens us. We who are town-bred find it trying to take to the village life. Our bodies in many cases do not respond to the hard life. But it is a difficulty which we have to face boldly, even heroically, if our desire is to establish Swaraj for the people, not substitute one class rule by another, which may be even worse. Hitherto the villagers have died in their thousands so that we might live. Now we might have to die so that they may live. The difference will be fundamental. The former have died unknowingly and involuntarily. Their enforced sacrifice has degraded us. If now we die knowingly and willingly, our sacrifice will ennoble us and the whole nation. Let us not flinch from the necessary sacrifice, if we will live as an independent self-respecting nation.

The difficulty with the non-cooperating lawyers is greater still. They have unfortunately been used to a highly artificial life totally out of harmony with their national surroundings. I regard it as a crime that any lawyer or doctor should charge or get say Rs. 1,000 per day or for that matter even Rs. 100 per day. It is no answer to the indictment that it is the monied men who pay and there can be no harm, but it may be all to the good, if lawyers take money from the rich people and use a part for the public good. If the profession was disinterested and charged only enough for maintenance, the monied men would also have to revise their budget. As it is, we seem to be moving in a vicious circle.

If under Swaraj we shall have to make the town life correspond to the village life, we shall be bound to simplify the town mode of life. The beginning has to be made now. Why should lawyers feel so utterly helpless as they seem to do now? Is starvation the only alternative if they cannot resume practice? Is it impossible for a resourceful lawyer to turn his attention to weaving or any other honourable toil?

It is difficult for me to advise non-cooperating lawyers and schoolmasters. If they believe in the boycott they should face all difficulties and continue the boycott. If they do not believe in it, they can without any disgrace attaching to their action rejoin the profession. As I do not believe in the mandate theory, I do not consider it to be obligatory on any schoolmaster or lawyer to refrain from rejoining Government schools or law-courts because of the continuance of the boycott resolution. I would still advocate the retention of the boycott, to be worked out not by propaganda for emptying Government schools and courts (that was done and had to be done during 1920 and 1921) but by the constructive method of establishing and popularising national schools and panchayats.

Notes

Maulana Shaukat Ali's Illness

The readers of *Young India* will be sorry to learn that Maulana Shaukat Ali, who has been ailing for some time and is being treated by Dr. Ansari under his own roof, is not making such progress as was at one time expected. Both Maulana Mahomed Ali and Dr. Ansari say in their letters just received that the patient is feeling very weak and requires most careful nursing. I invite the readers to join me in the prayer that our distinguished countryman may soon be restored to complete health.

Talks with Leaders

Statements have appeared in the Press about the talks between the Swarajist leaders and myself. I ask the readers to discount them as altogether premature. No final conclusions have been reached. Mr. C. R. Das has not even been able to attend these talks and as he has been asked by his medical advisers to take prolonged rest, he may not be able to come at all. In no case is it possible to make any statement before the views of Mr. Das and other friends are known.

I understand that the workers are vegetating because of the suspense caused by the talks and the confusion caused by unauthorised journalistic ventures. I would ask the workers not to worry over the result of the talks. I can give them my assurance that there is not the slightest likelihood of any change being advocated by me in the constructive programme. Any one therefore suspending his activity in that direction will make a grievous blunder and retard the progress of the constructive work which needs all the time of all the workers that can be got together for the work.

For Workers

A friend has suggested that I should convene a meeting of workers so as to confer with them even as I am conferring with the leaders. At one time I thought it was a good plan but I see that it is not feasible. But what has finally decided me against such a conference is my own physical condition. I can hardly bear the strain of a prolonged sitting at an early date. Any such conference to be useful must be called as soon as possible and not later than the end of this month. But I see that I shall not be equal to the task by that time. And after all what will such a conference do? I am gathering all the information I can. I shall soon reach conclusions on the vexed questions of the day. Whatever weight may attach to my opinion, it must remain the opinion of an individual and therefore have no authority. The only authoritative opinion for Congressmen can be that of the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee in the absence of the whole Congress. My tentative opinions may form a fit subject for discussion when the All India Congress Committee meets. The Working Committee meets too early for me and in no case can it lay down any new policy or programme without reference to the A. I. C. C.

Whilst therefore there need be no conference of workers, if they will give me as briefly as possible their opinion on all the questions that may be agitating them, it will be of the greatest assistance to me in forming my own judgment. Any such communications should reach me before the end of this month and addressed Post Andheri Bombay.

The Gurdwara Movement

Another Jatha of 500 has surrendered peacefully when it was intercepted in its progress to the Gangsar Gurdwara and placed under arrest by the Nabha authorities. If we had not become used to such arrests and the like, they would create a sensation in the country. Now they have become ordinary occurrences and excite little curiosity and less surprise or pain. Their moral value increases in the same ratio as popular interest in them seems to have died. These arrests when they cease to be sensational also cease to afford intoxication. People who court arrest in the absence of excitement, allow themselves to be arrested because of their unquenchable faith in silent but certain efficacy of suffering undergone without resentment and in a just cause. The Sikhs have been conducting the Gurdwara movement by the Satyagraha method now for the last four years. Their zeal is apparently undiminished inspite of the fact that most of their leaders are in gaol. Their suffering has been intense. They have put up with beating, they have stood without retaliation shower of bullets and hundreds have been imprisoned. Victory therefore is a matter only of time. An offensive has been threatened on behalf of the Government. They are imprisoning innocent men who are marching in pursuit of a religious duty. They have declared their associations illegal. One wonders what further steps they can take to frighten the brave Sikhs. The latter's answer to any offensive on the part of the Government is not difficult to guess. They will meet each progressive step in repression with equally progressive determination to do or die.

Vykom Satyagraha

Vykom of which till lately no one outside Travancore, at most the Madras Presidency, knew anything has suddenly leapt to fame because it has become the seat of Satyagraha. The Press contains bulletins of the daily progress of the movement from day to day. It has been undertaken in behalf of the untouchables of Travancore. The movement has given us another word to describe the condition of the suppressed classes. It is unapproachability. These poor countrymen of ours may not only not touch any other caste Hindus but they may not even approach them within a stated distance. The leaders of the movement with a view to remedying the evil have taken up only a fragment of the evil, hoping no doubt that if they deal with it successfully, they will have dealt it a death-blow at least in that part of India in which direct action is now going on. In the prosecution of the campaign some of the staunchest workers of Malabar have been imprisoned including my predecessor George Joseph.

As most of the leaders have been imprisoned, an appeal has been made to the leaders all over India to come to the rescue. Whether such an appeal can or should be met or not need not be considered for the moment, as Madras seems to be responding wholeheartedly. There can now be no receding. The struggle may last long if orthodox Hindu opinion is actively hostile to the movement. The Satyagrahis are certain to break down the wall of prejudice no matter how strong and solid it may be if they continue firm but humble, truthful and non-violent. They must have faith enough in these qualities to know that they will meet the stouest hearts.

How to do It

Mr. Andrews has endeavoured to answer the query of the Secretary of a Bengal Sevak Sangh as to how to combat the drink evil. His answer is to follow in the footsteps of Pussyfoot Johnson. Whilst he was trying to convert certain English students, he was stoned. The throw resulted ultimately in the loss of one eye. He pardoned the offenders, would not prosecute them and would not take compensation offered by the British Government. That was an instance of non-violence in thought, word and deed. If such non-violence can be insured here, I would not hesitate to revive the idea of picketing liquor shops again. But we stand discredited. In many places our picketing in 1921 was far from non-violent. The political idea of embarrassing the Government was predominant with us, that of reforming the drunkard was a very secondary consideration. In the struggle of non-co-operation politics are made to subserve the moral end. If we can reform the drunkard, we reform also the administration and the administrators. Whereas if we suppress the drunkard by force, we may deprive the Government of the liquor or the drug revenue for a time but in the end the suppressed drinker or smoker will raise his head and the Government will raise an increased revenue. Not until we have men and women enough who would carry on picketing for the love of the drunkard even at the risk of their lives, can we dream of reviving picketing. I am afraid we ill deserve the praise given to us by Dr. Johnson. I was about to expunge the passage in question from Mr. Andrews' article before posting it. But I have retained it to remind us of our duty and spur us to effort enough to deserve such praise.

Khadar and Purity

A friend in a letter enclosing a Rs. 10 note writes: 'The donning of Khadar without the qualities of sincerity, purity, self-conquest etc., amounts to a sacrilege' and he adds that as he does not possess these qualities in their fullness, he has not the courage to wear Khadar garments. I wish it were possible to associate all these qualities with Khadar garments. But in that case very few of us will be able to use Khadar at all. The writer has needlessly exaggerated the merits of Khadar. Its one great merit is that it solves, as nothing else can, the economic problem of India and removes starvation. That alone must be all-sufficient to induce high and low to

wear and use handspun Khadar to the exclusion of every other cloth. We want all, irrespective of their character, to wear Khadar. Scoundrels, drunkards, the very scum of the land, must clothe and feed themselves. I would not hesitate to urge them to wear Khadar even though I cannot induce them to change their mode of inner life. We must cease to attribute to Khadar virtues which it cannot carry.

Unrepentant

A correspondent has written a furiously earnest letter for publication if I thought it necessary. With due respect to the correspondent I think it unnecessary to publish the letter. But I am prepared to let the reader guess what it is all likely to be from the following extract:

"If you will not condemn the past and present actions of the Swaraj Party in the strongest terms then you shall fail in your duty towards Truth and thus towards God. If you will not condemn them.....then it will mean a death-blow to your movement itself.....Pray do not create a second Bardoli."

I am giving the above extract in order that I may prepare the ground for my fall and thus break its force somewhat. Whatever may be the nature of the statement I may make regarding the Council-entry, I know this much that I am not going to condemn the Swarajists in any manner whatsoever. I may express my differences in the strongest language, but I cannot condemn them because they may hold different views from mine. They and their views are at least as much entitled to a respectful hearing as mine or those of the tallest among us. There is no such thing as my movement. But in so far as any movement may be called mine there is no danger of its failure, so long as I do not fail. Whilst therefore I appreciate my correspondent's anxiety for me, I would like him to feel at ease on my score. For so far as I can foresee there is not much danger of my proving a traitor to myself. Whilst there is yet time I had better make another confession. I am so proud of my performance at Bardoli that there is every prospect of my repeating it. That clean confession made at a most critical moment did me a world of good. It purified me and I verily believe that it did as much good to the cause. That confession and retracing of our steps gave an object lesson in non-violence as nothing else could have. I am therefore likely to repeat Bardoli as often as the occasion arises and that I shall do even at the risk of finding myself in a minority of one. I should be an unfit servant of the nation if I hesitated to tell the truth and do it for fear of losing popularity. What will it be worth when I have lost the only thing for which I live?

M. K. G.

Bombay Branch

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Manager, *Young India*

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My Jail Experiences

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I

The reader knows that I am a hardened criminal. It was not for the first time that I found myself a prisoner in the March of 1922. I had three previous South African convictions to my credit, and as I was regarded at the time by the South African Government as a dangerous criminal, I was moved from jail to jail and was able, therefore, to gather much experience of jail life. I had, before the Indian conviction, passed through six prisons and had come in touch with as many Superintendents and many more jailors. When, therefore during the beautiful night of the 10th of March I was taken to the Sabarmati Jail together with Mr. Bunker, I did not feel any awkwardness which always attends upon a strange and new experience. I almost felt I was going from one home to another in order to make more conquests of love. The preliminaries were more like being taken to a pleasure-tour than to jail. The courteous Superintendent of Police, Mr. Healy, would not even enter the Ashram but sent Anasuyabai, with a message that he had a warrant for my arrest and that a car awaited me at the Ashram gate. I was to take whatever time I needed for getting ready. Mr. Bunker, who was on his way back to Ahmedabad, was met by Mr. Healy on the way and already arrested. I was not at all unprepared for the news that Anasuyabai brought. As a matter of fact, after having waited long enough for the coming of the warrant which everybody thought was imminent, I had given instructions that all should retire and I was myself about to lay myself to bed. I had returned that evening from Ajmere after a fatiguing journey where most reliable information was given to me that a warrant had been sent to Ajmere for my arrest but the authorities would not execute the warrant. As the very day that the warrant reached Ajmere, I was going back to Ahmedabad. The real news of the warrant therefore came as a welcome relief. I took with me an extra *kuchh* (loin-cloth), two blankets, and five books, Bhagavad Gita, Ashram Hymn Book, Ramayana, Rodwell's translation of the Koran, a presentation copy of the Sermon on the Mount sent by schoolboys of a High School in California with the hope that I would always carry it with me. The Superintendent, Khan Bahadur N. R. Wacha received us

kindly, and we were taken to a separate block of cells situated in a spacious, clean compound. We were permitted to sleep on the verandah of the cells, a rare privilege for prisoners. I enjoyed the quiet and the utter silence of the place. The next morning we were taken to the Court for preliminary examination. Both Mr. Bunker and I had decided not only not to offer any defence but in no way to hamper the prosecution, but rather to help it. The preliminary examination was, therefore, quickly over. The case was committed to the Sessions, and as we were prepared to accept short service the trial was to take place on the 18th of March. The people of Ahmedabad had risen to the occasion. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel had issued strict instructions that there should be no crowds gathering near the Court-house and that there should be no demonstration of any kind whatsoever. There were, therefore, in the Court-house only a select body of visitors, and the Police had an easy time of it, which I could see was duly appreciated by the authorities.

The week before the trial was passed in receiving visitors who were generally permitted to see us without restriction. We were allowed to carry on correspondence so long as it was harmless and submitted to the Superintendent. As we willingly carried out all the Jail regulations, our relations with the Jail officials were smooth and even cordial during the week that we were in Sabarmati. Khan Bahadur Wacha was all attention and politeness, but it was impossible not to notice his timidity in everything he did. He seemed to apologize for his Indian birth and unconsciously to convey that he would have done more for us had he been a European. Being an Indian, even in allowing facilities which the regulations permitted, he was afraid of the Collector and the Inspector General of Prisons and every official who was at all superior to him. He knew that if it came to a struggle between himself and the Collector or the Inspector General of Prisons, he had nobody to back him up at the Secretariat. The notion of inferiority haunted him at every step. What was true outside was equally true, if not truer, inside the Jail. An Indian official would not assert himself, not because he could not, but because he lived in mortal fear of degradation, if not dismissal. If he was to retain his post and obtain promotion, he must please his superiors even to the point of cringing and even at the

sacrifice of principles. The contrast became terrible when we were transferred to Yeravda. The European Superintendent had no fear of the Inspector General of Prisons. He could claim just as much influence at the Secretariat as the latter. The Collector for him was almost an interloper. His Indian superiors he held cheap and therefore he was not afraid to do his duty when he wished and was equally unafraid to neglect it, when discharge of duty was an onerous task. He knew that, as a rule, he was always safe. This sense of safety enables young European officers often to do the right thing in spite of opposition either from the public or from the Government, and he has also often driven coach and six through all regulations, all instructions and defied public opinion.

Of the trial and the sentence I need say nothing as the reader knows all about it, except to acknowledge the courtesy which was extended to us by all the officials including the Judge and the Advocate General. The wonderful restraint that was observed by the small crowd of people that was seen in and about the Court, and the great affection showed by them can never be effaced from memory. The sentence of six years' simple imprisonment I regarded as light. For, if Section 124 A of the Penal Code did really constitute a crime and the Judge administering the laws of the land could not but hold it as a crime, he would be perfectly justified in imposing the highest penalty. The crime was repeatedly and wilfully committed, and I can only account for the lightness of the sentence by supposing not that the Judge took pity on me, for I asked for none, but that he could not have approved of Section 124 A. There are many instances of judges having signified their disapproval of particular laws by imposing the minimum sentence, even though the crime denoted by them might have been fully and deliberately committed. He could not very well impose a lighter sentence seeing that the late Lokamanya was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for a similar offence.

The sentence over, we were both taken back to the prison, this time as fully convicted prisoners, but there was no change in the treatment accorded to us. Some friends were even permitted to accompany us. Leave-taking in the Jall was quite jovial. Mrs. Gandhi and Anasuyabai bore themselves bravely as they parted. Mr. Bunker was laughing all the time and I heaved a sigh of relief thanking God that all was over so peacefully and that I would be able to have some rest and still feel that I was serving the country, if possible more than when I was travelling up and down addressing huge audiences. I wish I could convince the workers that imprisonment of a comrade does not mean so much loss of work for a common cause. If we believe, as we have so often proclaimed we do, that unprovoked suffering is the surest way of remedying a wrong in regard to which the suffering is gone through, surely it follows as a matter of course that imprisonment of a comrade is no loss. Silent suffering undergone with dignity and humility speaks with an unrivalled eloquence. It is solid work because there is no ostentation about it. It is always true because there is no danger of

miscalculation. Moreover if we are true workers the loss of a fellow worker increases our zet and therefore capacity for work. And so long as we regard anybody as irreplaceable, we have not fitted ourselves for organised work. For organised work means capacity for carrying it on in spite of depletion in the ranks. Therefore we must rejoice in the unmerited suffering of friends or ourselves and trust that the cause if it is just will prosper through such suffering.

The Struggle Against Alcohol

(By O. F. Andrews)

I have just received a letter, from the Secretary of a Sevak Sangha in Bengal, asking me for my advice with regard to the prevention of liquor consumption within a certain Municipal area. Many other letters have come to me of a similar nature, and they seem to show that the great religious purifying enthusiasm of the year 1921 directed against drink and drugs has not died away, but has remained at a steady glow, ready once more to burst out into flame when the time for united action comes. In answering the letter from Bengal, I tried to make clear that every act, however small, which is performed to-day in order to restrict the drink traffic in any area is all to the good, and that any Municipality which can itself go 'dry' is a white spot on the map of India—pure white. I said that the whiteness of the khaddar movement itself would be darkened if the drink and drugs traffic remained. In the same letter I pointed out how many of the Indian States were now cleansing themselves from the deadly evil, and how Mr. Gandhi at the very height of the prohibition movement of 1921 had invited the Viceroy himself to co-operate with the people, but he had refused the invitation.

While I was in England, last Christmas, it was my good fortune to spend many days with Mr. W. E. Johnson, whose common name all over the West is 'Pussyfoot.' He, more than any one else, has been the founder of the Prohibition Movement in America. It will be remembered how deeply impressed he had been with the anti-drink campaign of the Non-co-operation movement in India during his visit, and how he had openly praised the great work that had been done in purifying and uplifting the people. He told me in England that as a moral movement making for purification against alcohol it was one of the greatest things he had ever seen in the world. Every day we talked over the drink problem and I had the rare opportunity of catching something of his own intense enthusiasm. He was in every way a most loveable man, as simple as a child in his moral outlook and with a commanding faith in God. He told me that there was nothing that he would like to do better than to come to India once more—this time as a worker in order to do all he could to help in the great struggle against drink and drugs which was surely impending in the East.

I must tell, in a few words, the way in which he overcame evil by good in London during an earlier visit to England. The London medical students, in a riotous mood, attacked him. A stone thrown at him with great force broke his spectacles. A student

of glass pierced his eye-ball. He lay in intense agony for three days. At last when his very life became in danger a drastic operation was performed. The eye-ball itself was extracted. He thus lost one of his eyes altogether. Yet, even in the midst of his agony of torturing pain, he dictated a letter to the London students telling them that he bore them no ill-will at all and saying that he wished to be friends with them again. The British Government, fearing political complications, owing to the injury inflicted during a riot on an important American citizen offered him 50,000 dollars as compensation, but he returned it immediately and said that this was a matter between him and the students, which had all been forgiven and forgotten. Such a deed of true non-violence deserves to be remembered.

One point that he mentioned impressed me with its serious importance. He said that the drink issue was no longer American, but world-wide. The great capitalist liquor interests were now engaged in a world campaign of profit and it needed a world campaign of righteousness to meet them and to defeat them. During the next ten years, the whole world problem would probably be settled. When I examined the matter carefully and statistically, I could see how true this was; for since the time when America had gone dry, Great Britain had become the centre of the traffic in intoxicants, and India had become her hand-maid. Great Britain had determined everywhere to continue to make revenue out of them. Her great world Empire was to no small extent dependent on the profits made. It was easy to verify this. There was the drink revenue for Great Britain itself. There was the revenue in British India amounting to 25 crores of rupees. There were the opium revenues in the Far East which frequently paid half the expenditure of those rich British possessions. There was the gin traffic in West Africa which had not even yet been brought to an end, in spite of every moral protest raised against it. In Natal the same liquor traffic had demoralised and degraded the Indian indentured labourers and has often driven them back into a fresh indenture after the first indenture was over.

Already, while studying the morphia traffic, in connection with opium, I had found out how the manufacture of this drug on a large scale had led to the same world ramifications. All the great work of opium prevention done at Geneva under Sir John Jordan and his able band of assistants had been directed with a view to stop this at its very source. So also with these great alcohol capitalist companies. They make their huge profits by a world business. Therefore, they must be stopped at the different sources of their traffic. Every country that 'goes dry' steps up one of the sources. Mr. Johnson warned me that the British liquor interest was now directly and intimately concerned with India. India had now its immense material resources marshalled against her. For just as the same British liquor traffic had spent fabulous amounts in order to prevent Prohibition in America, so in the same manner, now that these British liquor interests realised that their own monopoly was in danger in India, they would bring every

influence to bear, politically, commercially and financially, to prevent the spread of self-government and keep India in chains.

It was not long before I found out some of these wheels within wheels in British commercial and financial life. I was told on good authority how the 'Trade' (i. e., liquor trade), as it is significantly called, had been assisting with finances the recent Tory die-hard campaigns. It had cultivated Dyerism and had in no small measure led to Mr. Montagu's downfall and defeat. It may not be yet well known in India, that the 'Trade' in Great Britain gives by far the strongest financial backing to the party funds of the reactionaries in British politics. Just as American political life was corrupted by the 'Saloon' vote, so British politics to-day are disfigured by the corrupting financial influences of 'Trade'.

But it is good to turn away from these sordid details of evil and reaction, and to realize the commanding beauty of the prospect of a clean and sober India. Great encouragement for instance, may be gained from the sight of what has already been accomplished within a single generation in the United States of America, owing to organised and united effort. Mr. Johnson gave me some of the latest figures which he had received concerning the moral effect of the first four years of Prohibition in America. He warned me that these early years, under the Volstead Act, were by far the most difficult to get through with success, because the machinery to enforce Prohibition had to be built up from the very beginning. He told me also, how he regarded it as now proved, that over a million lives had been saved owing to abstention from alcohol since the law had been passed. The arrests for drunkenness have decreased by over 2 millions in the same period. What this means, for peace and comfort, in millions of American homes, may be well imagined by any one, who has seen a man or a woman dangerously and violently drunk. The experience, which I had in England, in my earlier life as a clergyman, can never be forgotten. Certain streets were a veritable hell on Saturday nights and the little innocent children, who grew up amid such scenes, hardly ever had a chance of escaping from the vicious circle. Other figures were given to me concerning the growth, in every district of America under Prohibition, of Church membership, of charity benefactions, of life insurance policies, and the like. It was equally encouraging to be told of immensely increased school attendance, of Colleges and Universities crowded out, owing to the moral and social change which had taken place in every part of the United States, especially in the Middle West.

We, in India, who have behind us records of sobriety and temperance, covering many centuries, can well rejoice as we behold this young western nation, acclaiming with high enthusiasm its new-found freedom from the alcohol poison. In our present fettered condition, we look eagerly to them for brotherly cheer as we watch their achievement.

of this great emancipation. We can understand more clearly what we miss, because we ourselves have not yet attained Swaraj.

When I was in England recently, one of the Bishops of the Anglican Church proclaimed before the public, that if the people of India were allowed to have their own voice in their own affairs they would pass by an overwhelming majority a Liquor Prohibition measure. This was undoubtedly correct.

It is sometimes said, in answer to this, that Excise, both of alcohol and opium, has now been made a 'Transferred' subject. But those, who know the facts, understand only too well, that the transference is in substance illusory and that Prohibition to-day could not be enforced in India by a popular vote however unanimous. To take one test,—is there any sign whatever, that the British residents in this country would be willing to forego their own supply of foreign liquor in order to help one step towards Indian Prohibition?

In ancient times, India exercised her own discrimination against Drugs and Alcohol by the sanction of religious restraint. This was one of the noblest exercises of religion that humanity has ever witnessed. It preserved a humane and civilised life in the East for very many centuries. To-day there is a two-fold need, if humanity in Eastern lands is to be rescued from demoralisation. On the one hand, the old sanctions of religion must be re-inforced and revived,—not dogmatically, but with the living message of purity and love. On the other hand, the new political instrument must be rightly and wisely used, when at last it comes into our own hands. It must not be exercised merely by others on our behalf, but actually by ourselves. It must not be merely a 'transferred' subject,—as though our political life could be cut up into separate compartments. It needs to be wholly and entirely the expression of the united will of the people.

On the very day when I finished this article at Juhu, two different visitors came over from Bombay by separate trains. Both of them had met, on the journey, with the painful experience of a drunken man travelling in the railway compartment. In each case, the drunken man was so violent and his language and manners were so foul that they were obliged to leave their part of the train. The growth of this terrible liquor evil is a strange portent in Indian life. It is tending to become a growing vice of our modern cities. The time has now arrived to make an organised and united effort in the direction of Drink Prohibition.

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are requested to remit subscriptions by Money Order in advance and not to advise us to send the first number per V. P. as we do not realise subscriptions by V. P. System.

Manager, Young India.

'The Whisper of the Wheel'

The following enthusiastic description of the possibilities of the spinning wheel cannot fail to be of general interest. The writer is a U. P. graduate and is himself a practised spinner. He does not wish his name to be advertised.

"I am a simple thing and anybody can understand my mechanism. I can be bought for a rupee or two. I am portable and easily accessible to all. I am much lighter than the grinding stone, therefore I am most popular with the fair sex. I am in demand at the time of marriages. My production satisfies the religious want of the Pandits because I am always sacred. I can give bread to the millions of starving villagers of India, can clothe the farmers, can give a livelihood to beggars, can give a dignified profession to the fallen sisters and those whose modesty is otherwise exposed to the assaults of lustful persons. I am in the habit of demolishing 'devils' workshops' by keeping busy all idle men's minds, if they care to turn me. I feed the weavers, the carders, the ironsmiths and the carpenters, I can save the heavy drainage of India that has been sapping her very life-blood. I can effect real unity between the different communities of India by making them interdependent, I can ameliorate the conditions of the untouchables by making it easy to find a market for the yarn produced by them, I can establish real peace in India by teaching its inhabitants self-respect and self-reliance and thus render it absolutely impossible for other nations to come to India with the idea of exploiting her. I can introduce simplicity in life and make the opulent condescend to talk with the mill hands. I can destroy the pride of the capitalists by abolishing the factory system and thus putting an end to the ever multiplying miseries of the labourers, and by being a menace to ambition and love of aggrandisement. I am thus a harbinger of peace and restorer of financial health to India and impartial distributor of wealth.

But to school students I am something more; I am an examiner of their abilities, I am a barometer to their nature. Give me to a rash boy and I will tell all at once that he is such, because his yarn will be untwisted and irregular. Place me in the hands of a serious boy; I will at once know that he is promising, because his yarn will be regular, and indicative of a balanced hand.

I am not merely an examiner; I am an instructor too. I can train the mind of a boy (if he turns me daily), so well that he will be a good surgeon if he goes to the George Hospital Lucknow with a certificate from me. His operation will mostly be successful and his judgment most accurate. I warrant, a regular spinner can be a good mathematician because the same law governs both the sciences. It would be no exaggeration to say that spinning is practical mathematics. If you err, your mistake will at once be detected.

Just as bluntness in the edge of a razor spoils a shave, just as caustic acid spoils a picture and just as adoration without faith is meaningless, in the same way no amount of coaching is of any avail without concentration which the youths of these days so utterly lack. I am a specialist in training the boys in concentration and I claim to do immense good in this direction to the boy who befriends me."

M. K. G.

Young India

17-4-24

Schoolmasters and Lawyers

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I hope you have by this time been able to consult friends who were led to modify, at Delhi, the Congress resolution regarding the Triple Boycott. What final decision have you come to? Are you going to preach them over again in the same form?

"As to the boycott of Councils, I may not say anything; the leaders of the Swaraj Party might have clearly laid before you facts and arguments. The work they are doing and are likely to do is before you. As to the boycott of schools and colleges, it has, if I may say from my own experience, completely failed. I may refer to my own case. Here there are two full-fledged High schools, attended by more than 500 pupils each, while the National High school has barely 30 boys on the roll. We have tried all possible ways and means for canvassing boys, but have failed. I have been convinced that people are not prepared for this boycott.

"As to the third boycott, there were only a very few lawyers who gave up their practice. Now almost all have rejoined. The number of court-going people never diminished. The *Barad* Courts established by national workers never thrived and have since died. These courts, having had no power to enforce their decisions, and the people being not trained to submit, cannot be expected to attain any palpable success.

"Under these circumstances what are we—who boycotted our further education and prospects at the clarion-call of the Congress to sacrifice for the sake of the country only one year—to do? We have sacrificed not only one year but three. We established national schools for the people and the people heed them not. The sacrifice of the workers is not appreciated. Are not the national schools with such poor attendance a useless waste of the public money, energy and life? Does it not mean that our efforts and plans are premature? Our sacrifice gives no satisfaction to ourselves too. It is often a hindrance to patriotism or national enthusiasm. *Khaddar* is dearer than mill-cloth and our means are poor. Though elected delegates to

the Congress we cannot attend or have to refuse the seat, for want of the necessary money required for travelling and other expenses. We have to earn money not for luxury but as a necessity. But our ways are blocked by the Congress.

"I have a family to support and a delicate constitution, and hence cannot bear the hardships of village propaganda. The Congress has practically no work at present. What I think is that the Congress should arrange for the maintenance of workers and admit only those whom it can support. It should give permission to all others to follow their own pursuits patriotically, and be soldiers of the militia (irregular army) ready at the country's call whenever required. Such people will enter Government and semi-Government schools and teach their prescribed books and lessons with a patriotic angle of vision. They will join the bar and show to the people at every step what a waste of time and money the Courts are. They will enter the military and refuse to fire on their own brethren. And so on. I know not what you intend to do after your recovery. In the meanwhile I seek your advice. I think that I am doing no better service to the people and to the country by remaining the head master of the national school here, which is not appreciated and supported by the public. May I complete my law education and join the bar and do what humble services I can to the Motherland? Will you advise the Congress to remove these boycotts and devise some other ways and means for attaining freedom? Or are you going to take up these boycotts in right earnest again? May we wait?

P. S. It is no question of Conscience and Religion. I look at Non-cooperation only as a means."

The foregoing letter sums up succinctly the argument advanced by my correspondents and visitors against the boycott of schools and law courts. As usual the sting is in the tail. The post-script yields the secret of disbelief in the boycott. One need not regard everything as a matter of conscience or religion to be able to stick to it through thick and thin. Even one's means may be so vital that giving them up may mean death. Lungs are the means whereby we breathe and sustain life. They are not life. But their destruction is destruction of life itself. No one questions that non-cooperation is a means. The question is:—Is non-cooperation as conceived in 1920 the only means of reaching our goal? The Congress decided that it was. But the Congress merely represents the opinion of the delegates for the time being. Some of us evidently consider that it was a mistake to think that it was the only means. Some others think that it was one of the means and many more should have been adopted at the same time. Yet others, though they disbelief in it, adopted it out of regard for the decision of the majority and because they think that the decisions of the Congress have a mandatory character and bind the minority whether in matters of principle or detail. Yet others adhere to the opinion formed by them in 1920 that non-co-

operation as then conceived is the only means for achieving our goal. I belong to the last category and it will be my humble duty from time to time to show why it is the, only means. My correspondent evidently belongs to the opposite school.

I have repeatedly observed that no school of thought can claim a monopoly of right judgment. We are all liable to err and are often obliged to revise our judgments. In a vast country like this, there must be room for all schools of honest thought. And the least therefore that we owe to ourselves as to others is to try to understand the opponent's viewpoint and, if we cannot accept it, respect it as fully as we would expect him to respect ours. It is one of the indispensable tests of a healthy public life and therefore fitness for Swaraj. If we have no charity, and no tolerance, we shall never settle our differences amicably and must therefore always submit to the arbitrament of a third party i. e. to foreign domination. I invite the reader, then, to share with me the respect that is due to the view set forth by my correspondent and if he belongs to the correspondent's school of thought, bear with me even though I cannot see eye to eye with him.

In my opinion, the boycott of schools and law courts has been both a failure and a success. It has been largely, not wholly, a failure in that schools and law courts have not been effectively or even appreciably deserted. But it has been a success in that the halo surrounding Government schools and law courts has disappeared. People believe, much more now than they did before, in the necessity of independent national schools and settlement of disputes by panchayats. Lawyers and Government schoolmasters have lost much of the artificial prestige they enjoyed five years ago. I count these as no small gains. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not undervalue the sacrifices and devotion to the country of schoolmasters and lawyers. Dadabhai and Gokhale were schoolmasters. Pherozeshali Mehta and Budruddin Tyebji were lawyers. But I would not have even these distinguished countrymen of ours to claim the exclusive monopoly of wisdom or ability to guide. The spinner, the weaver, the farmer, the artisan, the trader have just as much right to shape the destiny of the country as the members of the so-called liberal professions. As the latter have represented the arm of authority, we have been awed by them and to that extent they have accustomed us to think that we can satisfy our wants only through the Government instead of teaching us that the Government is a creation of the people and merely an instrument for giving effect to their will. This false prestige of privileged classes has suffered a shock from which I hope it will never recover.

That national schools and panchayats have not flourished, as they might have, is due to a variety of causes, some avoidable and others unavoidable. We have been new to the work and therefore we

have not known how to go about it. For me therefore the poverty of results is not a cause for disappointment but for greater and more enlightened effort. Our failures we can convert into so many steps to success.

The village work frightens us. We who are town-bred find it trying to take to the village life. Our bodies in many cases do not respond to the hard life. But it is a difficulty which we have to face boldly, even heroically, if our desire is to establish Swaraj for the people, not substitute one class rule by another, which may be even worse. Hitherto the villagers have died in their thousands so that we might live. Now we might have to die so that they may live. The difference will be fundamental. The former have died unknowingly and involuntarily. Their enforced sacrifice has degraded us. If now we die knowingly and willingly, our sacrifice will ennoble us and the whole nation. Let us not flinch from the necessary sacrifice, if we will live as an independent self-respecting nation.

The difficulty with the non-cooperating lawyers is greater still. They have unfortunately been used to a highly artificial life totally out of harmony with their national surroundings. I regard it as a crime that any lawyer or doctor should charge or get say Rs. 1,000 per day, or for that matter even Rs. 100 per day. It is no answer to the indictment that it is the monied men who pay and there can be no harm, but it may be all to the good, if lawyers take money from the rich people and use a part for the public good. If the profession was disinterested and charged only enough for maintenance, the monied men would also have to revise their budget. As it is, we seem to be moving in a vicious circle.

If under Swaraj we shall have to make the town life correspond to the village life, we shall be bound to simplify the town mode of life. The beginning has to be made now. Why should lawyers feel so utterly helpless as they seem to do now? Is starvation the only alternative if they cannot resume practice? Is it impossible for a resourceful lawyer to turn his attention to weaving or any other honorable toil?

It is difficult for me to advise non-cooperating lawyers and schoolmasters. If they believe in the boycott they should face all difficulties and continue the boycott. If they do not believe in it, they can without any disgrace attaching to their action rejoin the profession. As I do not believe in the mandate theory, I do not consider it to be obligatory on any schoolmaster or lawyer to refrain from rejoining Government schools or law-courts because of the continuance of the boycott resolution. I would still advocate the retention of the boycott, to be worked out not by propaganda for emptying Government schools and courts (that was done and had to be done during 1920 and 1921) but by the constructive method of establishing and popularising national schools and panchayats.

Notes

Maulana Shaukat Ali's Illness

The readers of *Young India* will be sorry to learn that Maulana Shaukat Ali, who has been ailing for some time and is being treated by Dr. Ansari under his own roof, is not making such progress as was at one time expected. Both Maulana Mabomed Ali and Dr. Ansari say in their letters just received that the patient is feeling very weak and requires most careful nursing. I invite the readers to join me in the prayer that our distinguished countryman may soon be restored to complete health.

Talks with Leaders

Statements have appeared in the Press about the talks between the Swarajist leaders and myself. I ask the readers to discount them as altogether premature. No final conclusions have been reached. Mr. C. R. Das has not even been able to attend these talks and as he has been asked by his medical advisers to take prolonged rest, he may not be able to come at all. In no case is it possible to make any statement before the views of Mr. Das and other friends are known.

I understand that the workers are vegetating because of the suspense caused by the talks and the confusion caused by unauthorised journalistic ventures. I would ask the workers not to worry over the result of the talks. I can give them my assurance that there is not the slightest likelihood of any change being advocated by me in the constructive programme. Any one therefore suspending his activity in that direction will make a grievous blunder and retard the progress of the constructive work which needs all the time of all the workers that can be got together for the work.

For Workers

A friend has suggested that I should convene a meeting of workers so as to confer with them even as I am conferring with the leaders. At one time I thought it was a good plan but I see that it is not feasible. But what has finally decided me against such a conference is my own physical condition. I can hardly bear the strain of a prolonged sitting at an early date. Any such conference to be useful must be called as soon as possible and not later than the end of this month. But I see that I shall not be equal to the task by that time. And after all what will such a conference do? I am gathering all the information I can. I shall soon reach conclusions on the vexed questions of the day. Whatever weight may attach to my opinion, it must remain the opinion of an individual and therefore have no authority. The only authoritative opinion for Congressmen can be that of the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee in the absence of the whole Congress. My tentative opinions may form a fit subject for discussion when the All India Congress Committee meets. The Working Committee meets too early for me and in no case can it lay down any new policy or programme without reference to the A. I. C. C.

Whilst therefore there need be no conference of workers, if they will give me as briefly as possible their opinion on all the questions that may be agitating them, it will be of the greatest assistance to me in forming my own judgment. Any such communications should reach me before the end of this month and addressed Post Andheri Bombay.

The Gurdwara Movement

Another Jatha of 500 has surrendered peacefully when it was intercepted in its progress to the Gangsar Gurdwara and placed under arrest by the Nabha authorities. If we had not become used to such arrests and the like, they would create a sensation in the country. Now they have become ordinary occurrences and excite little curiosity and less surprise or pain. Their moral value increases in the same ratio as popular interest in them seems to have died. These arrests when they cease to be sensational also cease to afford intoxication. People who court arrest in the absence of excitement, allow themselves to be arrested because of their unquenchable faith in silent but certain efficacy of suffering undergone without resentment and in a just cause. The Sikhs have been conducting the Gurdwara movement by the Satyagraha method now for the last four years. Their zeal is apparently undiminished inspite of the fact that most of their leaders are in gaol. Their suffering has been intense. They have put up with beating, they have stood without retaliation shower of bullets and hundreds have been imprisoned. Victory therefore is a matter only of time. An offensive has been threatened on behalf of the Government. They are imprisoning innocent men who are marching in pursuit of a religious duty. They have declared their associations illegal. One wonders what further steps they can take to frighten the brave Sikhs. The latter's answer to any offensive on the part of the Government is not difficult to guess. They will meet each progressive step in repression with equally progressive determination to do or die.

Vykom Satyagraha

Vykom of which till lately no one outside Travancore, at most the Madras Presidency, knew anything has suddenly leapt to fame because it has become the seat of Satyagraha. The Press contains bulletins of the daily progress of the movement from day to day. It has been undertaken in behalf of the untouchables of Travancore. The movement has given us another word to describe the condition of the suppressed classes. It is unapproachability. These poor countrymen of ours may not only not touch any other caste Hindus but they may not even approach them within a stated distance. The leaders of the movement with a view to remedying the evil have taken up only a fragment of the evil, hoping no doubt that .. they deal with it successfully, they will have dealt it a death-blow at least in that part of India in which direct action is now going on. In the prosecution of the campaign some of the staunchest workers of Malabar have been imprisoned including my predecessor George Joseph.

As most of the leaders have been imprisoned, an appeal has been made to the leaders all over India to come to the rescue. Whether such an appeal can or should be met or not need not be considered for the moment, as Madras seems to be responding wholeheartedly. There can now be no receding. The struggle may last long if orthodox Hindu opinion is actively hostile to the movement. The Satyagrahis are certain to break down the wall of prejudice no matter how strong and solid it may be if they continue firm but humble, truthful and non-violent. They must have faith enough in these qualities to know that they will meet the stoniest hearts.

How to do It

Mr. Andrews has endeavoured to answer the query of the Secretary of a Bengal Sevak Sangh as to how to combat the drunk evil. His answer is to follow in the footsteps of Pussyfoot Johnson. Whilst he was trying to convert certain English students, he was stoned. The blow resulted ultimately in the loss of one eye. He pardoned the offenders, would not prosecute them and would not take compensation offered by the British Government. That was an instance of non-violence in thought, word and deed. If such non-violence can be insured here, I would not hesitate to revive the idea of picketing liquor shops again. But we stand discredited. In many places our picketing in 1921 was far from non-violent. The political idea of embarrassing the Government was predominant with us, that of reforming the drunkard was a very secondary consideration. In the struggle of non-co-operation politics are made to subserve the moral end. If we can reform the drunkard, we reform also the administration and the administrators. Whereas if we suppress the drunkard by force, we may deprive the Government of the liquor or the drug revenue for a time but in the end the suppressed drinker or smoker will raise his head and the Government will raise an increased revenue. Not until we have men and women enough who would carry on picketing for the love of the drunkard even at the risk of their lives, can we dream of reviving picketing. I am afraid we'll deserve the praise given to us by Dr. Johnson. I was about to expunge the passage in question from Mr. Andrews' article before posting it. But I have retained it to remind us of our duty and spur us to effort enough to deserve such praise.

Khadar and Purity

A friend in a letter enclosing a Rs. 10 note writes: 'The donning of Khadar without the qualities of sincerity, purity, self-conquest etc., amounts to a sacrilege' and he adds that as he does not possess these qualities in their fullness, he has not the courage to wear Khadar garments. I wish it were possible to associate all these qualities with Khadar garments. But in that case very few of us will be able to use Khadar at all. The writer has needlessly exaggerated the merits of Khadar. Its one great merit is that it solves, as nothing else can, the economic problem of India and removes starvation. That alone must be all-sufficient to induce high and low to

wear and use handspun Khadar to the exclusion of every other cloth. We want all, irrespective of their character, to wear Khadar. Scoundrels, drunkards, the very scum of the land, must clothe and feed themselves. I would not hesitate to urge them to wear Khadar even though I cannot induce them to change their mode of inner life. We must cease to attribute to Khadar virtues which it cannot carry.

Unrepentant

A correspondent has written a furiously earnest letter for publication if I thought it necessary. With due respect to the correspondent I think it unnecessary to publish the letter. But I am prepared to let the reader guess what it is all likely to be from the following extract:

"If you will not condemn the past and present actions of the Swatiji Party in the strongest terms then you shall fail in your duty towards Truth and thus towards God. If you will not condemn them.....then it will mean a death-blow to your movement itself.....Pray do not create a second Bardoli."

I am giving the above extract in order that I may prepare the ground for my fall and thus break its force somewhat. Whatever may be the nature of the statement I may make regarding the Council-entry, I know this much that I am not going to condemn the Swarajists in any manner whatsoever. I may express my differences in the strongest language, but I cannot condemn them because they may hold different views from mine. They and their views are at least as much entitled to a respectful hearing as mine or those of the tallest among us. There is no such thing as my movement. But in so far as any movement may be called mine there is no danger of its failure, so long as I do not fail. Whilst therefore I appreciate my correspondent's anxiety for me, I would like him to feel at ease on my score. For so far as I can foresee there is not much danger of my proving a traitor to myself. Whilst there is yet time I had better make another confession. I am so proud of my performance at Bardoli that there is every prospect of my repeating it. That clean confession made at a most critical moment did me a world of good. It purified me and I verily believe that it did as much good to the cause. That confession and retracing of our steps gave an object lesson in non-violence as nothing else could have. I am therefore likely to repeat Bardoli as often as the occasion arises and that I shall do even at the risk of finding myself in a majority of one. I should be an unfit servant of the nation if I hesitated to tell the truth and do it for fear of losing popularity. What will it be worth when I have lost the only thing for which I live?"

M. K. G.

Bombay Branch

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Manager, *Young India*

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Young India

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Notes

Vykom Satyagraha

The anti-untouchability campaign at Vykom is providing an interesting study in Satyagraha, and as it is being conducted in a calm spirit, it must prove of great use for future workers along similar lines. The Travancore authorities, whilst they still remain unbending regarding the prohibition order, are carrying out their purpose in a courteous manner. The public already know how quickly the authorities tried to check violence against Satyagrabis. The treatment in the gaols too is in keeping with their conduct in the open. Here is what Mr. Menon writes from Trivandrum Jail:

"The expected has happened. I am now within the walls of the Trivandrum Central Jail along with my friend Mr. Madhavan. We are treated as state prisoners. A separate block is set apart for our use. We are allowed our own clothes. A convict cooks for us. I am having the same food as I take at home. So is my friend Mr. Madhavan. Books and newspapers are also allowed. Of course in writing letters we are not allowed to say anything about the Vykom affair. Friends can see us between 8 A. M. and 4 P. M. every day except Sunday.

I am sure that you would be glad to hear that the Superintendent and other authorities of the Jail are doing everything to make us comfortable. We receive from them the same polite treatment as we received from the Police officers at Vykom."

The Travancore Jail authorities deserve to be congratulated upon their considerate treatment of the Satyagrabi prisoners. Let us hope that on either side the present self-restraint and courteous conduct will be continued to the end.

Why Petition?

Surprise has been expressed over the advice I have tendered to the Satyagrabis that whilst Satyagraha continues, the organisers should leave no stone unturned by way of petitions, public meetings, deputations etc., in order to engage the support of the state and public opinion on their side. The critics argue that I am partial to the state authorities because they represent Indian rule, whereas I am hostile to the British authorities because they represent an alien rule. For the every ruler is alien that defies public opinion. In South Africa Indians continued to

negotiate with the authorities upto the last moment even though Satyagraha was going on. In British India we are now-cooperating and we are doing so because we are bent on mending or ending the whole system of Government and therefore the method of petition is a hopeless effort.

In Travancore the Satyagrabis are not attacking a whole system. They are not attacking it at any point at all. They are fighting sacerdotal prejudice. The Travancore state comes in by a side door as it were. Satyagrabis would therefore be deviating from their path if they did not try to court junction with the authorities and cultivate public support by means of deputations, meetings etc. Direct action does not always preclude other consistent methods. Nor is petitioning etc. in every case a sign of weakness on the part of a Satyagrabi. Indeed he is no Satyagrabi who is not humble.

Some Implications

I have been also asked to develop the argument against sending aid apart from public sympathy from outside Travancore. I have already stated the utilitarian argument in an interview. But there is a root objection too to getting, indeed even accepting, such support. Satyagraha is either offered by a few self-sacrificing persons in the name of the many weak, or by very few in the face of enormous odds. In the former case, which is the case in Vykom, many are willing but weak, and a few are willing and capable of sacrificing their all for the cause of the untouchables. In such a case it is obvious they need no aid whatsoever. But suppose that they took outside aid, how would it serve the untouchable countrymen? The weak Hindus in the absence of strong ones rising in their midst will not prevail against the strong opponents. The sacrifice of helpers from other parts of India will not convert the opponents and it is highly likely that the last state of the untouchables will be worse than the first. Let it be remembered that Satyagraha is a most powerful process of conversion. It is an appeal to the heart. Such an appeal cannot be successfully made by people from other parts of India flocking to Vykom.

Nor should a campaign conducted from within need outside monetary support. All the weak but sympathetic Hindus of Travancore may not court arrest and other suffering, but they can and should render such pecuniary assistance as may be needed. I could not understand their sympathy without such support.

In the case too of a very few offering Satyagraha against heavy odds, outside support is not permissible. Public Satyagraha is an extension of private or domestic Satyagraha. Every instance of public Satyagraha should be tested by imagining a parallel domestic case. Thus suppose in my family I wish to remove the curse of untouchability. Suppose further that my parents oppose the view, that I have the fire of the conviction of Pralhad, that my father threatens penalties, calls in even the assistance of the state to punish me. What should I do? May I invite my friends to suffer with me the penalties my father has devised for me? Or is it not upto me, weekly to bear all the penalties my father inflicts on me and absolutely rely on the law of suffering and love to melt his heart and open his eyes to the evil of untouchability? It is open to me to bring in the assistance of learned men, the friends of the family, to explain to my father what he may not understand from me his child. But I may allow no one to share with me the privilege and the duty of suffering. What is true of this supposed case of domestic Satyagraha is equally true and no less of the case we have imagined of public Satyagraha. Whether therefore the Vykom Satyagrahis represent a hopeless minority or as I have been informed a majority of the Hindus concerned, it is clear that they should avoid all from outside save that of public sympathy. That in every such case we may not be able to conform to the law, that in the present case too, we may not be able to do so may be true. Let us not however forget the law and let us conform to it as far as ever we can.

Case of Chirala Perals

Let me quote one case in which I had the honour of advising. I refer to the case of Chirala Perals. The citizens' claim was that they were a united body and prepared to suffer. What I witnessed was a wonderful exhibition of cohesion, courage and extremely able and daring leadership. I said that I could not advise the Congress or the public to give pecuniary support. I could not advise the Congress even to encourage them by passing resolutions. If they won, the Congress would claim credit for the success of the means adopted by it. If they failed, the Congress will share no discredit. The people understood and accepted the advice. Even after three years' careful consideration I have no reason to revise the advice then tendered. On the contrary I feel sure that if we are to grow to our full height, we shall do so only by punctiliously observing the laws of the game.

To work

The Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee has met and amicably settled its differences about the venue. The resolution admits defective election procedure and then confirms the former decision to hold the Congress at Belgaum. I tender my congratulations to the Committee on having performed a magnanimous act. To err is human only when we are ready to admit errors. Persistence in error after discovery is very much less than human. Karnatak has a great task before her. Will she be able to show

the highest record in the constructive programme? I have little doubt that it will. The question however should be, will she show the volume of constructive work such as to enable her to offer civil disobedience? She has the Brahmin and non-Brahmin problem. If Karnatak was India can she shoulder the burden of full self-government with the Brahmins and non-Brahmins distrusting each other? I know that one party at least must surrender all to win all. If each wants to bargain with the other, it becomes a miniature edition of Hindu-Muslim problem. The only way to solve these knotty problems is for each party to regard the interest of the other its own. Then the knot is unloosed without effort. The unresisting will solve the knot even as in undoing a material knot we take the most unresisting thread first. If the volunteers and workers vie with one another in serving, if the Brahmin bends to the non-Brahmin and vice versa, they will clothe the whole of Karnatak in Khadi, they will show national schools teaching under one roof Brahmin, non-Brahmin, untouchable, Mussulman and all other creed boys and girls. They will provide the way to Hindu-Muslim Unity and thus show the real way to Swaraj. Thus for Karnatak sincerely and lastingly to solve the Brahmin non-Brahmin problem is to solve all her other problems and thereby largely India's also.

A Study in Philanthropy

We have been accustomed so much to the charge against the Indian settlers in Kenya that as they do not care for the native interest their immigration should be restricted in the interest of the natives. Upto now I have not heard a single statement to the effect that the Indian settlers have done any harm to them. They do not pretend to go as philanthropists and therefore they do not establish schools for the natives nor do they do any missionary work among them. But as the Indian trade is not imposed upon the natives, their very presence I make bold to say has a certain civilising influence upon the natives.

But the question naturally arises, is the presence of the European detractors of Indians beneficial to the natives? Mr. Andrews in his terrible indictment of the British policy in Kenya gives a conclusive answer. It is a study in modern philanthropy. Mr. Andrews' indictment shows the meaning of the 'White Man's Burden.' The *Times of India* has severe strictures upon Mr. Andrews' article on the liquor question and has challenged the accuracy of his statements. His 'White Man's Trust' is more full of facts and figures than his previous article. Mr. Andrews knows what he writes. He is a student of history. He is the readiest man I know to admit mistakes if he finds he has made any. And I know from close experience how few have been his mistakes in spite of his voluminous writings. I am surprised that the *Times of India* writer has without sufficient knowledge challenged the accuracy of Mr. Andrews' figures. Any way I present another set of figures from Mr. Andrews' pen for challenge if that is possible, otherwise, for serious and humble reflection in the interest of humanity. The late Cecil Rhodes years ago tore the mask of hypocrisy when he described certain policies by the

phrase, unctuous rectitude. But it is a vice that has persisted in spite of the great man. He sinned often enough, but he was great and good enough not to hide his sins. The British policy in Kenya is a continuous attempt to hide the sin of the fearful exploitation of the innocent Africans.

Mr. Pennington on the war-path

Mr. Pennington sent the following letter to my predecessor from France:

As a very old official of the Indian Government, I read *Young India* very care fully to see how you propose to govern the country when you have succeeded in making British Rule impossible. You will perhaps admit that we British think we have a duty to perform in India, by way of keeping the peace both internally and externally, and that we should not be justified in handing it over, except to something like a possible Government. I have the greatest respect for Mr. Gandhi and many other "Swarajists," but do you honestly think that any Government he could form could govern that enormous country without a backing of British bayonets?

If the Swarajists could have shown that they could manage affairs even tolerably under Mr. Montagu's scheme for the short period of 10 years, it might have been possible to frame some sort of Colonial scheme that would work; but, so far, they have only shown how to make anything like representative Government quite impossible, and so proved the greater blunder of the old system in the present state of the country. It may be necessary therefore to try some other plan perhaps by further Indianization of the old system, as suggested many years ago by Mr. Donald Smeaton. The King's Government must be carried on even if Disraeli has to be scrapped.

I am glad to be able to renew acquaintance with Mr. J. B. Pennington. The answer to his query is incredibly simple. If India succeeds in making British Rule impossible without matching the British bayonet with another bayonet, she will rule herself too with the same means. But if it is an unalterable law that the rule of one bayonet can only be displaced by another of equal or greater strength, then I see no present prospect of making British Rule impossible. I must admit as my correspondent will have me to, that British people think that they have a duty to perform in India, but I may be permitted to add that we Indians think that their duty is not to impose peace upon us when we are longing to war against one another, but to lift their oppressive weight from over our heads. We think that we are sinking beneath that weight.

M. K. G.

Freedom of Expression

Hyderabad,

Hyderabad (Bind)

To

The Editor *Young India*

Sir,

While commenting on the Tibbya College incident in the *Young India* of the 10th April you write: "The Muslim student who took exception to the comparison was after all justified in so doing." I do not know what exactly happened in the Tibbya College on the day of the celebration of Mr. Gandhi's birthday, but accepting what Dr. Ansari writes as the true version of the incident, I feel, it is difficult to agree with you in your comment. No harm seems to have been meant or done to any one when Mr. Gandhi was compared to Jesus Christ. It may not be necessary for the purpose of honouring a man, as you write, to compare him with revered prophets, but at times to bring home to the audience or the public

the greatness of an individual, comparison with other honoured men or revered prophets is neither unnatural nor unbecoming. Mr. Andrews has on many occasions declared Mr. Gandhi to be a true picture of Jesus Christ. It is quite possible that the person compared may not be worthy of a place of equality with revered prophets. That is quite a different matter. But how can one justifiably take exception to the principle of comparison itself? The Muslim student in the Tibbya College might be considering Mr. Gandhi to be unworthy of comparison with Jesus Christ; if so, he was quite welcome to hold his view and to declare it before the audience, as the Hindu student should have been welcome to hold his. We can understand such a difference of opinion. No one has a quarrel with it. But here the case was quite different. It was not that the Muslim student disagreed with the Hindu student in the latter's estimate of Mr. Gandhi's worth when he compared him with Jesus Christ, but that he objected to such a comparison itself, observing that no living person however eminent in all respects should be compared to prophets. One fails to understand how such an objection can be held to be justifiable. Previous prophets were human beings and the like of them may now be amongst us and are sure to come hereafter. What harm is there if comparisons are made of living saints or great men whom some may consider to be prophets with those that have gone before? Intellectually, ethically or spiritually there is nothing wrong in doing so.

A person compared to previous prophets may out of modesty disclaim such a comparison but that is beside the issue. I think, therefore, that to hold the Muslim student's objection as justifiable is to curtail the freedom of expression and to indirectly encourage the prevailing spirit of intolerance which I am sure is very far from what you desire.

I am etc.

Ghanashyam Jethanand

[I fear I must adhere to the opinion I have expressed to which Mr. Ghanashyam takes exception. It was not out of false modesty that I gave it. If I felt shy or awkward, I might not have noticed the incident, but I would not even out of modesty, false or otherwise, mislead the reader and thus deviate from the ethics of journalism which requires a fearless expression of true opinion. It will not be denied that to say what offends another is against ethics and certainly against spirituality if the saying is not required in the interest of truth. I hardly think it can be argued that it was in the interest of truth to make the comparison referred to. Whilst I think that such comparisons are undesirable, I admit that to object to them when they are actually made may be a mark of intolerance. But the Muslim student, knowing how it wounded many Mussalmans, rightly objected. He showed his good sense by apologising when his objection offended the Hindu student. We would but feed the fire of intolerance if we insist, in the name of freedom of opinion, on expressing those opinions which are likely

to wound some. I may inform Mr. Ghanashyam that shortly before I was in prison a devout Hindu wrote a letter strongly protesting against my being compared to Krishna and Rama. I certainly agreed with my correspondent that such comparisons should not be made. I can fully sympathise with orthodox Vaishnavas feeling offended at comparisons which outrage their religious sense. What I plead for is extreme and delicate consideration for the feelings and susceptibilities of others. If in the name of tolerance we began to swear at one another's deities, we would be copying the fabled economist who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs.

M. K. G.]

Young India

24-4-24

What is Hinduism?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A dear friend sends me a letter (published elsewhere) gently criticising the manner of my defence of Maulana Mahomed Ali's now famous speech regarding his comparison of creeds. The friend says that I have not been fair to Hinduism in that I have said a Hindu will fare no better than the Maulana. He quarrels with my illustration about marriage and then goes on to show the beauties of Hinduism. Another friend too, has made a similar remonstrance and added that many others share his opinion.

These friends have, in my opinion, mixed up the question of propriety of comparing creeds with that of the allocation of their respective merits. Indeed in arguing that Hinduism is not like Islam and that a Hindu could not think like the Maulana, the friends themselves have subscribed to the Maulana's argument that it is not only perfectly correct but it is the logical outcome of one's preferring a particular belief to every other, that for oneself that particular belief though held by a bad man is superior to that of another howsoever saintly. I adhere to the marriage illustration chosen by me, though I now see that it would have been better for me to have avoided it. It is not a conclusive illustration. There are, I admit, with my critics many reasons for confining the choice of a husband to a particular class. But I do claim that the predominant reason for excluding the best man if he happens to belong, as he often does, to another class or caste is his creed. A Brahmin parent chooses a Brahmin as a husband for his daughter because he prefers the general body of opinion which may be called creed held by his clan. Underlying the preference is no doubt the belief that acceptance of a creed ultimately involves practice in accordance with it. A narrow creed if it is honestly believed has necessarily a limited field for practice. A creed for instance that makes it obligatory to offer human sacrifice will never free the believer from the taint of religious turpitude unless he gives up the creed. Thus it is that we find people otherwise most moral disappointing us when they fall short of the highest demands of their narrow creed. Many sincere and

otherwise noble-minded Hindus consider untouchability as a part of the Hindu creed and would therefore regard the reformers as outcasts. If untouchability was a part of the Hindu creed, I should decline to call myself a Hindu and most decidedly embrace some other faith if it satisfied my highest aspirations. Fortunately for me, I hold that untouchability is no part of Hinduism. On the contrary it is a serious blot upon it, which every lover of it must sacrifice himself to remove. Suppose, however, I discovered that untouchability was really an integral part of Hinduism, I should have to wander in the wilderness because the other creeds as I know them through their accepted interpreters would not satisfy my highest aspirations.

My correspondent accuses me of the crime of using the ambiguous middle in that I have confused Truth and non-violence with the Hindu creed. The crime is deliberate. It is the good fortune or the misfortune of Hinduism that it has no official creed. In order therefore to protect myself against any misunderstanding I have said Truth and non-violence is my creed. If I were asked to define the Hindu creed I should simply say: search after Truth through non-violent means. A man may not believe even in God and still call himself a Hindu. Hinduism is a relentless pursuit after truth and if to-day it has become moribund, inactive, irresponsible to growth, it is because we are fatigued and as soon as the fatigue is over, Hinduism will burst forth upon the world with a brilliance perhaps unknown before. Of course, therefore, Hinduism is the most tolerant of all religions. Its creed is all-embracing. But to claim that is to claim superiority for the Hindu creed over all the other creeds of the world. As I write these lines, I feel a crowd of sectarians whispering to me, "That is no Hinduism you are defining, come to us and we will show you the Truth." I am confounding all these whisperers by saying 'अस्य अस्य,' 'not that, my friends not that,' and they make confusion worse confounded by retorting with redoubled fury, 'Not that, not that.' But still another voice whispers to me, "Why all this duelling--this war of words? I can show you a way out of it. It lies through silent prayer." For the moment I propose to listen to that voice and observe silence and ask my friends to do likewise. Possibly I have failed to convince them and their co-sharers in their opinion. If I have failed to convince, it is because I have not seen the light. I can give my assurance that I have not indulged in special pleading in order to defend Maulana Mahomed Ali. If I discover my error, I hope I shall have the courage to own it. The Maulana needs no defence from me. And I should be a false friend; it is in order to defend him I sacrificed an iota of truth. It is the special privilege of a friend to own the other's faults and redeclare his affection in spite of faults.

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Manager, Young India.

My Jail Experiences

(By M. K. Gandhi)

2

Some Officials

It was on Saturday the 18th March that the trial was finished. We were looking forward to a quiet time in the Sabarmati gaol at least for some weeks. We had expected that the Government would not let us remain in that gaol for any length of time. We were however not prepared for the very sudden removal that actually did take place. For the reader may recall that we were removed on Monday the 20th March to a special train which was to take us to the Yerawada Central Jall. We were made aware of the proposed removal only about an hour before departure. The officer in charge was all politeness and we were enabled to feel perfectly comfortable in the journey. But immediately on alighting at Kirkee we observed the difference and were made to feel that we were prisoners after all. The Collector and two others were awaiting the train. We were put in a motor prison-van which had perforations for ventilators. But for its hideous appearance it could well be a pardah motor. Certainly we could see nothing of the outside world. For the story of our reception at the gaol, the tearing away of Mr. Bunker from me, his restoration, the first interview, and kindred interesting details, I must refer the reader to my letter to Hakinji Ajmalkhan Saheb, already published in these columns. After the first unpleasantness the relations between the then Superintendent Col. Dalziel and ourselves rapidly improved. He was most considerate regarding our creature comforts. But there was a certain something about him which always jarred. He would never forget that he was Superintendent and we were prisoners. He would not let it be granted that we were fully aware that we were prisoners and he was Superintendent. I made bold to say that we never once forgot that we were prisoners. We showed him all the deference due to his rank. The reminders were so unnecessary. But he had the needlessly haughty demeanour which one often regrettably notices about so many British officials. This weakness of him made him distrustful of the prisoners. Let me give a pleasant illustration of what I mean. He was most anxious that I should eat more than I was taking. He wanted me to take butter. I told him I could take only goat's milk butter. He gave special orders that it should be procured at once. Well, it came. The difficulty was what to mix it with. I suggested that some flour might be issued to me. It was given. But it was too coarse for my very delicate digestive apparatus. Refined mill flour was ordered and 20 lbs. was issued to me. What was I to do with all this? I cooked or Mr. Bunker cooked for me chapatis. After some trial I felt I needed neither flour nor butter. I asked that the flour may be removed from me and the issue of butter stopped. Col. Dalziel will not listen. What was issued was issued. I might

feel tempted later. I pleaded that it was all waste of public money. I gently suggested that I was as solicitous about the use of public money as I would be about my own. There was an incredulous smile. I then said, "Surely it is my money." "How much have you contributed to the public treasury?" was the quick retort. I humbly replied, "You contribute only a percentage out of the salary you get from the state, whereas I give the whole of myself, labour intelligence and all." There was a loud burst of suggestive laughter. But I did not collapse for I believed what I said. A labourer like me who labours for the state for mere maintenance contributes more to the state than a Viceroy who receives Rs. 20,000 together with royal residencies and contributes to the state, if his salary be not income tax free, a certain percentage of his salary. It becomes possible for him and those who belong to the system of which he is the chief to receive what he does out of the labour of millions. And yet many Englishmen and some Indians honestly believe that they serve the state (whatever the word may mean to them) more than the labourers and in addition contribute from their very salaries a percentage towards the upkeep of the state. There never was a grosser fallacy or a more absurd presumption than this modern belief in self-righteousness.

But I must return to the gallant Colonel. I have given the pleasantest sample of Col. Dalziel's haughty distrust. Will the reader believe that I had to carefully preserve the flour till the advent of Major Jones who took Col. Dalziel's place when the latter acted for the Inspector General of Prisons?

Major Jones was the very reverse of Col. Dalziel. From the very first day of his arrival, he became friends with the prisoners. I have a vivid recollection of our first meeting. Although he came with Col. Dalziel with becoming ceremonial, there was a refreshing absence of officialdom about him. He greeted me familiarly and talked about my fellow prisoners in Sabarmati and conveyed their regards too, which he said they had sent. Though a strict disciplinarian, he never stood on his dignity. I have rarely met an official whether European or Indian so free from humbug or false notions of prestige and dignity. He was ready to confess errors—a dangerous and rare practice with Government officials. He once awarded punishment not to a 'political' prisoner but to a helpless bona fide criminal. He subsequently came to learn that the punishment was not deserved. He straightway and without any pressure from outside cancelled it and made the following remarkable entry: 'I repent of my decision' in the prisoner's history ticket. The accurate manner in which the prisoners sum up superintendents is truly amazing. Major Jones was 'bhot bhalo'. They had nicknames for every one of the officials.

To finish however the story of my attempt to save the flour and other "superfluities"

articles of diet. At Major Jones's very first visit of inspection I requested that what I did not need should be cut off. He immediately gave orders that my request should be complied with. Col. Dalziel distrusted my motives, his successor took me at my word and he allowed me to make all the changes I wanted in the interest of economy, never once suspecting that I could be guilty of racial reservations.

Another official with whom we early came in contact was of course the Inspector General of Prisons. He was stiff, monosyllabic and gave one the impression that he was severe. His reserve was peculiarly his own and most uncomfortable for poor prisoners. Most officials being deficient in imagination often do unintentional injustices. They refuse to see the other side. They will not have patience to listen to prisoners and expecting from them prompt, coherent replies and failing to get them, succeed in giving wrong decisions. Visits of inspection are often therefore a farce and almost invariably result in the wrong men—bullies or sycophants—being favoured. The right man, the silent humble prisoner will not be heard. Indeed most of the officials frankly admit that their duty is confined to keeping the prisoners sanitarily clean, preventing prisoners from fighting one another or from absconding and keeping them healthy.

I must consider in the next chapter one of the bad results of this mentality.

The White Man's Trust

(By O. F. Andrew)

Mr. S. G. Vaze of the Servants of India Society has recently rendered a service to the cause of truth by exposing the mistake in the figures quoted in the House of Commons by Mr. J. T. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, concerning the 'White Man's Trust' in Africa.

The facts were these. Mr. F. D. Morel asked a question in Parliament as to whether, in the light of the trusteeship of the African native, laid down in the Kenya White Paper, not less than one fifth of the direct native taxation could be returned to the natives in educational and medical aid. The Colonial Secretary replied, that if veterinary aid were taken into account, more than one fifth of the direct native taxation was actually spent on the natives in Kenya, in the year 1922-23. Mr. Vaze went to the Kenya records and found that the Secretary of State's figures were so outrageously wrong, that, instead of more than one fifth being spent on the natives, the amount spent was barely over one fourteenth.

An interesting incident has escaped notice. It happened, last year, that one of the private members of the House of Commons asked this very question. 'How much was spent on direct and indirect taxation of the natives, and how much was spent on education and medical aid?' Major Ormsby Gore, the Under Secretary, replied in the House of Commons, last June, giving the correct amounts. I have not the exact figures with me; but I can quote with certainty in round numbers as follows:—

Native direct taxation	£ 500,000
" Indirect taxation	225,000
" Educational aid	21,000
" Medical aid	8,000

[The veterinary aid for the whole Colony came to about £ 8,000.]

From these figures, quoted in the same House of Commons only a few months ago, Mr. Thomas's inaccuracy may be judged. It is not often that one Secretary of State contradicts another Secretary so perversely in the course of a few months.

The point needs to be added, that a very few years ago the native educational grant came to only a little more than £ 3,000.

There is, as I have often pointed out, one saving grace among the settlers on the Highlands of Kenya. They have not yet learnt the art of smoothing over their own vices with pious phrases. It is true that Lord Delamere, in England, became practised in the art and brought it back as an adept to Kenya from London. What for instance, could be more unctuous than this, from one of his recent speeches?—'Lord Delamere felt that the European settlers, who lived among the natives and whose interest lay in their appreciation of and meeting of the natives' wants, were peculiarly qualified to advise on the progress of the natives and the lines on which it should be pursued.'

Lord Delamere was one of those who helped to introduce into the Kenya administration a 'forced labour ordinance,' which Mr. Winston Churchill, as Colonial Secretary, was obliged to disown. This is only one example of his 'appreciation of the natives' wants.'

But the average settler is much blunter than this. He frankly dislikes the fact, that 'forced labour' has been forbidden; and he is always out to get it back in some other form. One of these methods has been to collect a heavy hut and poll tax in silver, not in grain. This tax amounts to the savings of three months' labour. As the natives have no coins of their own, they are obliged to go out to earn the hut and poll tax for themselves and their family. A further method of keeping them on the plantations is now resorted to. Every adult native is compelled by law to be registered by means of thumb and finger mark impressions. He is obliged to carry everywhere about with him his registration paper, which records all his 'desertions.' If he leaves an estate without notice, he can be criminally prosecuted, and the Government pays the expenses of the settler who prosecutes successfully. The cost to the Government, in these prosecutions, came exactly to the same amount as the sum spent on native education. There are more ways than one of 'educating the native' in Kenya; and criminal prosecutions for 'desertion' seem to be a common method. It is a school through which more natives pass than those who seek to learn their alphabet.

Yet, even with all these weapons, there still appears to be a shortage of labour. Quite recently, in an Editorial of the *East African Standard*, a novel method has been devised for 'speeding up' labour on the plantations. This leading newspaper of Kenya, which is a strong supporter of the administration,

urges upon the Government the need to collect the taxes from the natives in each district, *exactly at the time when the plantation work is the heaviest*. The natives may then be virtually forced out to work in order to get the money to pay the taxes. "We can," it states, "appreciate the difficulties of Government, because nothing in the way of forced labour will be countenanced; but we *once again put forward the perfectly justifiable suggestion, that hut and fall taxes should be collected in the several districts at the time when employment can be given to every native desiring it.* We believe that much good could be done, if the Chief Native Commissioners were to call a meeting of representative settlers with a view to ascertain the months of the year when labour is chiefly required. Given this data, he could arrange the period of taxation accordingly." (The italics are mine.)

So far the *East African Standard* has carried its suggestion. The correspondence column, however, throws light upon the shortage of labour from another angle. Mr Edgley writes that the real reason why labour is extremely short, on certain plantations, is because other planters in the vicinity have raised very slightly the wage given to the labourers. This is an unpardonable sin in Kenya; because when once the unsophisticated native has received a higher wage, he would rather starve, or do not work at all, than go back to the earlier and lower wage. Therefore, the native wages have hitherto been kept down to a figure which is hardly above starvation; and heavy taxes and registrations and criminal prosecutions have all been used in order to make the native work at the lowest possible pay. This 'appreciation of the wants of the natives' has been displayed in every meeting of the Kenya Legislative Council ever since it was founded, in 1919, on a strictly European register of voters.

A short extract from Mr. Edgley's letter is worth quoting, for the insight it gives into the Kenya planters' mentality. He says:

"My information is that certain planters have had to pay 20 cents a *dhobi* (i. e. a canister) to get their coffee picked. It is obvious, therefore, that the neighbours of these planters are unwarrantably penalised; for as the native mind is acquisitive, he or she thinks at once that if one planter can pay it so can the other; and if the penalised planter says 'No', he gets no labour at all. I am a sufferer personally and I have studied the reason. I can, at the moment, suggest nothing better than the remedy advocated by the *E. A. Standard*, but the fault lies with the kind of people I mention; and it has to be remedied, and that speedily, or great loss will ensue."

I would sincerely welcome a Commission of Enquiry into native affairs in Kenya, if it can be appointed by the present Labour Government and can contain the names of some friends of Labour who are also friends of Africa. For, every principle of free labour is being flagrantly transgressed in Kenya, and the terrible decline in the native population in Kenya by twenty one per cent, between 1911 and 1921, tells its own tale. The *East African Standard*

of Friday Dec. 7, 1923, declared, "Morally, mentally, and perhaps physically as well, the African people are better for our coming." The facts to the contrary are so glaring, that no Commission, from outside, of impartial men could fail to elicit them.

Interesting

Mr. Hardikar sends me the following interesting information:

"Twelve and a half pounds of yarn is being sent to you by Railway Parcel to-day. This yarn was spun during the last National Week extending from the 6th to the 13th April, by

1. The boys of the National High School,
2. The girls of 'Tilak Kanya Shala'.
3. The 'Gandhi Pathak' of 'Karnatak Bala Sena' (Karnatak Boy scouts).
4. The members of Shevade's family.

Two Charkhas were spinning day and night continuously and five were being worked for twelve hours every day for a week. Thus the seven wheels were busy for a total of seven hundred and fifty six hours.

The total production is about 500 tolas. That means 3/4ths of a tola (approximately) for an hour. The production is poor for the reasons enumerated below. The yarn also is no doubt inferior in quality owing to the same reasons.

1. Carding was defective.
2. Slivers were not prepared well.
3. Beginners too were at work on the Charkhas.

The work of enrolment of members and collection of Tilak Swaraj Fund was also done during this week. The experience gained while working shows:

1. That unless men of influence take an active part and themselves labour for the betterment of the masses no success can be achieved.
2. That organised efforts bring desired results.
3. That young folk do respond if properly approached, guided and helped by the leaders.
4. That unless the question of workers' maintenance is solved by the Congress no substantial amount of work can be accomplished, however sincere the handful of workers may be.

But the dearth of the men of ability and organising capacity has made the work suffer immensely. The indifference of the leaders towards the movement has disappointed the young workers who are one by one forsaking them."

The parcel containing yarn has also been received. It shows solid though uncooth work. True spinning like true everything involves labour, thought, method and concentration. An accomplished spinner must know carding, must be able to make his or her own slivets. The processes are not difficult, but they do require application, and unless the spinners take a lively interest in their work and refuse to call yarn, yarn that will not weave just as we refuse to call a rupee, rupee if it does not fetch sixteen annas, proper spinning is impossible. I hope that the boys and girls who did all that continuous spinning for a period will spin daily for a short period even if it be half an hour. They will be amazed at the result of such methodical and sustained effort.

Mr. Hardikar's remarks on the drawbacks about general work do not require any comment. I can only say no matter who deserts, no matter what discouragements face us, those of us who have faith in the programme must march forward without flinching and without stopping. The making of nations is no magic trick. It is hard toil and harder suffering. The Congress may or may not devise a scheme of payment of workers. Is it not open to provincial bodies to devise their own means? The most organised province can just as well set the tone to the Congress as the Congress can to the whole of India. Truthful suggestions always come from units that have achieved success.

M. K. G.

The Ambiguous Middle

To,

The Editor,
Young India

Revered Sir,

It is not without misgivings that I sit down to set out some of the doubts that your article on the charge against Maulana Mahomed Ali has raised in my mind. I am certain that you have done well in deprecating what you have rightly called wilful attempts 'to widen the gulf between Hindus and Mussalmans,' and I also agree that the Maulana's letters you have published demonstrate 'the transparent honesty of the Maulana.' What, however, I am not sure is that in vindicating the Maulana you have not overshot the mark.

I venture to submit that you should have left untouched the Maulana's statement that "the creed of even a fallen and degraded Mussalman is entitled to a higher place than that of any other non-Muslim irrespective of his high character, even though the person in question be Mahatma Gandhi himself." But you have proceeded to analyse that statement and as a result have come to the conclusion that the statement the Maulana is alleged to have made should not offend a Hindu. For do not thousands of Christians hold that a righteous man without belief in Jesus is less than an adulterous Christian? Similarly, you seem to argue, may not thousands of Muslims hold that a righteous man without the light of Islam is less than an adulterous Muslim? If that is the case, sir, why should you be shocked at finding certain persons willing to believe that the Maulana made a statement which you have tried to make out is inoffensive?

The fact is, even the attitude of a Unitarian Christian cited by you and the Maulana, as identical with the Islamic attitude is far from identical as would appear from the following extract from a note on the same subject in the *Christian Patriot* of the 12th of April:

"It is life, the inner life, and not an outward conformity to a creedal statement. Again, as our Lord said in His great parable of the Judgment Day, it is not the man who says 'Lord, Lord,' or even preaches in His name that will find acceptance with Him, but the man who feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, and visits the prisoner; such a man, even if he has not known and believed in Jesus, has done these works for Himself, said He. True Christianity stands on this impregnable rock, and without discounting belief and theology, is committed irreversibly to the ethical fulfillment of the law of love. He who keeps the commandments really loves Him. If only religious men would rise above theological and sectarian affinities to this lofty conception of human values, such a statement as the one attributed to the Maulana could not be made,

Let there be no delusion as to the attitude of Jesus. He who does righteousness is accepted of God, and not the repeater of the creed or the hearer of the law."

But I will let Christianity alone. But you have asked, 'Does an orthodox Hindu fare better?' I am afraid as an orthodox Hindu I must join issue with you. I do not, I cannot, for a moment hold that a non-Hindu, whatever be his belief, if he has a higher character, can be less than an adulterous Hindu. The example you have chosen to drive home your point is, you will permit me to say, very unhappy. I may not choose as a husband for my daughter a man of the highest character, irrespective of his religion. But I may not do so for various reasons, at any rate not because I prize my religion more than any other. I submit in all humility that whilst I may not be prepared to sacrifice a farthing for a near relation or co-religionist of mine of whose character I have no opinion, I may sacrifice my all --except my faith--for one whom I admire and revere, irrespective of his faith. It is because I prize him more, I prize his moral and spiritual worth more, irrespective of the particular creed and dogmas that he is born to. The secret and strength of Hinduism is, to me, its widest tolerance. A Hindu need not believe that Hinduism is higher than all other religions. He believes that every religion must have something great and good in it if it endures, if it is to endure. He seeks not to judge between the relative merits of his religion and of other religions. He believes that *स्वधर्मं निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मां भयावहः*! Nor does he covet to bring within his fold men whose creeds and faiths are potent enough to give them comfort and good cheer for life's dreary voyage.

And that brings me to the use of an ambiguous middle in which you have, all unwittingly, betrayed yourself. Your creed, for the purposes of the article in question, is Hinduism, and not truth and non-violence. You may wish all your life that all the world may share your unshakeable faith in the eternal triumph of truth and non-violence, and yet you may not, as I am sure you do not, wish that all the world may be Hinduised.

To sum up, let us not ignore the basic difference between the genius of Hinduism and Islam. While the latter is a missionary religion, the former is not. Whilst I cannot withhold my sympathy for Maulana Mahomed Ali who had to face on one side the taunts of some of his overzealous co-religionists, and the abuses of uncharitable Hindus, I am positive that he could well have met both by simply stating that whilst he followed Mahatma Gandhi in politics, he did not do so in religious matters, and that he believed that his faith was greater than all others. One's faith is great irrespective of the man or man holding it, and when he speaks of it, he need not bring in the dregs of society who, just as they must eat and clothe themselves, must also have some faith. For I hold that a drunken and adulterous man, whatever faith he professes to hold, is a shame to that faith, and not worth bringing in in a solemn argument.

I hope you will permit me to subscribe myself as
A humble admirer
of the Mahatma and the Maulana.

Young India

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Notes

Vykom Satyagraha

The anti-untouchability campaign at Vykom is providing an interesting study in Satyagraha, and as it is being conducted in a calm spirit, it must prove of great use for future workers along similar lines. The Travancore authorities, whilst they still remain unbending regarding the prohibition order, are carrying out their purpose in a courteous manner. The public already know how quickly the authorities tried to check violence against Satyagrahis. The treatment in the gaols too is in keeping with their conduct in the open. Here is what Mr Menon writes from Trivandrum Jail:

"The expected has happened. I am now within the walls of the Trivandrum Central Jail along with my friend Mr. Madhavan. We are treated as state prisoners. A separate block is set apart for our use. We are allowed our own clothes. A convict cooks for us. I am having the same food as I take at home. So is my friend Mr. Madhavan. Books and newspapers are also allowed. Of course in writing letters we are not allowed to say anything about the Vykom affair. Friends can see us between 8 A. M. and 4 P. M. every day except Sunday.

I am sure that you would be glad to hear that the Superintendent and other authorities of the Jail are doing everything to make us comfortable. We receive from them the same polite treatment as we received from the Police officers at Vykom."

The Travancore Jail authorities deserve to be congratulated upon their considerate treatment of the Satyagrahi prisoners. Let us hope that on either side the present self-restraint and courteous conduct will be continued to the end.

Why Petition?

Surprise has been expressed over the advice I have tendered to the Satyagrahis that whilst Satyagraha continues, the organisers should leave no stone unturned by way of petitions, public meetings, deputations etc., in order to engage the support of the state and public opinion on their side. The critics argue that I am partial to the state authorities because they represent Indian rule, whereas I am hostile to the British authorities because they represent an alien rule. For me every ruler is alien that defies public opinion. In South Africa Indians continued to

negotiate with the authorities upto the last moment even though Satyagraha was going on. In British India we are non-cooperating and we are doing so because we are bent on mending or ending the whole system of Government and therefore the method of petition is a hopeless effort.

In Travancore the Satyagrahis are not attacking a whole system. They are not attacking it at any point at all. They are fighting sacerdotal prejudice. The Travancore state comes in by a side door as it were. Satyagrahis would therefore be deviating from their path if they did not try to court junction with the authorities and cultivate public support by means of deputations, meetings etc. Direct action does not always preclude other consistent methods. Nor is petitioning etc. in every case a sign of weakness on the part of a Satyagrahi. Indeed he is no Satyagrahi who is not humble.

Some Implications

I have been also asked to develop the argument against sending aid apart from public sympathy from outside Travancore. I have already stated the utilitarian argument in an interview. But there is a root objection too to getting, indeed even accepting, such support. Satyagraha is either offered by a few self-sacrificing persons in the name of the many weak, or by very few in the face of enormous odds. In the former case, which is the case in Vykom, many are willing but weak, and a few are willing and capable of sacrificing their all for the cause of the untouchables. In such a case it is obvious they need no aid whatsoever. But suppose that they took outside aid, how would it serve the untouchable countrymen? The weak Hindus in the absence of strong ones rising in their midst will not prevail against the strong opponents. The sacrifice of helpers from other parts of India will not convert the opponents and it is highly likely that the last state of the untouchables will be worse than the first. Let it be remembered that Satyagraha is a most powerful process of conversion. It is an appeal to the heart. Such an appeal cannot be successfully made by people from other parts of India flocking to Vykom.

Nor should a campaign conducted from within need outside monetary support. All the weak but sympathetic Hindus of Travancore may not court arrest and other suffering, but they can and should render such pecuniary assistance as may be needed. I could not understand their sympathy without such support.

In the case too of a very few offering Satyagraha against heavy odds, outside support is not permissible. Public Satyagraha is an extension of private or domestic Satyagraha. Every instance of public Satyagraha should be tested by imagining a parallel domestic case. Thus suppose in my family I wish to remove the curse of untouchability. Suppose further that my parents oppose the view, that I have the fire of the conviction of Pralhad, that my father threatens penalties, calls in even the assistance of the state to punish me. What should I do? May I invite my friends to suffer with me the penalties my father has devised for me? Or is it not upto me, weekly to bear all the penalties my father inflicts on me and absolutely rely on the law of suffering and love to melt his heart and open his eyes to the evil of untouchability? It is open to me to bring in the assistance of learned men, the friends of the family, to explain to my father what he may not understand from me his child. But I may allow no one to share with me the privilege and the duty of suffering. What is true of this supposed case of domestic Satyagraha is equally true and no less of the case we have imagined of public Satyagraha. Whether therefore the Vykom Satyagrahis represent a hopeless minority or as I have been informed a majority of the Hindus concerned, it is clear that they should avoid aid from outside save that of public sympathy. That in every such case we may not be able to conform to the law, that in the present case too, we may not be able to do so may be true. Let us not however forget the law and let us conform to it as far as ever we can.

Case of Chirala Perala

Let me quote one case in which I had the honour of advising. I refer to the case of Chirala Perala. The citizens' claim was that they were a united body and prepared to suffer. What I witnessed was a wonderful exhibition of cohesion, courage and extremely able and daring leadership. I said that I could not advise the Congress or the public to give pecuniary support. I could not advise the Congress even to encourage them by passing resolutions. If they won, the Congress would claim credit for the success of the means adopted by it. If they failed, the Congress will share no discredit. The people understood and accepted the advice. Even after three years' careful consideration I have no reason to revise the advice then tendered. On the contrary I feel sure that if we are to grow to our full height, we shall do so only by punctiliously observing the laws of the game.

To work

The Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee has met and amicably settled its differences about the venue. The resolution admits defective election procedure and then confirms the former decision to hold the Congress at Belgaum. I tender my congratulations to the Committee on having performed a purificatory act. To err is human, only when we are ready to admit errors. Persistence in error after discovery is very much less than human. Karnataka has a great task before her. Will she be able to show

the highest record in the constructive programme? I have little doubt that it will. The question however should be, will she show the volume of constructive work such as to enable her to offer civil disobedience? She has the Brahmin and non-Brahmin problem. If Karnataka was India can she shoulder the burden of full self-government with the Brahmins and non-Brahmins distrusting each other? I know that one party at least must surrender all to win all. If each wants to bargain with the other, it becomes a miniature edition of Hindu-Muslim problem. The only way to solve these knotty problems is for each party to regard the interest of the other its own. Then the knot is unloosed without effort. The unresisting will solve the knot even as in undoing a material knot we take the most unresisting thread first. If the volunteers and workers, vie with one another in serving, if the Brahmin bends to the non-Brahmin and vice versa, they will clothe the whole of Karnataka in Khadi, they will show national schools teaching under one roof Brahmin, non-Brahmin, untouchable, Mussalman and all other creed boys and girls. They will provide the way to Hindu-Muslim Unity and thus show the real way to Swaraj. Thus for Karnataka sincerely and lastingly to solve the Brahmin non-Brahmin problem is to solve all her other problems and thereby largely India's also.

A Study in Philanthropy

We have been accustomed so much to the charge against the Indian settlers in Kenya that as they do not care for the native interest their immigration should be restricted in the interest of the natives. Upto now I have not heard a single statement to the effect that the Indian settlers have done any harm to them. They do not pretend to go as philanthropists and therefore they do not establish schools for the natives nor do they do any missionary work among them. But as the Indian trade is not imposed upon the natives, their very presence I make bold to say has a certain civilising influence upon the natives.

But the question naturally arises, is the presence of the European detractors of Indians beneficial to the natives? Mr. Andrews in his terrible indictment of the British policy in Kenya gives a conclusive answer. It is a study in modern philanthropy. Mr. Andrews' indictment shows the meaning of the 'White Man's Burden.' The *Times of India* has severe strictures upon Mr. Andrews' article on the liquor question and has challenged the accuracy of his statements. His 'White Man's Trust' is more full of facts and figures than his previous article. Mr. Andrews knows what he writes. He is a student of history. He is the readiest man I know to admit mistakes if he finds he has made any. And I know from close experience how few have been his mistakes in spite of his voluminous writings. I am surprised that the *Times of India* writer has without sufficient knowledge challenged the accuracy of Mr. Andrews' figures. Any way I present another set of figures from Mr. Andrews' pen for challenge if that is possible, otherwise, for serious and humble reflection in the interest of humanity. The late Cecil Rhodes years ago tore the mask of hypocrisy when he described certain policies by the

phrase, unctuous rectitude. But it is a vice that has persisted in spite of the great man. He sinned often enough, but he was great and good enough not to hide his sins. The British policy in Kenya is a continuous attempt to hide the sin of the fearful exploitation of the innocent Africans.

Mr. Pennington on the war-path

Mr. Pennington sent the following letter to my predecessor from France:

As a very old official of the Indian Government, I read *Young India* very care fully to see how you propose to govern the country when you have succeeded in making British Rule impossible. You will perhaps admit that we British think we have a duty to perform in India, by way of keeping the peace both internally and externally, and that we should not be justified in handing it over, except to something like a possible Government. I have the greatest respect for Mr. Gandhi and many other "Swarajists," but do you honestly think that any Government he could form could govern that enormous country without a backing of British bayonets?

If the Swarajists could have shown that they could manage affairs even tolerably under Mr. Montagu's scheme for the short period of 10 years, it might have been possible to frame some sort of Colonial scheme that would work; but, so far, they have only shown how to make anything like representative Government quite impossible, and so proved the greater fitness of the old system in the present state of the country. It may be necessary therefore to try some other plan perhaps by further Indianization of the old system, as suggested many years ago by Mr. Donald Smeaton. The King's Government must be carried on even if Diarchy has to be scrapped.

I am glad to be able to renew acquaintance with Mr. J. B. Pennington. The answer to his query is incredibly simple. If India succeeds in making British Rule impossible without matching the British bayonet with another bayonet, she will rule herself too with the same means. But if it is an unalterable law that the rule of one bayonet can only be displaced by another of equal or greater strength, then I see no present prospect of making British Rule impossible. I must admit as my correspondent will have me to, that British people think that they have a duty to perform in India, but I may be permitted to add that we Indians think that their duty is not to impose peace upon us when we are longing to war against one another, but to lift their oppressive weight from over our heads. We think that we are sinking beneath that weight.

M. K. G.

Freedom of Expression

Hirabad,

Hyderabad (Sind)

To

The Editor, *Young India*

Sir,

While commenting on the Tibbya College incident in the *Young India* of the 10th April you write: "The Muslim student who took exception to the comparison was after all justified in so doing." I do not know what exactly happened in the Tibbya College on the day of the celebration of Mr. Gandhi's birthday, but accepting what Dr. Ansari writes as the true version of the incident, I feel, it is difficult to agree with you in your comment. No harm seems to have been meant or done to any one when Mr. Gandhi was compared to Jesus Christ. It may not be necessary for the purpose of honouring a man, as you write, to compare him with revered prophets, but at times to bring home to the audience or the public

the greatness of an individual, comparison with other honoured men or revered prophets is neither unnatural nor unbecoming. Mr. Andrews has on many occasions declared Mr. Gandhi to be a true picture of Jesus Christ. It is quite possible that the person compared may not be worthy of a place of equality with revered prophets. That is quite a different matter. But how can one justifiably take exception to the principle of comparison itself? The Muslim student in the Tibbya College might be considering Mr. Gandhi to be unworthy of comparison with Jesus Christ; if so, he was quite welcome to hold his view and to declare it before the audience, as the Hindu student should have been welcome to hold his. We can understand such a difference of opinion. No one has a quarrel with it. But here the case was quite different. It was not that the Muslim student disagreed with the Hindu student in the latter's estimate of Mr. Gandhi's worth when he compared him with Jesus Christ, but that he objected to such a comparison itself, observing that no living person however eminent in all respects should be compared to prophets. One fails to understand how such an objection can be held to be justifiable. Previous prophets were human beings and the like of them may now be amongst us and are sure to come hereafter. What harm is there if comparisons are made of living saints or great men whom some may consider to be prophets with those that have gone before? Intellectually, ethically or spiritually there is nothing wrong in doing so.

A person compared to previous prophets may out of modesty disclaim such a comparison but that is beside the issue. I think, therefore, that to hold the Muslim student's objection as justifiable is to curtail the freedom of expression and to indirectly encourage the prevailing spirit of intolerance which I am sure is very far from what you desire.

I am etc.

Ghanashyam Jethanand

[I fear I must adhere to the opinion I have expressed to which Mr. Ghanashyam takes exception. It was not out of false modesty that I gave it. If I felt shy or awkward, I might not have noticed the incident, but I would not even out of modesty, false or otherwise, mislead the reader and thus deviate from the ethics of journalism which requires a fearless expression of true opinion. It will not be denied that to say what offends another is against ethics and certainly against spirituality if the saying is not required in the interest of truth. I hardly think it can be argued that it was in the interest of truth to make the comparison referred to. Whilst I think that such comparisons are undesirable, I admit that to object to them when they are actually made may be a mark of intolerance. But the Muslim student, knowing how it wounded many Mussalmans, rightly objected. He showed his good sense by apologising when his objection offended the Hindu student. We would but feed the fire of intolerance if we insist, in the name of freedom of opinion, on expressing those opinions which are likely

to wound some. I may inform Mr. Ghanashyam that shortly before I was in prison a devout Hindu wrote a letter strongly protesting against my being compared to Krishna and Rama. I certainly agreed with my correspondent that such comparisons should not be made. I can fully sympathise with orthodox Vaishnavas feeling offended at comparisons which outrage their religious sense. What I plead for is extreme and delicate consideration for the feelings and susceptibilities of others. If in the name of tolerance we began to swear at one another's deities, we would be copying the fabled economist who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs,

M. K. G.]

Young India

24-4-24

What is Hinduism?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A dear friend sends me a letter (published elsewhere) gently criticising the manner of my defence of Maulana Mahomed Ali's now famous speech regarding his comparison of creeds. The friend says that I have not been fair to Hinduism in that I have said a Hindu will fare no better than the Maulana. He quarrels with my illustration about marriage and then goes on to show the beauties of Hinduism. Another friend too, has made a similar remonstrance and added that many others share his opinion.

These friends have, in my opinion, mixed up the question of propriety of comparing creeds with that of the allocation of their respective merits. Indeed in arguing that Hinduism is not like Islam and that a Hindu could not think like the Maulana, the friends themselves have subscribed to the Maulana's argument that it is not only perfectly correct but it is the logical outcome of one's preferring a particular belief to every other, that for oneself that particular belief though held by a bad man is superior to that of another howsoever saintly. I adhere to the marriage illustration chosen by me, though I now see that it would have been better for me to have avoided it. It is not a conclusive illustration. There are, I admit, with my critics many reasons for confining the choice of a husband to a particular class. But I do claim that the predominant reason for excluding the best man if he happens to belong, as he often does, to another class or caste is his creed. A Brahmin parent chooses a Brahmin as a husband for his daughter because he prefers the general body of opinion which may be called creed held by his clan. Underlying the preference is no doubt the belief that acceptance of a creed ultimately involves practice in accordance with it. A narrow creed if it is honestly believed has necessarily a limited field for practice. A creed for instance that makes it obligatory to offer human sacrifice will never free the believer from the taint of religious murder unless he gives up the creed. Thus it is that we find people otherwise most moral disappointing us when they fall short of the highest because of their narrow creed. Many sincere and

otherwise noble-minded Hindus consider untouchability as a part of the Hindu creed and would therefore regard the reformers as outcasts. If untouchability was a part of the Hindu creed, I should decline to call myself a Hindu and most decidedly embrace some other faith if it satisfied my highest aspirations. Fortunately for me, I hold that untouchability is no part of Hinduism. On the contrary it is a serious blot upon it, which every lover of it must sacrifice himself to remove. Suppose, however, I discovered that untouchability was really an integral part of Hinduism, I should have to wander in the wilderness because the other creeds as I know them through their accepted interpreters would not satisfy my highest aspirations.

My correspondent accuses me of the crime of using the ambiguous middle in that I have confused Truth and non-violence with the Hindu creed. The crime is deliberate. It is the good fortune or the misfortune of Hinduism that it has no official creed. In order therefore to protect myself against any misunderstanding I have said Truth and non-violence is my creed. If I were asked to define the Hindu creed I should simply say: search after Truth through non-violent means. A man may not believe even in God and still call himself a Hindu. Hinduism is a relentless pursuit after truth and if to-day it has become moribund, inactive, irresponsible to growth, it is because we are fatigued and as soon as the fatigues are over, Hinduism will burst forth upon the world with a brilliance perhaps unknown before. Of course, therefore, Hinduism is the most tolerant of all religions. Its creed is all-embracing. But to claim that is to claim superiority for the Hindu creed over all the other creeds of the world. As I write these lines, I feel a crowd of sectarians whispering to me, "That is no Hinduism you are defining, come to us and we will show you the Truth." I am confounding all these whisperers by saying 'अस्ति अस्ति,' 'not that, my friends not that,' and they make confusion worse confounded by retorting with redoubled fury, 'Not that, not that.' But still another voice whispers to me, "Why all this duelling--this war of words? I can show you a way out of it. It lies through silent prayer." For the moment I propose to listen to that voice and observe silence and ask my friends to do likewise. Possibly I have failed to convince them and their co-sharers in their opinion. If I have failed to convince, it is because I have not seen the light. I can give my assurance that I have not indulged in special pleading in order to defend Maulana Mahomed Ali. If I discover my error, I hope I shall have the courage to own it. The Maulana needs no defence from me. And I should be a false friend, if in order to defend him I sacrificed an iota of truth. It is the special privilege of a friend to own the other's faults and redeclare his affection in spite of faults.

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Manager, Young India.

My Jail Experiences

(By M. K. Gandhi)

2

Some Officials

It was on Saturday the 18th March that the trial was finished. We were looking forward to a quiet time in the Sabarmati gaol at least for some weeks. We had expected that the Government would not let us remain in that gaol for any length of time. We were however not prepared for the very sudden removal that actually did take place. For the reader may recall that we were removed on Monday the 20th March to a special train which was to take us to the Yerawada Central Jail. We were made aware of the proposed removal only about an hour before departure. The officer in charge was all politeness and we were enabled to feel perfectly comfortable in the journey. But immediately on alighting at Kirkee we observed the difference and were made to feel that we were prisoners after all. The Collector and two others were awaiting the train. We were put in a motor prison-van which had perforations for ventilators. But for its hideous appearance it could well be a pardah motor. Certainly we could see nothing of the outside world. For the story of our reception at the gaol, the tearing away of Mr. Bunker from me, his restoration, the first interview, and kindred interesting details, I must refer the reader to my letter to Hakimji Ajmal Khan Saheb, already published in these columns. After the first unpleasantness the relations between the then Superintendent Col. Dalziel and ourselves rapidly improved. He was most considerate regarding our creature comforts. But there was a certain something about him which always jarred. He would never forget that he was Superintendent, and we were prisoners. He would not let it be granted that we were fully aware that we were prisoners and he was Superintendent. I made bold to say that we never once forgot that we were prisoners. We showed him all the deference due to his rank. The reminders were so unnecessary. But he had the needlessly haughty demeanour which one often regrettably notices about so many British officials. This weakness of him made him distrustful of the prisoners. Let me give a pleasant illustration of what I mean. He was most anxious that I should eat more than I was taking. He wanted me to take butter. I told him I could take only goat's milk butter. He gave special orders that it should be procured at once. Well, it came. The difficulty was what to mix it with. I suggested that some flour might be issued to me. It was given. But it was too coarse for my very delicate digestive apparatus. Refined mill flour was ordered and 20 lbs. was issued to me. What was I to do with all this? I cooked or Mr. Bunker cooked for me *chapatis*. After some trial I felt I needed neither flour nor butter. I asked that the flour may be removed from me and the issue of butter stopped. Col. Dalziel will not listen. What was issued was issued. I might

feel tempted later. I pleaded that it was all waste of public money. I gently suggested that I was as solicitous about the use of public money as I would be about my own. There was an incredulous smile. I then said, "Surely it is my money." "How much have you contributed to the public treasury?" was the quick retort. I humbly replied, "You contribute only a percentage out of the salary you get from the state, whereas I give the whole of myself, labour intelligence and all." There was a loud burst of suggestive laughter. But I did not collapse for I believed what I said. A labourer like me who labours for the state for mere maintenance contributes more to the state than a Viceroy who receives Rs 20,000 together with royal residencies and contributes to the state, if his salary be not income tax free, a certain percentage of his salary. It becomes possible for him and those who belong to the system of which he is the chief to receive what he does out of the labour of millions. And yet many Englishmen and some Indians honestly believe that they serve the state (whatever the word may mean to them) more than the labourers and in addition contribute from their very salaries a percentage towards the upkeep of the state. There never was a grosser fallacy or a more absurd presumption than this modern belief in self-righteousness.

But I must return to the gallant Colonel. I have given the pleasant sample of Col. Dalziel's haughty distrust. Will the reader believe that I had to carefully preserve the flour till the advent of Major Jones who took Col. Dalziel's place when the latter acted for the Inspector General of Prisons?

Major Jones was the very reverse of Col. Dalziel. From the very first day of his arrival, he became friends with the prisoners. I have a vivid recollection of our first meeting. Although he came with Col. Dalziel with becoming ceremonial, there was a refreshing absence of officialdom about him. He greeted me familiarly and talked about my fellow prisoners in Sabarmati and conveyed their regards too, which he said they had sent. Though a strict disciplinarian, he never stooped on his dignity. I have rarely met an official whether European or Indian so free from humbug or false notions of prestige and dignity. He was ready to confess errors—a dangerous and rare practice with Government officials. He once awarded punishment not to a 'political' prisoner but to a helpless bone-sick criminal. He subsequently came to learn that the punishment was not deserved. He straightway and without any pressure from outside cancelled it and made the following remarkable entry: 'I repent of my decision' in the prisoner's history ticket. The accurate manner in which the prisoners sum up superintendents is truly amazing. Major Jones was 'bhot bula'. They had nicknames for every one of the officials.

To finish however the story of my attempt to save the flour and other superfluous

articles of diet. At Major Jones's very first visit of inspection I requested that what I did not need should be cut off. He immediately gave orders that my request should be complied with. Col. Dalziel distrusted my motives, his successor took me at my word and he allowed me to make all the changes I wanted in the interest of economy, never once suspecting that I could be guilty of mental reservations.

Another official with whom we early came in contact was of course the Inspector General of Prisons. He was stiff, monosyllabic and gave one the impression that he was severe. His reserve was peculiarly his own and most uncomfortable for poor prisoners. Most officials being deficient in imagination often do unintentional injustices. They refuse to see the other side. They will not have patience to listen to prisoners and expecting from them prompt, coherent replies and failing to get them, succeed in giving wrong decisions. Visits of inspection are often therefore a farce and almost invariably result in the wrong men—bullies or sycophants—being favoured. The right man, the silent humble prisoner will not be heard. Indeed most of the officials frankly admit that their duty is confined to keeping the prisoners sanitarily clean, preventing prisoners from fighting one another or from absconding and keeping them healthy.

I must consider in the next chapter one of the sad results of this mentality.

The White Man's Trust

(By G. F. Andrews)

Mr. S. G. Vaze of the Servants of India Society has recently rendered a service to the cause of truth by exposing the mistake in the figures quoted in the House of Commons by Mr. J. T. Thomas, the Colonial Secretary, concerning the 'White Man's Trust' in Africa.

The facts were these. Mr. E. D. Morel asked a question in Parliament as to whether, in the light of the trusteeship of the African native, laid down in the Kenya White Paper, not less than *one-fifth* of the direct native taxation could be returned to the natives in educational and medical aid. The Colonial Secretary replied, that if veterinary aid were taken into account, more than one fifth of the direct native taxation was actually spent on the natives in Kenya, in the year 1922-23. Mr. Vaze went to the Kenya records and found that the Secretary of State's figures were so outrageously wrong, that, instead of more than one fifth being spent on the natives, the amount spent was barely over one fourteenth.

An interesting incident has escaped notice. It happened, last year, that one of the private members of the House of Commons asked this very question, 'How much was spent on direct and indirect taxation of the natives, and how much was spent on education and medical aid?' Major Ormsby Gore, the Under Secretary, replied in the House of Commons, last June, giving the correct amounts. I have not the exact figures with me; but I can quote with certainty in round numbers as follows:—

Native direct taxation	£ 500,000
,, Indirect taxation	225,000
,, Educational aid	21,000
,, Medical aid	8,000

[The veterinary aid for the whole Colony came to about £ 8,000.]

From these figures, quoted in the same House of Commons only a few months ago, Mr. Thomas's inaccuracy may be judged. It is not often that one Secretary of State contradicts another Secretary so perversely in the course of a few months.

The point needs to be added, that a very few years ago the native educational grant came to only a little more than £ 3,000.

There is, as I have often pointed out, one saving grace among the settlers on the Highlands of Kenya. They have not yet learnt the art of smoothing over their own vices with plausibl phrases. It is true that Lord Delamere, in England, became practised in the art and brought it back as an adept to Kenya from London. What, for instance, could be more unctuous than this, from one of his recent speeches?—'Lord Delamere felt that the European settlers, who lived among the natives and whose interest lay in their appreciation of and meeting of the natives' wants, were peculiarly qualified to advise on the progress of the natives and the lines on which it should be pursued.'

Lord Delamere was one of those who helped to introduce into the Kenya administration a 'forced labour ordinance,' which Mr. Winston Churchill, as Colonial Secretary, was obliged to disown. This is only one example of his 'appreciation of the natives' wants.'

But the average settler is much blunter than this. He frankly dislikes the fact, that 'forced labour' has been forbidden; and he is always out to get it back in some other form. One of these methods has been to collect a heavy hut and poll tax in silver, not in grain. This tax amounts to the savings of three months' labour. As the natives have no coins of their own, they are obliged to go out to earn the hut and poll tax for themselves and their family. A further method of keeping them on the plantations is now resorted to. Every adult native is compelled by law to be registered by means of thumb and finger mark impressions. He is obliged to carry everywhere about with him his registration paper, which records all his 'desertions.' If he leaves an estate without notice, he can be criminally prosecuted, and the Government pays the expenses of the settler who prosecutes successfully. The cost to the Government, in these prosecutions, came exactly to the same amount as the sum spent on native education. There are more ways than one of 'educating the native' in Kenya; and criminal prosecutions for 'desertion' seem to be a common method. It is a school through which more natives pass than those who seek to learn their alphabet.

Yet, even with all these weapons, there still appears to be a shortage of labour. Quite recently, in an Editorial of the *East African Standard*, a novel method has been devised for 'speeding up' labour on the plantations. This leading newspaper of Kenya, which is a strong supporter of the administration,

urges upon the Government the need to collect the taxes from the natives in each district, *exactly at the time when the plantation work is the heaviest*. The natives may then be virtually forced out to work in order to get the money to pay the taxes. "We can," it states, "appreciate the difficulties of Government, because nothing in the way of forced labour will be countenanced; but we once again put forward the perfectly justifiable suggestion, that hut and poll taxes should be collected in the several districts at the time when employment can be given to every native desiring it. We believe that much good could be done, if the Chief Native Commissioners were to call a meeting of representative settlers with a view to ascertain the months of the year when labour is chiefly required. Given this data, he could arrange the period of taxation accordingly." (The *italics* are ours.)

So far the *East African Standard* has carried its suggestion. The correspondence column, however, throws light upon the shortage of labour from another angle. Mr. Edgley writes that the real reason why labour is extremely short, on certain plantations, is because other planters in the vicinity have raised very slightly the wage given to the labourers. This is an unpardonable sin in Kenya; because when once the unsophisticated native has received a higher wage, he would rather starve, or do not work at all, than go back to the earlier and lower wage. Therefore, the native wages have hitherto been kept down to a figure which is hardly above starvation; and heavy taxes and registrations and criminal prosecutions have all been used in order to make the native work at the lowest possible pay. This 'appreciation of the wants of the natives' has been displayed in every meeting of the Kenya Legislative Council ever since it was founded, in 1919, on a strictly European register of voters.

A short extract from Mr. Edgley's letter is worth quoting, for the insight it gives into the Kenya planters' mentality. He says:

"My information is that certain planters have had to pay 20 cents a *debbie* (i. e. a canister) to get their coffee picked. It is obvious, therefore, that the neighbours of these planters are unwarrantably penalised; for as the native mind is acquisitive, he or she thinks at once that if one planter can pay it so can the other; and if the penalised planter says 'No', he gets no labour at all. I am a sufferer personally and I have studied the reason. I can, at the moment, suggest nothing better than the remedy advocated by the *E. A. Standard*, but the fault lies with the kind of people I mention; and it has to be remedied, and that speedily, or great loss will ensue."

I would sincerely welcome a Commission of Enquiry into native affairs in Kenya, if it can be appointed by the present Labour Government and can contain the names of some friends of Labour who are also friends of Africa. For, every principle of free labour is being flagrantly transgressed in Kenya, and the terrible decline in the native population in Kenya by twenty one per cent, between 1911 and 1921, tells its own tale. The *East African Standard*

of Friday Dec. 7, 1923, declared, "Morally, mentally, and perhaps physically as well, the African people are better for our coming." The facts to the contrary are so glaring, that no Commission, from outside, of impartial men could fail to elicit them.

Interesting

Mr. Hardikar sends me the following interesting information:

"Twelve and a half pounds of yarn is being sent to you by Railway Parcel to-day. This yarn was spun during the last National Week extending from the 6th to the 13th April, by

1. The boys of the National High School,
2. The girls of 'Tilak Kanya Shala'.
3. The 'Gandhi Pathak' of 'Karnatak Bala Sena' (Karnatak Boy scouts).
4. The members of Shevade's family.

Two Charkhas were spinning day and night continuously and five were being worked for twelve hours every day for a week. Thus the seven wheels were busy for a total of seven hundred and fifty six hours.

The total production is about 500 tolas. That means 3/4ths of a tola (approximately) for an hour. The production is poor for the reasons enumerated below. The yarn also is no doubt inferior in quality owing to the same reasons.

1. Carding was defective.
2. Slivers were not prepared well.
3. Beginners too were at work on the Charkhas.

The work of enrolment of members and collection of Tilak Swaraj Fund was also done during this week. The experience gained while working shows:

1. That unless men of influence take an active part and themselves labour for the betterment of the masses no success can be achieved.
2. That organised efforts bring desired results.
3. That young folk do respond if properly approached, guided and helped by the leaders.
4. That unless the question of workers' maintenance is solved by the Congress no substantial amount of work can be accomplished, howsoever sincere the handful of workers may be.

But the dearth of the men of ability and organising capacity has made the work suffer immensely. The indifference of the leaders towards the movement has disappointed the young workers who are one by one forsaking them."

The parcel containing yarn has also been received. It shows solid though uncouth work. True spinning like true everything involves labour, thought, method and concentration. An accomplished spinner must know carding, must be able to make his or her own slivers. The processes are not difficult, but they do require application, and unless the spinners take a lively interest in their work and refuse to call yarn, yarn that will not weave just as we refuse to call a rupee, rupee if it does not fetch sixteen annas, proper spinning is impossible. I hope that the boys and girls who did all that continuous spinning for a period will spin daily for a short period even if it be half an hour. They will be amazed at the result of such methodical and sustained effort.

Mr. Hardikar's remarks on the drawbacks about general work do not require any comment. I can only say no matter who deserts, no matter what discouragements face us, those of us who have faith in the programme must march forward without flinching and without stopping. The making of nations is no magic trick. It is hard toil and harder suffering. The Congress may or may not devise a scheme of payment of workers. Is it not open to provincial bodies to devise their own means? The most organised province can just as well set the tone to the Congress as the Congress can to the whole of India. Truthful suggestions always come from units that have achieved success.

M. K. G.

The Ambiguous Middle

To,

The Editor,
Young India

Revered Sir,

It is not without misgivings that I sit down to set out some of the doubts that your article on the charge against Maulana Mahomed Ali has raised in my mind. I am certain that you have done well in deprecating what you have rightly called wilful attempts 'to widen the gulf between Hindus and Mussalmans,' and I also agree that the Maulana's letters you have published demonstrate 'the transparent honesty of the Maulana.' What, however, I am not sure is that in vindicating the Maulana you have not overshot the mark.

I venture to submit that you should have left untouched the Maulana's statement that "the creed of even a fallen and degraded Mussalman is entitled to a higher place than that of any other non-Muslim irrespective of his high character, even though the person in question be Mahatma Gandhi himself." But you have proceeded to analyse that statement and as a result have come to the conclusion that the statement the Maulana is alleged to have made should not offend a Hindu. For do not thousands of Christians hold that a righteous man without belief in Jesus is less than an adulterous Christian? Similarly, you seem to argue, may not thousands of Muslims hold that a righteous man without the light of Islam is less than an adulterous Muslim? If that is the case, sir, why should you be shocked at finding certain persons willing to believe that the Maulana made a statement which you have tried to make out is inoffensive?

The fact is, even the attitude of a Unitarian Christian, cited by you and the Maulana, as identical with the Islamic attitude is far from identical as would appear from the following extract from a note on the same subject in the *Christian Patriot* of the 12th of April:

"It is life, the inner life, and not an outward conformity to a creedal statement. Again, as our Lord said in His great parable of the Judgment Day, it is not the man who says "Lord, Lord," or even preaches in His name that will find acceptance with Him, but the man who feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, and visits the prisoner; such a man, even if he has not known and believed in Jesus, has done these works for Himself, said He. True Christianity stands on this impregnable rock, and without discounting belief and theology, is committed irreconcilably to the ethical fulfilment of the law of love. He who keeps the commandments, really loves Him. If only religious men would rise above theological and sectarian affinities to this lofty conception of human values, such a statement as the one attributed to the Maulana could not be made.

Let there be no delusion as to the attitude of Jesus. He who does righteousness is accepted of God, and not the repeater of the creed or the hearer of the law."

But I will set Christianity alone. But you have asked, 'Does an orthodox Hindu fare better?' I am afraid as an orthodox Hindu I must join issue with you. I do not, I cannot, for a moment hold that a non-Hindu, whatever be his belief, if he has a higher character, can be less than an adulterous Hindu. The example you have chosen to drive home your point is, you will permit me to say, very unhappy. I may not choose as a husband for my daughter a man of the highest character, irrespective of his religion. But I may not do so for various reasons, at any rate not because I prize my religion more than any other. I submit in all humility that whilst I may not be prepared to sacrifice a farthing for a near relation or co-religionist of mine of whose character I have no opinion, I may sacrifice my all—except my faith—for one whom I admire and revere, irrespective of his faith. It is because I prize him more, I prize his moral and spiritual worth more, irrespective of the particular creed and dogmas that he is born to. The secret and strength of Hinduism is, to me, its widest tolerance. A Hindu need not believe that Hinduism is higher than all other religions. He believes that every religion must have something great and good in it if it endures, if it is to endure. He seeks not to judge between the relative merits of his religion and of other religions. He believes that शश्मै फैश्मै अयः एथर्मै भयावहः। Nor does he covet to bring within his fold men whose creeds and faiths are potent enough to give them comfort and good cheer for life's dreary voyage.

And that brings me to the use of an ambiguous middle in which you have, all unwittingly, betrayed yourself. Your creed, for the purposes of the article in question, is Hinduism, and not truth and non-violence. You may wish all your life that all the world may share your unshakable faith in the eternal triumph of truth and non-violence, and yet you may not, as I am sure you do not, wish that all the world may be Hinduised.

To sum up, let us not ignore the basic difference between the genius of Hinduism and Islam. While the latter is a missionary religion, the former is not. Whilst I cannot withhold my sympathy for Maulana Mahomed Ali who had to face on one side the taunts of some of his overzealous co-religionists, and the abuses of uncharitable Hindus, I am positive that he could well have met both by simply stating that whilst he followed Mahatma Gandhi in politics, he did not do so in religious matters, and that he believed that his faith was greater than all others. One's faith is great irrespective of the man or men holding it, and when he speaks of it, he need not bring in the dregs of society who, just as they must eat and clothe themselves, must also have some faith. For I hold that a drunken and adulterous man, whatever faith he professes to hold, is a shame to that faith, and not worth bringing in in a solemn argument.

I hope you will permit me to subscribe myself as
A humble admirer
of the Mahatma and the Maulana.

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My Jail Experiences

(By M. K. Gandhi)

III

Some Terrible Results

In this chapter I propose to discuss the results of the officials thinking that their duty ends with caring for the health of the prisoners, preventing fights among them or abscondings. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that the jails may be described as well or ill managed cattle-farms. A superintendent who ensures good food for the prisoners and does not punish without cause, is considered both by the Government and the prisoners as a model superintendent. Neither party expects more. If a superintendent were to introduce the real human touch in his relations with the prisoners, he is highly likely to be misunderstood by the prisoners and will very probably be distrusted by the Government as being unpractical, if not worse.

The jails have therefore become hot-beds of vice and degradation. The prisoners do not become better for their life in them. In most cases they become worse than before. Perhaps all the world over the jails are an institution the most neglected by the public. The result is that there is little or no public check on their administration. It is only when a political prisoner of some fame finds himself within the walls of a prison, that there is any public curiosity about the happenings thereto.

What classification there is of prisoners is regulated more in the interests of the administration than those of the prisoners. Thus for instance, one would find habitual criminals and persons who have committed not a moral but a merely statutory offence are put together in the same yard, in the same block and even in the same cell. Fancy forty or fifty persons of varying types being locked in the same cell for night after night! An educated man who had been convicted under the Stamp Act for having used an officially defaced stamp, was put in the same block as habitual offenders regarded as dangerous characters. It is no unusual thing to see murderers, abductors, thieves, and mere statutory offenders huddled together. There are some tasks which can only be done jointly by several men, such as working the pump. Able-bodied men alone can be put on to such tasks. Some highly sensitive men were included in one such gang. Now the ordinary prisoners in such a gang will use language which no decent man would care to hear. The men who

use indecent language have no sense of indecency in the language they use. But a sensitive man will feel most uncomfortable when such language is used in his presence. Convict-warders are in immediate charge of such gangs. In the discharge of their duty, it is customary for them to swear at prisoners in the choicest language. And though they are sufficiently worked up they do not spare the rod either. Needless to say both the punishments are not only unauthorised but they are unlawful. I could however present quite a decent catalogue of things unlawful that happen in jails to the knowledge of, and sometimes even with the connivance of, officials. In the case mentioned by me the sensitive prisoner could not put up with the foul language. He therefore refused to work in the gang unless it was stopped. It was due to the prompt intervention of Major Jones that a most awkward situation was averted. But the relief was momentary. He had no power to stop a recurrence of the trouble; for it must continue to recur so long as prisoners are not classified in accordance with a moral standard and with regard to their human requirements rather than administrative convenience.

One would have thought that in a jail where every prisoner is under surveillance night and day and can never be out of the sight of a warder, crimes will not be possible. But unfortunately every conceivable crime against morality is not only possible but is committed almost with impunity. I need not mention small pilferings, deceptions, petty and even serious assaults, but I wish to refer to unnatural crimes I will not shock the reader with any details. In spite of my many jail experiences, I did not think that such crimes were possible in jails. But the Yerawada experience gave me more than one painful shock. The discovery of the existence of unnatural crimes produced one of the greatest of shocks. All the officials who spoke to me about them said that under the existing system it was impossible to prevent them. Let the reader understand that in a majority of cases the consent of the victim is lacking. It is my deliberate opinion that it is possible to prevent such crimes if the administration of jail is humanised and can be made a matter of public concern. The number of prisoners in the jails of India must be several hundred thousand. It should be the concern of public workers to know

what happens to them. After all, the motive behind punishment is reformation. The legislature, the judge and the jailor are believed to expect that the punishments would act as deterrents, not merely for the physical and mental hurt they cause, but for the repentance that prolonged isolation must bring about. But the fact is that punishments only brutalise the prisoners. In their jails they are never given an opportunity for repentance and reform. The human touch is lacking. True, there is a weekly visit from religious preachers. I was not permitted to attend any of these meetings, but I know that they are mostly shams. I do not wish to suggest that the preachers are shams. But a religious service once a week for a few minutes can produce no impression on those who ordinarily see nothing wrong in crimes. It is necessary to provide a responsive atmosphere in which a prisoner unconsciously sheds bad and cultivates good habits.

But such atmosphere is impossible so long as the system of entrusting convicts with most responsible work is continued. By far the worst part of the system is the appointment of convict-officers. These men are necessarily long-term prisoners. They are therefore men who have committed the most serious crimes. Generally the bullies are chosen as warders. They are the most forward. They succeed in pushing themselves to the front. They are the instruments for the commission of almost all the crimes that take place in the jails. A free fight resulting in one death once took place because two such wardens were concurred in the same prisoner who was a victim of their unnatural lust. Every one knew what was happening in the jail. But the authorities intervened only to prevent further fighting and further bloodshed. These convict-officers recommend tasks for the other prisoners. They supervise the tasks. They are responsible for the good behaviour of the prisoners under their charge. In fact the will of the permanent officers is expressed and carried out through these convicts who are dignified as officers. The marvel to me was that under such a system things were not much worse than they actually were. It once more demonstrated to me how superior men were to a wicked system as they were inferior to a good one. Human beings seem naturally to seek the middle path.

The whole of the cooking too is entrusted to prisoners. The result is indifferent cooking and organised loutism. It is the prisoners who grind corn, shred vegetables, cook food, and serve. When complaints as to short and badly cooked rations were recurrently made, the invariable answer was that the remedy was in their own hands as they cooked their own food, as if they were related to one another and understood mutual responsibility! Once when I pushed the argument to its logical extent, I was told that no administration could afford the cost: I differed from the view at the time of argument. Further observation has confirmed me in my contention that under a well-devised system jail administration can be made self-supporting. I hope to devote a chapter to an examination of jail economics. For the present I must satisfy myself with saying that no question of cost can possibly be admitted as relevant in a consideration of moral abuses.

Notes

A Catalogue of Crimes

1. Contributing to Tilak Swaraj Fund;
2. Association with Non-co-operators;
3. Subscribing to N. C. O. papers;
4. Standing for Non-co-operation;
5. Wearing Khaddar.

These were actually regarded as crimes by the Post Master General of Madras in April 1922 and were the only grounds for dismissal of Mr. Subba Rao, a servant in the Postal Department, after 17 years' service. Let not the reader imagine that now Mr. Subba Rao has been reinstated. Nothing of the kind has happened. The poor dismissed servant of the Government petitioned the Viceroy and on the 3rd October 1923 he received a reply saying that His Excellency had 'decided to reject your (his) memorial.' The order of dismissal contains the counts as I have given them. The recital of each count is followed by a description. The contribution to the Tilak Swaraj Fund for instance, is stated to have been given in the name of the minor daughter and amounted to Rs. 5. Venom could not go any further. The logical result of such dismissals should be a regulation making it penal for a member of the legislatures to wear Khaddar. By a stroke of the pen we should then have domestic peace. The Government would be happy and so will the pro-council men and the no-council men. As it is there can be no peace so long as men like Mr. Subba Rao have real grievance against everybody—against the Government for manufacturing crimes, against the pro-council men who because of their eminence wear Khaddar with impunity and yet afford no relief to Mr. Subba Rao and such others, and against the no-council men for failing to make Khaddar universal and thus making the demand for Swaraj irresistible.

What is Violence?

Answer of my article in *Young India* (April 16, 1924) entitled, 'What It is Not' a correspondent examining the ingredients of violence says:

"The real issue is not *when*, just or unjust grounds. Whether an act is an act of violence or not can be determined, not by reference to the grounds on which it is undertaken, but by reference to the manner in which it affects the party against whom it is directed and the effects which it produces generally. Both acts of violence and acts that are not acts of violence—may have a just or an unjust cause. If a just cause can vindicate the adoption of a remedy why should it justify a passive remedy only and not an active remedy? If it can vindicate N. C. O. it can equally justify the use of a sword. What moral delicacy should induce us to adopt N. C. O. and discard the sword? We are answered that the use of the sword is a way of violence. Why is that so? The reason is clear that it causes pain and suffering to our adversary. Does not N. C. O. do the same? Is there any difference between the two? The only difference is this. Whilst a blow from the sword would cause a feeling of pain and suffering due to a disturbance caused thereby to the material processes *inside the body*, which result in and preserve life, the practising of N. C. O. would cause pain and suffering by a disturbance to the processes *working outside the body* in the economic, social and political spheres—processes which are as much responsible for the preservation of life as those working *inside the body*."

The argument is clever but it does not take us very far. The writer confuses two words, pain and violence, and regards them as synonymous.

physician who administers a bitter drug or cuts open an artery causes pain but does no violence. The patient thanks him for it. If I do not serve my employer because he ill-treats me, my resignation i. e. non-co-operation may cause pain but I have used no violence. But if I hammer him so as to make him do justice I have extorted justice by violence.

Hindu-Muslim Tension in Sind

Dr. Cholthram has sent me newspaper cuttings which give a fair idea of the trouble that seems to be brewing in Sindhi. I have no desire to go into the facts of the case. There was an attempt to settle the Hindu-Muslim dispute by arbitration. Dr. Cholthram and Seth Haji Abdulla Haroon have had their say in the Press. Seth Haji Abdulla Haroon says that there could be no arbitration before change of hearts. Whatever the cause, the failure of arbitration is unfortunate. But the painful part of the whole affair is that the Hindus do not feel that they are safe and that the Police guard the route in the affected area. If this is true, there is something radically wrong. Whoever is to blame, there should be an understanding between the parties that no one can take the law into his own hands. The parties may go to court if they cannot arbitrate, but overawing of one party by another can only end in bloodshed eventually. That is hardly the way of religion.

I assure my Hindu and Mussalman friends that I am feverishly anxious to disburden my soul of my views on Hindu-Muslim unity. I am simply waiting for friends who have asked me not to say anything till they and I have discussed the question. The accounts I receive daily of the tension show that the greatest question before the country is that of Hindu-Muslim unity and no other. I hope that a way will be found out of the present most unsatisfactory state of things.

M. K. G.

The Starving Moplah

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I gladly print the following from Mr. Yakub Hasan:-

I enclose a copy of the statement I have lately issued to the Press about Moplah Relief. You will no doubt be glad to learn that thousands of women and children belonging to the Moplahs who were killed in the rebellion or were shot or hanged afterwards or are undergoing long imprisonment are almost starving.

Moplahs as a class have always been poor. Most of them were cultivating lands under the patty landlordship of zamindars, who are almost all Hindus. The oppression of the zamindars is a matter of notoriety and a long standing grievance of the Moplahs that has never been redressed though unsuccessful attempts were made several times to ease the situation by means of legislature. The rebellion has reduced the poverty-stricken Moplah community to still lower depth of destitution. The forcible conversions have plagued the community in bad case with the Hindus in general and the Jemadar in particular, and the Government has also in case for the people who have not long ago fought pitched battles with it. Hindus have had their vengeance through the Military who burnt the Moplah houses and their Mosques wholesale. Thousands of Moplahs have been killed, shot, hanged or imprisoned for life and thousands are now languishing in jail. Of those who are left behind several thousands are paying fines in monthly installments in lieu of imprisonment for two years. These people are always under the thumb of the Police. The few who have escaped death, jail or fine are not in any happier condition. They are frightened out of their wits and are constantly living in terror. Some of the people I talked to in the out-of-way places were trembling with fear in spite of the assurances given to them that I was their friend and the object of my visit was only to help them if I can.

This is the general condition of the Moplahs in South Malabar. The condition of the women who have lost husbands and fathers by death or imprisonment is still worse. Unlike their sisters in other parts of India Moplah women do not observe *pardah*. They are intelligent and industrious and always work with their male relations in fields and elsewhere. They are now very much handicapped for just when the burden of supporting the family is thrown on their shoulders and they are called upon by the anti-war circumstances to be the sole bread earners for their families, they find no work that would give them a living wage. Though Moplahs have always been poor still there were no beggars among them. But now it is a common sight to see Moplah women and children in tatters begging in the streets. Among the poor Muslim women who beg in the cities, also giving month of Ramzan, I find almost half are Moplah women in Madras and I am told this is the case in all large cities in the Presidency.

As for children their neglected condition can be more imagined than described.

Something has to be done and done immediately if the Moplah community is to be saved from moral, even physical destruction. In spite of all his faults and shortcomings Moplah is a fine man. He has the bravery, the pluck and the grit of his Arab father, and the gentleness and the industry of his Nair mother. His religious zeal is more misunderstood than appreciated. He is as a rule peaceful but he brooks no affront to his honour or religion. Unfortunate circumstances, the causes of which I need not enter into on this occasion, forced him into the position of a rebel. He has done what any one, Hindu, Muslim or Christian, and in the same circumstances and in the same emergency, would have done in self-defence and self-interest. He has suffered the consequences of his deeds. Should the country also visit his sins on his wife and children?

I place this matter before you, Mahatma, because you are the best of the Indian nation and both Hindus and Mussalmans jointly and severally look upon you as their leader. It is not for me to say how this great problem should be tackled. In your wisdom and judgment of heart you will, God willing, find ways and means to carry this offering succor to the suffering Moplah women and children. Your appeal will make the Hindus forgive and forget and show that magnanimity of the heart without which no nation can aspire to be great, and your appeal will make Mussalmans realize more fully their duty to themselves. I am sure all the leading men irrespective of caste or creed or political thought will join hands with you in this, this humanitarian cause home to the people at large.

My appeal must necessarily be to the Hindus. I do not know how far it will be successful in the present tension between the two communities. But I must not think of the result. I should be guilty of cowardice if I did not publish Mr. Yakub Hasan's letter which commands my sympathy. I know that the Hindus feel sore over what the Moplahs in 1921 did to their Hindu neighbours in Malabar. I know that thousands of Hindus think that the Moplah atrocities were not as strongly condemned by the general body of the Mussalmans as they might have been. I know that many will (as I do) take exception to Mr. Yakub Hasan's sweeping assertion that 'he (Moplah) has done what any one Hindu, Muslim or Christian under the same circumstances and in the same emergency would have done in self-defence or self-interest.' No circumstance and no provocation however grave, could possibly justify forcible conversions. I should hope that Mr. Yakub Hasan has not meant to include these among the pardonable acts of the Moplahs.

But even assuming the truth of the worst that the Hindus may have to say against the Moplahs and the contemporaneous or subsequent conduct of the rest of the Indian Mussalmans, I have no doubt that if the Hindus allowed their prejudices to interfere with their charity towards their countrymen and countrywomen, the starving Moplahs, it would be

counted as a sin before the Judgment Seat. We may not remember against posterity the sins of its forefathers. The Moplahs sinned against God and have suffered grievously for it. Let the Hindus also remember that they have not allowed the opportunity of revenge to pass by. Many have done all they could to take reprisals when they got the opportunity.

My point is simple. In face of the awful fact of starvation and homelessness, all argument and all opposition must be hushed. Generations hence, when all our evil acts will have been forgotten, posterity will cherish the treasured memory of every simple act of love shown by the one to the other. I therefore ask every Hindu reader who will extend the hand of love and fellowship to his starving Moplah brother and sister and their children, to send his or her mite and I shall endeavour to see that it is properly distributed among the most deserving among the Moplahs.

Young India

1-5-24

Vaikom Satyagraha (By M. K. Gandhi)

Vaikom Satyagraha has attracted such wide public attention, and though restricted to a small area, presents so many problems for solution that I offer no apology to the reader for constantly engaging his attention for it.

I have received several important and well thought-out letters protesting against my countenancing it in any way whatsoever. One such letter even urges me to use whatever influence I may have, for stopping it altogether. I am sorry that I am unable to publish all these letters. But I hope to cover all the points raised in these letters or otherwise brought to my notice.

The first may be cleared at once. Exception has been taken to Mr. George Joseph—a Christian—having been allowed to replace Mr. Menon as leader and organiser. In my humble opinion the exception is perfectly valid. As soon as I heard that Mr. Joseph was 'invited to take the lead' and he contemplated taking it, I wrote to him as follows on 5th April:

"As to Vaikom, I think that you shall let the Hindus do the work. It is they who have to purify themselves. You can help by your sympathy and by your pen, but not by organising the movement and certainly not by offering Satyagraha. If you refer to the Congress resolution of Nappur, it calls upon the Hindu members to remove the curse of untouchability. I was surprised to learn from Mr. Andrew that the disease had infected even the Syrian Christians."

Unfortunately before the letter could reach him, Mr. Menon was arrested and Mr. George Joseph had taken his place. But he had nothing to expiate, as every Hindu has in the matter of untouchability as countenanced by the Hindus. His sacrifice cannot be appropriated by the Hindus in general as expiation made, say by Malaviyaji would be. Untouchability is the sin of the Hindus. They must suffer for it, they must purify themselves, they must pay the debt they owe their suppressed brothers and sisters. Theirs is the shame and theirs must be the glory when they

have purged themselves of the black sin. The silent loving suffering of one single pure Hindu as such will be enough to melt the heart of millions of Hindus; but the sufferings of thousands of non-Hindus in behalf of the untouchables will leave the Hindus unmoved. Their blind eyes will not be opened by outside interference, however well-intentioned and generous it may be; for it will not bring home to them the sense of guilt. On the contrary, they would probably hug the sin all the more for such interference. All reform to be sincere and lasting must come from within.

But why may the Vaikom Satyagrahis not receive monetary aid from outside, especially if it be from Hindus? So far as non-Hindu assistance is concerned, I am as clear about such pecuniary help as I am about such personal help. I may not build my Hindu temple with non-Hindu money. If I desire a place of worship I must pay for it. This removal of untouchability is much more than building a temple of brick and mortar. Hindus must bleed for it, must pay for it. They must be prepared to forsake wife, children and all for the sake of removing the curse. As for accepting assistance from Hindus from outside such acceptance would betray unreadiness on the part of the local Hindus for the reform. If the Satyagrahis have the sympathy of the local Hindus, they must get locally all the money they may need. If they have not, the very few who may offer Satyagraha must be content to starve. If they are not, it is clear that they will evoke no sympathy among the local Hindus whom they want to convert. Satyagraha is a process of conversion. The reformers, I am sure, do not seek to force their views upon the community; they strive to touch its heart. Outside pecuniary help must interfere with the love process if I may so describe the method of Satyagraha. Thus viewed the proposed Sikh free kitchen, I can only regard, as a menace to the frightened Hindus of Vaikom.

There is no doubt in my mind about it that the orthodox Hindus who still think that worship of God is inconsistent with touching a portion of their own co-religionists and that a religious life is summed up in ablutions and avoidance of physical pollutions merely, are alarmed at the developments of the movement at Vaikom. They believe that their religion is in danger. It behoves the organisers therefore, to set even the most orthodox and the most bigoted at ease and to assure them that they do not seek to bring about the reform by compulsion. The Vaikom Satyagrahis must stoop to conquer. They must submit to insults and worse at the hands of the bigoted and yet love them, if they will change their hearts.

But a telegram says in effect, 'the authorities are barricading the roads; may we not break or scale the fences? May we not fast? For we find that fasting is effective.'

My answer is, if we are Satyagrahis, we dare not scale or break fences. Breaking or scaling fences will certainly bring about imprisonment but the breaking will not be civil disobedience. It will be essentially incivil and criminal. Nor may we fast. I observe that my letter to Mr. Joseph with reference

to fasting has been misunderstood. For the sake of ready reference I reproduce below the relevant part:

"Omit fasting but stand or squat in relays with quiet submission till arrested."

The above is the wire sent to you in reply to yours. Fasting in Satyagraha has well-defined limits. You cannot fast against a tyrant, for it will be a species of violence done to him. You invite penalty from him for disobedience of his orders but you cannot inflict on yourselves penalties when he refuses to punish and renders it impossible for you to disobey his orders so as to compel infliction of penalty. Fasting can only be resorted to against a lover, not to extort rights but to reform him, as when a son fasts for a father who drinks. My fast at Bombay and then at Bardoli was of that character. I fasted to reform those who loved me. But I will not fast to reform, say, General Dyer, who not only does not love me but who regards himself as my enemy. Am I quite clear?"

It need not be pointed out that the above remarks are of a general character. The words 'tyrant' and 'lover' have also a general application. The one who does an injustice is styled 'tyrant.' The one who is in sympathy with you is the 'lover.' In my opinion, in the Vaikom movement opponents of the reform are the 'tyrant.' The State may or may not be that. In this connection I have considered the State as merely the police striving to keep the peace. In no case is the State or the opponents in the position of 'lover'. The supporters of Vaikom Satyagrahis enjoy that status. There are two conditions attached to a Satyagrahi fast. It should be against the lover and for his reform, not for extorting rights from him. The only possible case in the Vaikom movement when a fast will be justified, would be when the local supporters go back upon their promise to suffer. I can fast against my father to cure him of a vice, but I may not in order to get from him an inheritance. The beggars of India who sometimes fast against those who do not satisfy them are no more Satyagrahis than children who fast against a parent for a fine dress. The former are impudent, the latter are childish. My Bardoli fast was against fellow-workers who ignited the Chauri Chaura spark and for the sake of reforming them. If the Vaikom Satyagrahis fast because the authorities will not arrest them, it will be, I must say in all humility, the beggar's fast described above. If it proves effective it shows the goodness of the authorities, not that of the cause or of the actors. A Satyagrahi's first concern is not the effect of his action. It must always be its propriety. He must have faith enough in his cause and his means, and know that success will be achieved in the end.

Some of my correspondents object altogether to Satyagraha in an Indian State. In this matter too, let me quote the remaining portion of my foregoing letter to Mr. Joseph:

"You must be patient. You are in an Indian State. Therefore, you may work in deputation on the Diwan and the Mahratta. Get up a moderate position by the orthodox Hindus who may be well-disposed towards the movement. See also those who are opposing. You can support the gentle direct action in a variety of ways. You have already drawn public attention to the matter by preliminary Satyagraha. Above all see to it that it neither dies nor by impatience becomes violent."

Satyagraha in an Indian State by the Congress for the attainment of its object is I think clearly forbidden. But Satyagraha in an Indian State in connection with local abuses may be legitimately taken up at any time provided the other necessary conditions are fulfilled. As in an Indian State there can be no question of non-co-operation, the way of petitions and deputations is not only always open, but it is obligatory. But, say some of my correspondents, the conditions for lawful Satyagraha do not exist in Vaikom. They ask:

1. Is unapproachability exclusively observed at Vaikom or is it general throughout Kerala?
2. If it is general, then what is the special reason for selecting Vaikom in preference to places within the British territory in Kerala?
3. Did the Satyagrahis petition the Maharaja, the local Assembly &c.?
4. Did they consult the orthodox sections?
5. Is not the use of the road the thin end of the wedge, is it not a step towards the abolition of caste altogether?
6. Is not the road a private road?

The first two questions are irrelevant. Unapproachability and untouchability have to be tackled wherever they exist. Wherever the workers consider a place or time suitable, it is their duty to start work whether by Satyagraha or other legitimate means.

My information goes to show that the method of petition &c., was tried not once but often.

They did consult the orthodox people and thought that they had the latter's support.

I am assured that the use of the road is the final goal of the Satyagrahis. It is however not to be denied that the present movement throughout India is to throw open to the suppressed classes all the public roads, public schools, public wells and public temples which are accessible to non-Brahmins.

It is in fact a movement to purify caste by ridding it of its most pernicious result. I personally believe in *Varnashram*, though it is true that I have my own meaning for it. Any way, anti-untouchability movement does not aim at inter-dining or inter-marriage. Those who mix up the touch and the last two things together are doing harm to the cause of the suppressed classes as also to that of inter-dining and inter-marriage.

I have letters which protest that the road in question is a public road. In fact my informants tell me it was some years ago even accessible to the unapproachables as to other non-Brahmins.

In my opinion, therefore, there is a just cause for the Vaikom Satyagraha and so far as it is kept within proper limits and conducted with the strictest regard to non-violence and truth, it deserves full public sympathy.

[An important letter from Babu Bhagwandas had to be unfortunately left over for want of space.

E.d. Y. I.]

Charkha in South Kanara.

Writing about the work of the volunteers in relieving distress caused by the floods in South Kanara, Mr. Sadashiv Rao writes:

"About Rs. 50,000 were collected by the Floods Relief Committee of which I happen to be the Joint Secretary; and most of this money has been distributed among the poor, first for affording food and clothing and latterly by way of money doles for building huts or small dwelling places for the poor. In accordance with the undertaking given by the Committee to the public, the whole amount thus collected has practically been spent. But the amount of Rs. 6,000 timely sanctioned by the All India Working Committee of the Indian National Congress and earmarked for advancing the constructive programme in the flood-stricken areas has proved, like the flood itself, to be a blessing in disguise. Under the auspices of the Rashtriya Jilla Khadi Board working under our 16th (1923) Congress Committee, we have opened twelve model depots in the affected parts wherein weaving and carpentry have been arranged to be taught according to the aptitudes of the people; and a great impetus has been given to the progress of spinning in the affected parts among all classes of people. A convenient central village has been singled out for working the depots and every morning our workers go into the neighbouring villages with charkhas to teach carding and spinning to the people in their homes. Nurseries of cotton plants have also been made on the plots attached to these depots and arrangements have been made to distribute the plants gratis or at nominal prices among the people for being planted in their own places. Last year the Congress Committee made a humble attempt to popularise cotton-growing by a free distribution of seeds suited to the soil at this time of the year. But, barring a handful of them, most of the people did not kindly take to it. It is for this reason that a departure has been made this year. Already more than five hundred families have taken up enthusiastically to spinning and we expect a thousand pounds of yarn in this month. Last month we received through these twelve depots 750 lbs. of yarn of counts ranging from 8 to 20. We are obliged to give charkhas on the instalment system as the people are poor. It is a most encouraging feature that the majority of these families who have begun to spin are Mahomedans and Christians. The more or less almost unanimous as it is expected to break out earlier this year, and already we have had showers with thunder and lightning. It is well known that within a few weeks after the rains set in, most of the people in village parts are without occupation. The money to hand set apart for the constructive programme has been exhausted. And, if the charitable public do not come to our rescue at this juncture, the humble work begun by our struggling volunteers for relieving the distress of the poor by supplying supplementary occupations at their very doors will come to grief. Having regard to the fact that 90 per cent of the people that have thus taken to spinning are women, I feel that I can confidently look up to all who love nation-building work to contribute their mite for helping us to continue this glorious work of serving the poor. There are thousands of women who are longing to have the charkhas; but, as want of funds, the work cannot progress.

We have also made another attempt in accordance with your advice. There are twenty national schools in our district with a thousand pupils. Two of these are high schools boys coming out of those schools, in a future apprenticeship to be a purl and they are asked to go back to their respective schools for starting national elementary schools or parashayana schools or any other handicrafts like weaving, especially, cotton and dyeing, printing etc. arrangements for teaching all of which are being made in these depots. Will the appeal of our self-sacrificing struggling volunteers on behalf of our voluntary poor prevail?"

This is solid work deserving support.

I had the honour of receiving about fifty kanarese sisters a few days ago. They had organised among themselves a dramatic performance. The play is written by one of them. The performance fetched Rs. 550. The expenses amounted to Rs. 50. These sisters brought me the Rs. 500 and yarn spun by them. I know that these sisters will appreciate the use I propose to make of their precious gift. I feel

that I cannot do better than send the amount for distributing the charkha among their distressed Mussalman and Christian sisters. The amount will be sent forthwith to Mr. Sadashiv Rao. M. K. G.

Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam*

(By C. F. Andrews)

It was a day of revelation to me when I first learnt to appreciate, through Indian teachers, the Upanishads. In the year 1913, when I went out to South Africa with my friend Willie Pearson, the poet, whom we both dearly loved to call our Gurudev, Rabindranath Tagore, gave us, to carry with us on our journey, the great *mantram*.

Shantam, Shivam, Advitam.

I can well remember the day, when the poet first explained to me the beauty of the short *Isha Upanishad*. At that time, I said to him, almost with indignation: "How is it, that I have been here in India all these years, and yet this wonderful truth which you have now given me has never been told me before?"

Perhaps, it had been my own fault; because I had come out to India originally, as a missionary, somewhat arrogantly believing that I had to teach; when I ought, first of all, to have tried to learn and to understand.

This reading of the *Isha Upanishad*, under a great teacher and master, seemed to show me, in a moment of illumination, the living truth of the world. I do not wish now to enter into the depths of that teaching, but rather to take some of the great and simple human interests, which may be directly derived from the Upanishads as a whole, with the hope that they may be cherished with the same delight that they have afforded to me.

In the first place, I would refer to that great word,—the greatest word of all,—Advaitam. It formed part of our *mantram* in South Africa, and we eagerly explored its meaning together under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. For he was to us a living embodiment of that word in his own conduct and work and purpose. It means the Oneness of all spiritual life,—"to see the Universal Self in all things, and all things in the Universal Self." That is how the Upanishads themselves describe it.

I feel that India to-day owes a debt to Swami Vivekanand for renewing in practical life this faith in the Advaitam. It has been a great joy to me to work with the Ramkrishna Mission workers in cholera camps and famine areas, and to watch quietly how they have learnt to identify themselves in living truth of deeds with the sick and suffering, with the outcasts of humanity. There is, what has been called rightly, a Practical Vedanta. This faith in the Advaitam in its practical aspect,—this oneness of all

* The substance of these two articles was given in an address to students at Nowrang in Assam, as President of the Assam Students' Conference, but they have been thoroughly revised and in a considerable measure re-written.

things in God,—needs to be exercised daily, if we would fully explore and understand its meaning.

When the cholera stricken patient is before us, and we are afraid to touch him for fear of infection, let us say to ourselves: "This poor man or woman, stricken down with disease, is the divine Self in human form. It is the same Self that is in me. It is myself. 'Tat tvam Asi,'—'Thou art That'.

When the stranger comes to us—the foreigner from another country—whom we may not instinctively and naturally love at first sight, let us say to ourselves the same thing: 'Tat tvam Asi,'—'Thou art That.' Then let us go to him and love him and minister to his needs, so that he may be a stranger no longer, but a friend.

When the outcaste comes to us—the untouchable, the pariah, the untouchable—let us say to ourselves, as we fear to approach him, the same thing,—'Tat tvam Asi.' And then our fear and shrinking will vanish, and like Chaitanya, we shall be able to embrace him and to see in him the image of the Lord.

For all spiritual life is one. The Upanishads make this perfectly clear to us, when they tell us that the Advaitam is also the Avatara; He is without caste, or colour distinction, the Casteless One.

There is a beautiful resemblance to this ultimate truth of the Upanishads in the teaching of the Sufi Poets,—especially in those writers who loved to find communion with the Indian saints and sages. For all divine truth is one. There is a poem, which I have always remembered since the day when I first heard it told me by Maulvi Nazir Ahmed of Delhi, in his old age, just before he died. The Sufi poet says:

"I knocked at the door of thy heart of the Beloved;
And a voice said, Who is there?"
I answered, "I am I."
But the door remained closed, and there was no answer.
I suffered and pined away with grief.
Then I knocked again at the door.
The voice said, "Who is there?"
I answered, "It is thou! And the door opened."

Here, the same truth of the Upanishads, the truth of the Advaitam, is expressed in a mystical form by the Persian Poet, with a beautiful symbol that can never be forgotten.

In my own Christian faith also, we have a well-known parable, where Christ stands before his true disciples in the midst of the poor and the needy, the prisoner and the stranger, the sick and the afflicted. He says in their name: "I was famine-stricken and thirsty; I was hungry and naked; I was in prison and a stranger; in as much as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me." Here, again, we have the Practical Vedanta,—the Advaitam,—the identification of one's own tiny self with all the world.

There is a very beautiful fresco painted roughly on a monastery wall during the Middle Ages in one of the old abbeys. It represents all the monks of the monastery, with the abbot at their head, going out to worship a poor stranger, a beggar in rags, who had come to the monastery door. They are really worshipping God, whom they have seen in this

beggar in rags. How singularly close to Indian thought that is!

I know well how Willie Pearson had learnt to live out these great truths in action; how he had made his whole life one long act of loving service to humanity; how he had identified himself with the poorest, the lowliest and the lost. It was to him also an intense joy to strive after that further teaching, which is contained in the Bhagavad Gita, and is called 'Nishkama Karma',—work without desire for reward. There is a great utterance of Christ, where it is said: "He that loveth his own life shall lose it; but he that loseth his own life, the same shall save it." It is the true paradox of unselfish service, that it brings with it the greatest joy that man can experience in this world,—the joy of the realisation of the Advaitam, whose name is Anandam.

It is possible for us all to set before ourselves the ideal of service; to frame and mould our own lives in the presence of the Advaitam, being wholly identified with others in love. There was a group of young Hindu disciples at Patisar, near Atrai in N. Bengal, who came from an Ashram which was situated in Assam. The N. Bengal flooded area, where we were working, was almost entirely composed of Muhammadan villages. I cannot tell you what a happiness it was to me to see these young Hindus, from a Hindu Math, ministering with perfect devotion to the needs of their Mussalman brothers and sisters, and also to see these devout and pious Mussalmans daily returning their affection.

The same spirit of pure devoted service exists in every part of India. In Malabar, during the disturbances in the Moplah area, while bloodshed was still going on outside the camp, we have taken food and drink together in a Congress compound,—Moplahs and caste Hindus, touchables and untouchables, Christians and Mussalmans,—eating our simple meal together in love and unity. It was a living sacrament of that United India, which is certain to rise out of the dead past, when the truth of the Advaitam is fully realised and the spirit of love prevails.

Then, in the second place, there follows, from the original truth of the Advaitam, the complementary truth, 'Ahimsa Paramo Dharma'. The Advaitam is also the Shantam and the Shivan, the Peaceful and the Good. The supremely humane principle of Ahimsa,—the refusal to take life, the practice of kindness and harmlessness to all living creatures,—the word is impossible to translate into English; but it means all this and much more,—follows as clearly as possible out of the original principle of the Advaitam. How should I injure that which is myself? Willie Pearson had learnt in a wonderful manner to think as Hindus have thought for ages past in this respect. In his first speech in South Africa he said, "It has been quite easy and natural for me to understand Mahatma Gandhi's Passive Resistance Movement, because my own ancestors belonged to the Society of Friends, who practised in their lives the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount." The Sermon on the Mount, which Christ preached,—'Resist not evil,' 'Love your enemies'—to quote only two of its well-

known sentences—was to him a joy and delight from the earliest days when he used to learn it at his mother's knee. Therefore the age-long Hindu teaching of Ahimsa was not unfamiliar to him. He felt, as he studied Hinduism, that he was learning the supreme religious truth of his own Christian faith in a new and living form. He would often tell me this, as he spoke to me about it.

In South Africa, through a practical experience, the living relation which existed between Hinduism and the primitive Christian practice became clear to us. We felt instinctively, both of us, that Mahatma Gandhi was the true Christian, fulfilling literally the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, in loving his enemies and doing good to those that hated him; while those from the West, who called themselves Christians, but persecuted Mahatma Gandhi and his little band of passive resisters, were untrue to the teaching of Christ. They refused to admit Mahatma Gandhi to their Churches because he was an Asiatic, forgetting that Christ himself was born in Asia and that the teaching which was given by him to the western world sprang from Asiatic soil. We used to talk about this constantly together; and the conviction grew up in the minds of both of us, that Christ was more truly understood in India than he was in Europe.

Ahimsa, if we are true to it, means that we must abandon for ever the weapons of violence and bloodshed, of anger and hate and strife. We shall never, henceforth, in all our lives believe in the ancient unspiritual law,—which really represents the animal life in man,—“an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.” We are human, not animal merely. We are spirit, not body alone. We are one with the Advaitani, whose name is Anandam, Love. However hard it may be to restrain our anger and passion, and refuse to hit back, we shall struggle all our lives to act in this way unceasingly.

I am obliged here to make a confession. I do not want any one to think that I have learnt this lesson of Ahimsa yet; or that I have brought my animal passions completely under control. I am struggling to do so, just as I am asking others to struggle to do so. On the other hand, I feel that Willie Pearson had learnt to practise Ahimsa to a remarkable degree before he died, and that he was a living example to the world of the truth he had understood.

To practise Ahimsa truly requires far greater courage and sterner self-discipline and more daring heroism than to die bravely fighting in battle. Moral courage is of a far higher order than physical courage. The latter belongs to our animal nature, but moral courage belongs to our spiritual nature. Physical courage links us with the highest of the animal world, moral courage links us to God. Again, anger in thought has no less to be controlled than violence in deeds. There is ‘himsa’ of the mind, as well as ‘himsa’ which is done by the hand. The teaching of the Buddha is psychologically correct, with regard to thoughts creating new karma. Therefore it is necessary to control even the thoughts of anger and passion so as to prevent them from being reborn in

the world. Christ said: “He that is angry with his brother is in danger of judgment.”

That is why the Upanishads have everywhere laid such stress on the control of the senses, which are like a team of unruly horses ever seeking to run wild in man's nature. There is one other saying of the scriptures which I would lay before you for meditation. It is this: “The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.” Europe to-day is a terrible example of unrestrained violence and uncontrolled passion. Europe appears to be passing through a time of dissolution, because she has refused to believe the saying of the saints of old; “Evil cannot be overcome by evil, but only by good.”

Not that Europe is dead: not that European civilisation has ceased to be fruitful. There is an earnest search for truth in Europe to-day,—especially in those countries which have suffered the defeat of war,—which is itself a sign of renewal and resurrection. This can be already seen by those who have eyes to see. And in India also, in spite of decay which has gone very deep, till it has not seldom atrophied the soul, there is a true life, an infinitely noble life, which is still welling forth perennially from the fountains of ancient Indian thought.

For this very reason, I have felt great confidence in recalling you to those streams of spiritual culture, so pure and lucid, which rise from the mountain heights of the Upanishads. I would urge you to preserve that singular and simple civilisation, together with that pure religious faith, which you inherited from your forefathers, as your greatest gift from God. We should seek also to keep our home-patriotism untouched by any foolish spirit of boastfulness, and never even in thought to aim at self-aggrandisement by depreciating others. The joys of our own hills and plains, our valleys and rivers, should be very dear to us. Their beauty and peace and solitude should enter deep into our souls. Thus we shall learn to be true to ourselves and true to all the world.

[I have hitherto taken liberties with Mr. Andrews' writings for *Young India*. But in spite of personal allusions, I have not the courage to remove a single word from the beautiful prose poem he has given us.

M. K. G.]

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To Correspondents

My correspondents are quite increasing in number. I mean both those who write to me as Editor and those who write and seek advice on public matters. I assure them that I read the correspondence as much as I can, and deal with it in these columns to the extent of my ability. But I confess my inability to deal exhaustively with all the important matters discussed by my correspondents. Nor is it possible for me to answer them all separately. 'Young India' they will kindly regard as a personal letter to them. Correspondence, if it is to command attention, must be brief, legible and impersonal.

Notes

Vaikom Satyagrah

His Holiness Sri Narayan Guru spiritual leader of the Tiyas is reported to have disapproved of the present methods of satyagrah at Vaikom. He suggests that volunteers should advance along barricaded roads and scale the barricades. They should enter temples and sit with others to dine. Though I have compressed the interview I have reproduced almost the exact words. Now the action proposed is not satyagrah. For scaling barricades is open violence. If you may scale barricades, why not break open temple doors and even pierce through temple walls? How are volunteers to pierce through a row of policemen except by using physical force? I do not for one moment suggest that by the methods proposed the Tiyas if they are strong and are willing to die in sufficient numbers cannot gain their point. All I submit is that they will have gained it by something the reverse of satyagrah; and then too they would not have converted the orthodox to their view but would have imposed it on them by force. A friend who has sent me the press cutting recording the interview suggests that by reason of the violent advice of the guru I should ask the local Congress committee to call off satyagrah. I feel that would mean want of faith in one's means and surrender to violence. So long as the organisers strictly keep within the limits which they have prescribed for themselves there is no cause for calling off satyagrah. The friend cites Chauri Chaura as an illustration. In doing so, he has betrayed confusion of thought or ignorance of facts. The Bardoli satyagrah was suspended because Congress and Khilafat men were implicated in the Chauri Chaura outrage. If congressmen connected with the Vaikom movement entertain the suggestions said to be favored by the Tiya spiritual leader, there would be a case for penance and therefore suspension but not otherwise. I would therefore urge the organisers at Vaikom to make redoubled efforts and at the same time keep stricter watch on the conduct of those who take part in the movement. Whether it takes long or short to reach the

goal, the way is the way of peaceful conversion of the orthodox by self-suffering and self-purification and no other.

Meaning of 'untruthful'

A Swarajist friend writing from Simla about the use of the adjectives 'violent' and 'untruthful' in my recent writings says, "You mean those who are 'untrue' to the triple boycott. May I suggest most respectfully to explain that observation, by the way, in one of your 'notes'? As it has pained some prominent friends here, so must it have pained others elsewhere. I have understood it in the light in which I have interpreted it above. But I believe, especially when you will be the last man in the world to be misunderstood, a reference in one of your notes will not be futile."

Had not the friend kindly drawn my attention to the misunderstanding, I should never have known its existence. The whole of my recent writings have been directed to the untruthful atmosphere that surrounds us. My criticism is all-inclusive. I know no-changers who do not enforce in their own persons the Khaddar resolution. Their action is in my opinion decidedly untruthful. When we do not believe in the boycott of law-courts and still pretend as if we did, our attitude is untruthful. Many of us do not believe in non-violence in thought, word, and deed and still profess to subscribe to the policy of non-violence. We are untruthful whether we are pro-changers or no-changers.

Special Session?

I note that Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has given notice of intention to move at the forthcoming meeting of the A. I. C. C. a resolution for a special session of the Congress. There is hardly any case for a special session. The Congress resolutions are there. There should be no difference of opinion as to their meaning. Even if there is, parties may agree to differ and set to work. All that is required is for the members to decide upon the method of work during the next six months. Policies may be determined at the Congress session. The special session will not help us to remove our indecision, indifference or inertia. I feel sure that these would persist so long as each party continues to accuse the other of retarding the progress of the country. In my opinion nobody retards it who acts to the best of his lights. But he does retard it who is too lazy to think and act for himself, or too timid to do so lest he may give offence. We must dare to say 'no' even if it wounds.

Inflammatory literature

A friend has sent me a pamphlet called 'Rangila Rasul', written in Urdu. The author's name is not given. It is published by the manager, Arya Pustakalaya, Lahore. The very title is highly offensive. The contents are in keeping with the title. I cannot without giving offence to the reader's sense of the fine give the translation of some of

the extracts. I have asked myself what the motive possibly could be in writing or printing such a book except to inflame passions. Abuse and caricature of the Prophet cannot wean a Mussalman from his faith and it can do no good to a Hindu who may have doubts about his own belief. As a contribution therefore to the religious propaganda work, it has no value whatsoever. The harm it can do is obvious.

Another friend sends me a sheet called 'Shaitan' printed at Public Printing Press, Lahore. It contains untranslatable abuse of Mussalmans. I am aware of similar abuse by Mussalman sheets. But that is no answer to or justification for the Hindu or the Arya Samaj abuse. I would not have even noticed these prints but for the information given to me that such writings command a fair patronage. The local leaders must find a way of stopping these publications or at least discrediting them and distributing clean literature instead showing tolerance for each other's faiths.

Three against One

A Mussalman friend writes to say that whilst the Bhopal State apostacy law is undoubtedly bad, the agitation against it is not genuine. He says the law is old and has never been enforced. He contends that the Hindus in that State have been most justly treated and have often occupied posts of the highest responsibility. 'But' says the friend, 'do you know what is happening in the Hindu States of Palol, Rewa and Bharatpur? Palol you mentioned yourself. In Bharatpur already three mosques have been demolished. The order of Rewa State is said to be that if a Hindu becomes a Mussalman he will be awarded one year's imprisonment and the man who converts him to Islam will get two years'. If the facts are as set forth, Hindus have little reason to complain of a law that is a dead letter. Personally I think that on the principle that two wrongs do not make one right, the wrong must be condemned wherever it exists. Wherever conversion is punishable by law, it is a token of intolerance which must be rooted out. But the first appeal of Hindus must be to the Hindu States.

Kenya Indians

The Kenya Indians are continuing their brave fight in the face of heavy odds. Messrs Goolam Hoosen Aladina, Ahmedbhai Karim, Valibhai Istnail, and Kasim Noor Mahomed, together with many others are already in jail. And now comes the news that Mr Desai too shares the same honours. The Kenya Indians deserve congratulations for sustaining the fight. But the law chosen for civil disobedience affects only a limited number of Indians. The penalty imposed is slight. If, therefore, our countrymen in Kenya are intent upon carrying on the struggle till justice is done to them, they will have to find other State-made criminal laws for civil disobedience, such as will enable a larger number, if they are willing, to offer battle and to undergo a stronger course of suffering. The Kenja Committee that is now sitting in London may give them temporary relief. Public agitation here may encourage them. But the real remedy lies with them. They should remove every cause of legitimate complaint against them and at the same time by offering civil disobedience prove their courage for prolonged suffering in a common cause. Their success is a certainty.

Value of silent work

Barodada (Dwijendranath Tagore) sends the following helpful note:—

"The following has come to my mind like a flash of lightning. How great a value a simple good work has when done silently before the All-seeing eye of God seems to me to be unknown to the generality of men of our present generation. Most people, who are worthy in other respects, place an undue value on the high-sounding names of things and persons, disregarding altogether their real import. Are the Rishis of Ancient India less Rishis because their names are unknown to the superficial histories of modern times? When will the eyes of our understanding be opened to this simple and soul-satisfying truth that mere names are words echoed from mouth to mouth signifying nothing? How many people pay homage to the name of Shakespeare without ever having opened a single book of Shakespeare! How many people bow to the name of Christ with the appearance of sincere reverence, whose daily life throws to the dogs every word of Christ spoken in love to all humanity irrespective of caste and creed? I am perfectly sure that each good work, however insignificant in appearance, will bear tenfold fruit in comparison to the grandiloquent and pompous works performed mostly with a view to acquire names in history. It is obvious that if we want to gain success in this great movement which Providence has placed in our hands without our asking, we must concentrate all our efforts on the real work we have to do, and totally cut off all connection with those names of things and persons which exert undue influence over our untutored minds and which 'hover through the midnight air' of our ignorance (of *avidya*) like the witches of Macbeth. The name non-co-operation may shock the prejudiced ear of a student of the abstract ethics of the schools, while the *thing* non-co-operation is the best medicine for the cure of our mad endeavour after the attainment of all the nourishment that bread can give from the stones thrown at us in mockery by the well-fed and well-clothed house-holders at whose door we stand begging, in our present half-starved and ragged condition, to be allowed the privileges of co-operating with him, on equal terms, with regard to the right distribution of food and clothing amongst us for our mutual benefit."

I wish every worker will treasure the beautiful thought contained in Barodada's note and believe with him that all true work will abide when names will have been forgotten.

1814 and 1914

Baba Kshetish Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratishthan says that in 1814 two crores (now equal to twelve crores) of rupees worth of Khadi was exported from Calcutta alone. In 1914 India imported sixty six crores of rupees worth of piece-goods. No wonder that we have become a nation of paupers. We would not be so badly off if we had given up the spinning and the weaving industry in exchange for another. That we could not do, because the national industry was deliberately killed and no other was substituted by its murderer.

Charkha in Trivandram Jail

Mr. K. Kaur, a satyagrahi prisoner in the Central Jail at Trivandram says,

"This is one of the happiest days in my life being the day of my arrest and imprisonment (after one month). I send you the product of the hours of silent spinning...We have the charkha working here almost from 6 A. M. to 6 P. M. daily...I spin not less than three hours daily.....Some of us are learning Hindi or Urdu, we read the Gita and the Puranas.....We have prayers at 6 P. M. which are attended by all without distinction of caste or creed...The officials show us every consideration."

M. K. G.

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Young India

Arya-Samajists Again

(By M. K. Gandhi)

So many Arya-Samajists have written such long dissertations on my (in their opinion) ignorance of Arya-Samaj teachings and their excellence that I was anxious to publish at least one of them so that the reader might have the Arya-Samajist view of my comments. At last I have a letter which it gives me pleasure to publish. It is from Principal Ramdeva of Kangri Gurukul. I have taken the liberty of removing only one passage which in my opinion must have been written in haste and does not do him justice. It does not affect his argument and certainly takes nothing away from his passionate exaltation of the founder of the Samaj. Here is Principal Ramdeva's letter:

I was deeply pained to read your article on Hindu-Muslim Unity in 'Young India'. I have never in my life read an article so disappointing from the pen of one so great. The article has caused deep resentment and heart-burning in the Punjab and the U. P. Instead of easing the situation it has inflamed the Hindu mind and led many thinking people among the Aryas to the conclusion that you are so much biased in favour of Islam and against the Arya Samaj that you cannot help rendering—though quite unconsciously—a grave injustice to the latter. Your attacks upon the metaphysical beliefs of the Arya Samaj were quite irrelevant and had no bearing on the Hindu-Muslim question. They were not well reasoned out and you are in no mood for a metaphysical discussion. The Arya-Samajist's belief in the plenary inspiration of the Veda has as little connection with Hindu-Muslim tension as your belief in metempsychosis has with the split in the Congress.... Besides if belief in verbal inspiration makes for narrowness, Islam is just as narrow as the religion of the Vedas. For this belief formed an essential part of the Muslim creed even in the palmy days of the Mahomedan faith on which you dwell with such fervent enthusiasm. Your implication that Maharsi Dayanand was the first to proclaim the doctrine of Vedic infallibility is absolutely without any foundation in fact and only reveals the dangers of dealing with subjects which a man—however great he may be—has not studied. May I respectfully point out that the Upanishads, the Manu Smriti, the six systems of philosophy, the Puranas and the works of Shankaracharya, Ramanuja, Madhvacharya, Chaitanya and other mediaeval saints and scholars all preach this doctrine? Again the view that the Vedas contain the germs of all true knowledge including physical science is by no means new, all ancient scientists—like Arya Bhatta, Bhaskaracharya—held it. Besides modern Vedic scholars like Pargiter, Paramashiva Tyer, Dwijendra Datta—none of whom is an Arya-Samajist—have independently arrived at the same conclusion. I wonder if you know that Aravind Ghosh has publicly declared that Swami Dayanand alone had discovered the right axioms of Vedic exegesis. The testimony of such eminent authorities—who devoted their life-time to the study of the Vedas—cannot be discredited by the mere *ipse dicit* of a Mahatma—however lofty his character and however great and overflowing his love for his kind—who has not devoted even five consecutive years to the study of the Vedas and the Vedangas in the original. I am afraid you were ill-advised in venturing into the field of theological polemics while writing as the supreme political leader of men of all faiths and creeds. Your characterisation of the Satyarthi Prakash is most unfair. It seems you have not read the first ten chapters which deal with prayer, birth-machayana pedagogics, marriage reform, sanyas, politics, salvation, knowledge and negligence, Vedas and vegetarianism and form the main book—these chapters do not, as a rule, touch upon other religions—and have only skipped over the four supplementary chapters. In fact you had by means of the mysterious stirrings of your subliminal consciousness, arrived at the queer notion that Swami Dayanand was intolerant, long before you had glanced at the Satyarthi Prakash and your hurried reading was vitiated by your pre-conceptions. You were in the position of a judge who pronounced his sentence after hearing the prosecution and then addressed himself to defence evidence in order to be able to write out a judgment in support of the sentence. Men who have read Dayanand's works carefully—your friend Andrews is one of them—or had the privilege of sitting at his

feet—men like A. O. Hume, Revd. Scott, Sir Syed Ahmed, Ranade, Telang, Malabari, Raghunath Rao and Bishan Narayan Dhar—had never any difficulty in declaring that, whatever the merits of individual comments based upon data supplied to him, he was the most tolerant religious reformer of the age and his love of this kind transcended the bounds of race, country, color and even cultural unities. I must finish now. What I have written may sound presumptuous if solely regarded as the comments of a very small man upon the conduct of one justly regarded as the greatest man of the world. My only defence is that my reverence for you is equalled only by my love and devotion. Love and devotion have, between themselves, the miraculous power to raise the humble to the level of the mighty. With love and reverence,

Yours affectionately,
Brama Deva

I have always said that my politics are subservient to my religion. I have found myself in them, as I could not live my religious life i. e. a life of service, without being affected by them. I should discard them today if they hindered it. I cannot therefore subscribe to the doctrine that I may not, being a political leader, deal with matters religious. I have dealt with the Arya Samaj because I felt that it was losing its usefulness and its present activity was doing harm to the country itself. As a friend and a Hindu I claimed to speak pointedly to those who derived their belief from a common source. Had I been dealing with the relative merits of religions, I should certainly have given my views on Islam too.

I confess that I have no first-hand knowledge of the Vedas. But I know enough to be able to judge for myself. Principal Ramdeva is wrong in thinking that I was prejudiced against Maharsi Dayanand's teachings. I do not know the exact terms of the tribute paid to the great reformer by the great men whom Principal Ramdeva mentions. But probably I should have joined them in their tribute and still retained the opinion I hold. I do not love my wife the less because I know her limitations. My critics have made the mistake of thinking that because I have criticised the founder, I have no affection or regard for him. Let me also assure Principal Ramdeva that I have read all the chapters of Satyarthi Prakash. Will he forget that a man's moral teaching may be of a high order and yet his vision may be narrow? I know that many of my friends, who believe me to be a highly moral man and my moral teaching of a high order, consider that my outlook upon life is narrow and even fanatical. I do not take their criticism as an offence, though I consider myself to have a broad outlook upon life and also entitled to be classed among the most tolerant among mankind. I assure my Arya Samaj friends that I have only judged, if I have judged, as I should be judged by them. Let us therefore cry quits. Let them consider me to be the most intolerant and ignorant among their countrymen and leave me the liberty to retain the opinion I have expressed.

Hindu-Muslim Tension

Its Cause and Cure

by

M. K. Gandhi

A reprint in pamphlet form of the statement that appeared in 'Young India' with a fresh preface by Mr. Gandhi. Price one anna, exclusive of postage.
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The Acid Test

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I propose to move at the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Congress Committee the following four resolutions—

1. In view of the fact that the members of Congress organisations throughout the country have themselves hitherto neglected handspinning, in spite of the fact that the spinning wheel and its product handspun Khaddar have been regarded as indispensable for the establishment of Swaraj and although their acceptance has been regarded by the Congress as a necessary preliminary to civil disobedience, the A. I. C. C. resolves that all the members of the various representative Congress organisations shall, except when disabled by sickness or prevented by continuous travelling, regularly spin for at least half an hour every day and shall send to the secretary of the All India Khadi Board at least ten tolas each of even and well-twisted yarn of a count not below ten, so as to reach him not later than the 15th day of each month, the first consignment to reach the secretary not later than the 15th day of August 1924, and thereafter in regular monthly succession. Any member failing to send the prescribed quantity by the prescribed date shall be deemed to have vacated his office and such vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner; provided that the member vacating in the manner aforesaid shall not be eligible for re-election before the next general election for the members of the several organisations.

2. Inasmuch as complaints have been received that provincial secretaries and other members of Congress organisations do not carry out the instructions issued to them from time to time by officers duly authorised thereto, the A. I. C. C. hereby resolves that those in charge of matters referred to them, failing to comply with the instructions of officers thereto appointed, shall be deemed to have vacated their offices and the vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner, provided that the member thus vacating shall not be eligible for re-election till the next general election.

3. In the opinion of the A. I. C. C. it is desirable that the Congress elects elect to various offices in the Congress organisations, only those who in their persons carry out to the full the Congress creed and the various non-cooperation resolutions of the Congress including the five boycotts, namely, of all mill-spun cloth, Government law courts, schools, titles and legislative bodies; and the A. I. C. C. hereby resolves that the members who do not believe in and do not, in their own persons, carry out the said boycotts shall vacate their seats and that there should be fresh elections in respect of such seats; provided that if the members vacating so choose, they may offer themselves for re-election.

4. The A. I. C. C. regrets the murder of the late Mr. Day by the late Gopinath Saha and offers its condolences to the deceased's family; and though deeply sensible

of the love, however misguided, of the country prompting the murder, the A. I. C. C. strongly condemns this and all such political murders and is emphatically of opinion that all such acts are inconsistent with the Congress creed and its resolution of non-violent non-cooperation, and is of opinion that such acts retard the progress towards Swaraj, and interfere with the preparations for civil disobedience which in the opinion of the A. I. C. C. is capable of evoking the purest sacrifice but which can only be offered in a perfectly peaceful atmosphere.

At the present moment I seem to be doing the very thing I claim to wish to avoid viz., dividing the Congressmen and plugging the country into a controversy. I however assure the reader that it will not last long at least so far as I am concerned. Everyone will share my anxiety and eagerness to clear the air of uncertainty. Some discussion is inevitable if we are to know where we are. I am supposed to work wonders, lead the nation to its predestined goal. Fortunately for me I entertain no such hallucinations. But I do claim to be a humble soldier. If the reader will not laugh at me, I do not mind telling him that I can become also an efficient general on usual terms. I must have soldiers who would obey and who have faith in themselves and in their general and who will willingly carry out instructions. My plan of action is always open and very definite. Certain well-defined conditions being fulfilled, it guarantees success. But what is a poor general to do when he finds soldiers who subscribe to his conditions and yet do not carry them out in their own persons and, may-be, do not even believe in them? The resolutions are designed to test the qualifications of the soldiers.

But let me put it another way. The soldiers are in the happy position of being electors of their own general. The would-be general must know the conditions of employment. I remain where I stood in 1920. Only my faith has increased with the years that have gone by. If such is also the case with my employers, I am their body and soul. I have no faith in any other plan. I am therefore not available on any other terms, not because I am unwilling but because I am unfit. How would it do in answer to an advertisement for a red-haired young man of thirty-five measuring six feet six inches, a grey-haired old toothless man of fifty-five, broken down in health offered his services?

All the four resolutions then constitute my application for employment as general and lay down my qualifications and limitations. Here there is no imposition of authority, no impossible demand. The members if they are true to the country and themselves will not spare me if they find me to be in the wrong. I hold no man to be indispensable for the welfare of the country. Every one of us is debtor to the land of our birth and therethrough to humanity. Every debtor must be dismissed the moment he has ceased to pay. No past services, however brilliant, should be counted in distributing present employment. The country's good may not be sacrificed to one man or one hundred men. Rather should he or they be sacrificed to the welfare of the country. I invite the members of the A. I. C. C. to approach their task with a determined purpose, without bias, without false emotion or enthusiasm. I adjure them not to take me on trust. Nothing need be right because I say so. They must decide for themselves.

They must know their own minds and their capacity. They should know by this time, that I am a difficult companion and a hard task-master. They will now find me harder than before.

I have seen the argument advanced that Khadi cannot bring Swaraj. This is an old argument. If India wants the fineries of Europe, whether made in the mills of Manchester or Bombay, she must cease to think of Swaraj in the terms of the millions of her sons and daughters. If we believe in the message of the *wheel*, we must spin it ourselves and I promise that it will be an inspiring occupation. If we want Swaraj through non-violent means, and therefore through non-violent disobedience, we must produce a non-violent atmosphere. If instead of haranguing crowds we would give spinning demonstrations in their midst, we would have a peaceful atmosphere. If I could help it I would gag every member of the Congress organisations, except myself and perhaps Shaikat Ali, till Swaraj is attained and put him to the spinning wheel or in charge of a spinning centre. If the silent wheel does not inspire faith and courage and hope, let the members say so boldly.

The second and the third resolutions are complementary of the first.

The fourth resolution tests our belief in the non-violent policy. I have read Deshbandhu Das's statement on the Gopinath Saha resolution. It does not affect what I said last week. So long as the Congress retains and believes in its present creed, there is no half-way house to the resolution drafted by me.

What may Hindus do?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have received many communications on the Hindu-Muslim statement, but there being nothing new or striking in them, I have not published them. But I gladly print Babu Bhagwandas's letter and answer his questions.

Regarding the first two questions the writer has answered them himself. In my opinion, they are only partly true. Though the majority of the Mussalmans of India and the Hindus belong to the same 'stock', the religious environment has made them different. I believe and I have noticed too that thought transforms man's features as well as character. The Sikhs are the most recent illustration of the fact. The Mussalman being generally in a minority has as a class, developed into a bully.

Moreover being heir to fresh traditions he exhibits the virility of a comparatively new system of life. Though in my opinion non-violence has a predominant place in the Koran, the thirteen hundred years of imperialistic expansion has made the Mussalmans fighters as a body. They are therefore aggressive. Bullying is the natural excrecence of an aggressive spirit. The Hindu has an ages-old civilisation. He is essentially non-violent. His civilisation has passed through the experiences that the two recent ones are still passing through. If Hinduism was ever imperialistic in the modern sense of the term, it has outlived its imperialism and has either deliberately or as a matter of course given it up. Predominance of the non-violent spirit has restricted the use of arms to a small minority which must always be subordinate to a civil power highly spiritual, learned and peaceful. The Hindus as a body are therefore not equipped for fighting. But not having retained their spiritual training, they have forgotten the use of an effective substitute for arms and not knowing their use nor having an

aptitude for them, they have become docile to the point of timidity or cowardice. This vice is therefore a natural excrecence of gentleness. Holding this view, I do not think that the Hindu exclusiveness, bad as it undoubtedly is, has much to do with the Hindu timidity. Hence also my disbelief in *Akhadas* as a means of self-defence. I prize them for physical culture but, for self-defence, I would restore the spiritual culture. The best and most lasting self-defence is self-purification. I refuse to be lifted off my feet because of the scares that haunt us to-day. If Hindus would but believe in themselves and work in accordance with their traditions, they will have no reason to fear bullying. The moment they recommence the real spiritual training the Mussalman will respond. He cannot help it. If I can get together a band of young Hindus with faith in themselves and therefore faith in the Mussalmans, the band will become a shield for the weaker ones. They (the young Hindus) will teach how to die without killing. I know no other way. When our ancestors saw affliction surrounding them, they went in for *tapasya*-purification. They realised the helplessness of the flesh and in their helplessness they prayed till they compelled the Maker to obey their call. 'Oh yes,' says my Hindu friend, 'but then God sent some one to wield arms'. I am not concerned with denying the truth of the retort. All I say to the friend is that as a Hindu he may not ignore the cause and secure the result. It will be time to fight, when we have done enough *tapasya*. Are we purified enough I ask? Have we even done willing penance for the sin of untouchability, let alone the personal purity of individuals? Are our religious preceptors all that they should be? We are beating the air whilst we simply concentrate our attention upon picking holes in the Mussalman conduct. As with the Englishmen, so with the Mussalman. If our professions are true, we should find it infinitely less difficult to conquer the Mussalman than the English. But Hindus whisper to me that they have hope of the Englishman but none of the Mussalman. I say to them, 'if you have no hope of the Mussalman, your hope of the Englishman is doomed to failure.'

The other questions can be briefly answered. The Goondas came on the scene because the leaders wanted them. The leaders distrusted one another. Distrust never comes from well-defined causes. A variety of causes, more felt than realised, breeds distrust. We have not yet visualised the fact that our interests are identical. Each party seems vaguely to believe that it can displace the other by some kind of manoeuvring. But I freely confess as suggested by Babu Bhagwandas that our not knowing the kind of Swaraj we want has also a great deal to do with the distrust. I used not to think so, but he had almost converted me before I became Sir George Lloyd's guest at the Yeravada Central Prison. I am now a confirmed convert.

The 'points of contact' referred to by me is a phrase intended to cover all social, religious and political relations alike as between individuals and masses. Thus, for instance instead of accentuating the differences in religion, I should set about discovering the good points common to both. I would bridge the social distance wherever I can do so consistently with my religious belief. I would go out of my way to seek common ground on the political field.

As for the referee; I have named Hakim Saheb's name undoubtedly for the universal respect that it carries with it. But I would not hesitate to put the pen even in the

hands of a Musselman who may be known for his prejudices and fanaticism. For as a Hindu, I should know that I have nothing to lose even if the referee gave the Mussalmans a majority of seats in every province. There is no principle at stake in giving or having seats in elective bodies. Moreover experience has taught me to know that undivided responsibility immediately puts a man on his mettle and his pride or God-fearingness sobers him.

Lastly, no proclamation or any such thing will avail unless some of us began to act up to the proclamation even though we may be the fewest possible.

From my Note-Book

(By C. F. Andrews)

Lord Curzon and India's Home

While the Maharaja of Alwar was in England last year, as a representative chosen by the Government of India for the Imperial Conference, he was entertained at a banquet where the ex-Viceroy, Lord Curzon, presided. In the course of his after-dinner speech, Lord Curzon said as follows:—

"I remember during my time in India being struck by nothing more than on one occasion when I was talking to an Indian Prince and had said to him: 'What are you going to do, Prince, during the summer?' He replied: 'I am going home.' And what did he mean by that word 'Home'? He meant that he was coming to this country, England. The best testimony of the spirit of union and fellowship that has grown up between us after these long years of our connection with India is given by the fact that an Indian Prince, born under a different sky, trained under a different tradition, with responsibilities of his own quite independent of anything that we have here in this country, is yet able to say when starting on a voyage to England that he is 'going home.' I cannot imagine anything which illustrates more completely the fusion of interests and sympathy that has grown up between the two countries."

I have kept this passage by me, after reading it, because it expresses to my own mind the very opposite moral to that which Lord Curzon drew from it. Soon after my first landing in India, I cannot adequately describe the shock of dismay which I received, when I met in Delhi an educated Indian, dressed in the height of English fashion and wearing lavender kid gloves, who said to me those very words, that Lord Curzon so much admired,—he was 'going home!' My amazement was soon turned to pity; for I could see that his whole life had been ruined and he never could be happy again. It was denationalised through and through; in England he would soon find out that he was not wanted for any length of time, while India, his own motherland, had become hateful to him because he had learnt to despise her.

The rapid denationalisation of our Indian Princes, which is going on under our very eyes today, is one of the most sinister features of the present British rule. I listened only recently to the account offered me by one who knew intimately the true facts, concerning the education given in the Chiefs' Colleges, which are reserved for ruling princes and chiefs. These form the first stepping stone in education which leads to the pathway of 'going home' to England. The perversity of such a system of education was to me nothing less than abhorrent. Its effects were apparent. It could have only one object in view,—to make these young

princes, every day of their lives, feel more and more that England was their 'home', and that India was a country to get away from whenever they could do so. Of all the things that have tended to demoralise the Indian States and their rulers, this denationalisation is perhaps the worst of all.

There is another side also which is no less evil. This denationalisation appeals to the worst side in the Englishman—his 'tutu-hunting', his liking for a 'Lord,' which Thackeray satirises so mercilessly. The Maharaja of Alwar, resplendent in his state jewels, will always find Englishmen to flatter him, before his face, whether in England or in South Africa, or Kenya; but he is untrue to his country, if he accepts this flattery, when he knows that it is given him merely because of his title and rank and riches. It is his bounden duty to refuse it, when he sees that his fellow-countrymen are insulted by those very Englishmen, who will hob-nob with himself because he is a ruling prince.

A Prayer of Ahimsa

On my return to Shantiniketan, before going again abroad to China to meet the poet, Rabindranath Tagore,—as he has asked me to do by cable,—his elder brother Barodada called me to his side and placed in my hand a translation from the Bengali of a prayer composed by Swami Sri Narayan. It is a prayer of Ahimsa, and when I received from Barodada this precious gift for my journey, I felt that I should wish greatly to share it with the readers of 'Young India.' I received Barodada's permission to do so. He told me that, at one time, Swami Sri Narayan, who was a very simple man with no knowledge of western culture, had been of the greatest help to him personally. He had come to Bengal from Benares and had very soon learnt Bengali, but had never learnt English. His whole religious mind had been built up on a basis of universal culture, which he had inherited from his Sanskrit training. Barodada told me, that he himself had learnt infinitely more from this simple pure-hearted man than he had done from those who had studied intimately the west; and the Swami practised in his daily life what he preached. A Brahmin himself, he embraced the parvasudras. He held that all God's creatures were equal in his love. The Musselman was admitted to all the truth he had learnt about religion equally with the Hindu. Twelve years ago he died, and his name has passed almost out of recollection; yet the spiritual truth which he taught so purely and sincerely can never die. The translation of the prayer which has been given me was made by Sjt. Mohini M. Chatterji. I take from it the following passage:—

"Supreme spirit, self-existent, all-comprehending, the light of the eye and heart, give peace to the universe. Since Thou art peace Thyself grant peace to all Thy creatures. Purify their hearts and bestow the wisdom to understand that Thou embrkest all, and that each must look on others and love others as expressions of himself and of Thee. Thus, freed from hatred and envy and malice, may we obey Thy will and abide in Thy bliss."

"Light, within and without, heart-illuminator, parent of all, Thou art formless and yet the possessor of all forms. Comprehending the origin of all things, both the seen and the unseen, Thou art ever radiant in beauty. Apart from thee none is, will, or ever can be. If Thy creatures forgot Thee, immersed in the joys and sorrows of life, Thou canst never forget them. Forgive them their forgetfulness and save them from the evil, for there is none but Thee who can save us."

"Self-radiant splendour, Ruler from within, Thou dwellest in the hearts of Thy creatures. Whatev'er Thou wills to be done, Thou transmittest the power and will to do it. Thou preservest by Thy presence and power the play of variety in Thy created spheres."

"Ruler of hearts, Thy creatures, left to themselves, are inclined away from thee; but by Thy merciful indrawing they are impelled to search after Thee and Thy righteousness. Apart from Thy grace, no heart or mind can turn to Thee."

"Ruler of hearts, Parent of all, Thou art all things, and yet no thing Thou art. Whatever men may say in their foolishness, Thou knowest that in form and essence they are one with Thee. They proceed from Thee, rest in Thee, and are hidden in Thee. Forgive the offences of mankind and fill the world with unbroken peace."

To me, a Christian, as I read this prayer, I can truly say that in all that I have thus written down there is not a word which is contrary to my own Christian religion; and I can be certain that my Mussalman brethren will carry away with them the same feeling. It is true that in many things we have to build up our Hindu-Muslim-Christian-Parsi unity out of mutual regard and mutual forbearance concerning differences of outward form; and such forbearance is an essential part of the super-structure. But it is ever a joy to me to find, that the foundations upon which we build is the same.

Assam and Khaddar

A very great delight came to me when I visited Assam on May 26; for I found that, unlike other parts of India wherein I had made inquiries, here in the North-Eastern corner of India weaving was still an honoured and a dignified profession, which was cherished in every household. Indeed so highly was it honoured that it was considered entirely wrong and a mark of improper education, if a bride, on entering a household, was discovered not to have learnt the essential art of weaving the clothes needed by the household. The first enquiry still made concerning a bride, when the marriage ceremony is contemplated in Assam, is not the question how much dowry she will bring with her, but whether or not she is a good weaver; if she is a good weaver, she receives special honour and welcome.

This is a noble form of education and a noble form of dowry. In England, before the advent of the factory system, the same thing was true. An unmarried girl, who was waiting for marriage, was called by the honourable title of 'spinster'; and the old English word still survives in the marriage ceremony of the Church of England at the time of publishing the banns. In each household, also, the loom was one of the most valuable parts of the furniture; the phrase *heir-loom* has most probably been preserved in the English language,—meaning a valuable gift handed down from one generation to another,—because the family loom was so frequently the gift most valued of all in the house.

I have been in the Highlands of Scotland, where still this beautiful custom of home spinning and weaving is preserved. I remember well, when I was young, having a special suit of clothes made out of home-spun and home-woven 'Lewis' tweed. Lewis is one of the islands of the North-West coast of Scotland. The inhabitants of this island are still thriving and prosperous, because they have kept up their home industries. That one suit of 'Lewis' tweed lasted four times as long as any other suit of clothes. It seemed as if it would never wear out.

Not only in Scotland, but in Ireland also and in a very great many places in Europe, the hand-loom is coming back again into use after the war. The *charkha* most commonly used in Europe is different from the hand *charkha* of India in this respect. The wheel turned round, not by the hand, but by the foot. The mechanism is very simple; and

they are all, more or less, of one pattern made of wood. The spinner sits on a stool and has both hands free for the cotton or wool. My mother had a very precious hand-woven shawl, which had come down to her as a bequest from very many generations of ancestors. It was kept with the greatest care, and she only brought it out and used it on very special occasions. She looked very beautiful indeed, whenever she wore this ancestral gift; and we all admired her when she put it on. It is one of the memories of my younger days.

To return to Assam, the picture is not all so delightful as I have described; because, while the weaving art has been held in such very high esteem, the spinning art had strangely fallen into neglect and disesteem, until the non-co-operation movement swept over the country. Even now, it is difficult to obtain sufficient handspun yarn to keep at work all the looms in Assam. It would be very much easier to obtain hand-woven goods made out of foreign yarn. It has been suggested that some of the provinces, where hand-weaving is not so far advanced, should spin for Assam as well as for themselves, but, in the end, this would not succeed. and it is clearly best for Assam, where cotton can be easily grown, to learn once more the art of spinning, which had nearly died out, rather than rely on other provinces for her supply of yarn.

Such an education in the spinning art I actually saw being given to a group of children, who came from the best families in Gauhati. It was a very beautiful sight to watch the little girls intent on their spinning. I noticed that the *charkhas* in Assam have the driving wheel made of solid blocks of wood, with a rim round into which the string passes. The solid wheel is somewhat smaller than the wheel which is made of spokes in other parts of India.

I shall write in a second article about what I found concerning opium in Assam on my visit. Opium has been called the 'Curse of Assam,' and it is true today that the indolence and dislike of active work, which prevails among the peasantry of Assam, is due to the evil habit of opium eating.

Some Questions

To the Editor of *Young India*

Dear Sir,

I have read, as many thousands of others must have read, the anxious care and deep attention, your weighty pronouncement on "Hindu-Muslim Tension: Its cause and cure," in *Young India* for 29-5-24. The many fairly well-known (but not equally well *realised*) truths which it puts plainly, frankly, freely, in admirable language, will now be brought home to millions (through translations), by the authority of your profoundly trusted sincerity, as they were not before. Yet it seems to me that a deeper diagnosis of the Cause and a more radical prescription for the Cure are needed. I, therefore, in compliance with your own foot-note, submit a few questions with respect to some of your statements, in the hope of further elucidation.

(1) You say, at p. 176: "My own experience but confirms the opinion that the Mussalman as a rule is a bully, and the Hindu as a rule is a coward." Is it really always and everywhere so, as a rule? If always so, or only sometimes so, *why* is it so?

Without the full answer to these questions, the mere advice to the Hindus to be brave, either non-violently, or violently, will remain ineffectual.

Are the Mussalmans and the Hindus of India two different races, two different *Ethnic stocks*? Most patently not. Ninety-nine per cent of the Mussalmans are descended from Hindu ancestors or are recent converts in their own persons.

Is the record of the Hindu soldiers, Sikhs, Gurkhas, Dogras, Rajputs, Jats, Baiswara, Mahrattas, Ahirs, Nayars, Telengas, of

even the non-combatant stretcher-bearer Kahrabs, worse than that of any Mussalman soldiers, or any Christian soldiers, European or any other? Undisputedly not, again.

How then are we to interpret your statement that "in the majority of quarrels the Hindus come out second best?" If by quarrels we understand the 'religious' Hindu-Moslem riots and individual fights in India, then, and then only, your statement becomes entirely correct, is it not? Your subsequent sentence makes this perfectly plain: "I have noticed this in railway trains, on public roads, and in the quarrels which I had the privilege of settling." Now why is it that, when there is no difference of race or ancestry between them, when there is no inherent bravery (or belligerence, which is a very different thing) in the one or inherent cowardice in the other—why is it that the Hindu behaved as a coward in these petty quarrels and rowdinesses, and tempts and evokes the bravery or the belligerence in the Mussalman?

Is it something in the present condition of the two religions as such which makes the Hindu such a coward and the Mussalman such a "brave"? Can it be this miserable "touch-me-not" business, this awful hypocrisy of self-centred selfishness and conceited and sanctimonious self-righteousness—born of the notion of hereditary superior and inferior castes—which, killing all mutual sympathy, prevents Hindu from helping Hindu in such quarrels, and therefore makes each one a coward, because of the sense of helplessness, while the Mussalman's democratic religion ensures him help and makes him "brave"?

It is not only the so-called depressed classes that are untouchables; all the castes and sub-castes and sub-sub-castes of Hindus are all mutually untouchables, more or less, in this, that, or the other respect! A religion which has come to this pass of mutual "touch-me-not" and therefore antipathy and distrust—must necessarily breed cowards who must necessarily be eaten up by the "braves" whom they must necessarily bring into being by providing the temptation. Islam, also, degenerate as it is to day, is yet distinctly better in some respects than the degenerate Hinduism of today. If it had only less slaughter and more philosophy, it would be as good as any of the higher forms of Hinduism, and far better than most of the lower ones.

(3) At p. 183 you say, "If Hindus set their house in order, I have not a shadow of doubt that Islam will respond in a manner worthy.....The Hindus...must shed timidity or cowardice." Please tell the Hindus more plainly how they should set their house in order, how shed their cowardice. Is not the canker at the heart of Hinduism-in-practice to day, the root-cause of its degeneration, this very same mutual "touch-me-not" business? Several Benares Pandits refused to sign a *tyacastha* (*satra*) sanctioning the reconversion to Hinduism of the Malabar Hindus alleged to have been forcibly converted to Islam! They had been touched by Islam and been irretrievably lost forever!

If my neighbour has a servant whom I very much want for myself, and if my simply touching him makes him wholly unfit for further service to my neighbour, and so available to me for my service, why should I not touch him? There is every inducement on earth for me to touch him! Why are there no such conflicts between Christians and Moslems in India, as between Hindus and Moslems? Indeed, the Christians make converts from among Moslems as well as Hindus, and yet they arouse no such ire among Moslems as the Hindu shuddhi and sangathan affair has done. Why is it so? As you have justly pointed out, at p. 186, it is the manner of the shuddhi and the sangathan which is the cause of the trouble—the self-display and the drumming and trumpeting. If the Hindus, and especially the Hindu priests, had only a little more sense, more honest common sense, and a little less sanctimonious hypocrisy and scatological cunning, they would simply declare that anybody who chose to call himself a Hindu might do so, and might intermix with any other Hindu whose personal habits, in respect of food, and taste and temperament and ways of living were similar, the whole trouble would cease at once. With the provoking abandonment of this arrogance of untouchable purity (which yet is so feeble and cowardly, that instead of purifying the less pure by its touch, it itself dies under any other's mere touch!—) no incentive, no provocation, would be left to Moslems to make converts from Hinduism, willy-nilly. Hindus and Moslems would begin to behave as free and friendly human beings to each other. Knowing or least feeling, that they were all equally men, human beings, first, and Hindus or Moslems afterwards,—equal men, equally free to put on or put off at will

the label of Hindu or Moslem or Christian etc., like clothes, though bound to be good and honest in their dealings with each other, as brothers, because of the common "Father in Heaven"—they could no longer think of breaking each other's heads over the most trumpery causes.

And the Hindus have no sufficient reason for not making such a declaration. Eating and drinking and marrying are supposed to be main factors in "purity"—as indeed they are, together with clean thinking. In respect of drink, Islam is "purer" than Hinduism, since, in theory, it prohibits intoxicating liquors, which Hinduism does not, strictly, though condemning them. In respect of food, both eat flesh and fish and fowl; only Islam eats the cow and eschews the pig, and Hinduism eats the pig and eschews the cow; while Christianity impartially eats both and drinks liquor freely. In respect of marriage, both Hinduism and Islam are, theoretically, and to some extent practically, polygamous. Why then this excessive non-co-operation of "touch-me-not or I die, or at least have to bathe"?

A plain and periodically repeated pronouncement from you, dear sir, seems to be very greatly needed by the Hindus, on these matters.

(3) At p. 177, you say, "We sowed the seed and the goondas reaped the harvest." How, in what way and why did we sow the seed? Why do the respectable of the two communities continue to behave hypocritically? Why do they not try sincerely for peace? Inherent, pure, 'sheer cussedness', or because no sufficient endeavour has been made to induce them to understand each other and the common object of both?

(4) At p. 177 you say, "Another potent cause of the tension is the growing distrust even among the best of us." Why is there any distrust, and why is it growing? Can it possibly be due to the fact that the meaning of the words *Swa-raj* and religion is not clearly understood; that there is no agreement about the meaning of these two very important and inter-connected words; that no effort has been made to secure an agreement between all the workers on this essential matter, though there is a lip-protection by all that they all want *Swa-raj* and all want God?

(5) At p. 179, you say, "We have to discover points of contact" Do you mean, between individuals, as such, in respect of temperament, taste, habits, etc., for establishing individual friendships, or between communities, for social amenities; or between political parties, for political colligation; or between religions, for really deep-seated and lasting unions and federations?

(6) At p. 182, you speak of leaving "the pen in the hands of, say, *Hakim Ajmal Khan*" to settle various political matters. Why do you mention his name and no other? Is it not because you know or at least feel, (as some others of us have felt) that he is a man first and a Mussalman afterwards; that he is a good and just and philanthropic man and (or rather because he is) not a religion-ridden man. Supposing he is incapacitated—which God forbid—could you suggest many other names in place of his? And is there no other, and safer and sounder, way of settling these political matters than this very risky process of entrusting the whole work to one human being, of delicate and frail health, even though he is trusted by both communities in a degree next only to yourself? Is there no way of creating a body of such men, and women, and of maintaining its numbers at a reasonable figure, by constant recruitment—the People's Parliament, their Legislative Assembly, their Court of Arbitration, their Supreme All-India Panchayat?

(7) At p. 182, you say, "Hindu-Moslem Unity means Swaraj. I see no way of achieving anything in this afflicted country without a lasting heart-unity between Hindus and Moslems of India." And every body also says it too. But how may we bring about this unity? By simply telling the two communities: Unite; don't quarrel; don't quarrel; don't object, the one to cow-slaughter, the other to music? Why is it that, despite endless admonitions to this effect, they decline to unite, and continue to quarrel and to object—indeed, worse now than before? Do you not think it would be much more effectual to proclaim the "points of contact," or rather the "points common between all religions," more specifically, and diligently, and repeatedly?

D. Benares

6th June 1924

I remain, dear sir,

Yours sincerely,

Bhagavan Das

Young India

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To

The Members of the All-India Congress Committee

Dear friends,

We rightly regard the Congress to be the most representative of the nation whether for better or for worse. In my opinion the Congress has an almost perfect constitution designed to represent the nation to the fullest possible extent. But being ourselves imperfect, we have worked it very indifferently. Our voters' roll has been reduced practically to nil in many parts of India. But in spite of it all an organisation that has persisted for forty years and weathered many a storm must remain the most powerful in the land. We regard ourselves as its chosen representatives.

The Congress took a resolution in 1920 that was designed to attain Swaraj in one year. At the end of that year we were within an ace of getting it. But because we failed to get it then, we may not now regard it as indefinitely postponed. On the contrary we must retain the same attitude of hopefulness as before. Above all we must be determined to get Swaraj soon, sooner than the chilly atmospheres around us will warrant.

It is in that spirit that I have framed the resolutions for submission to you. They have been before the country now for a week. I have read some of the criticism directed against them. I believe I am open to conviction. But the criticism has not altered it. I have no axes to grind, or the only axe I have to grind is that which will enable us to strike at the root of every impediment in our way.

I believe in Khaddar, I believe in the spinning wheel. It has two aspects terrible and benign.

In its terrible aspect it is calculated to bring about the only boycott we need for independent national existence, viz. that of foreign cloth. It alone can kill the demoralising British self-interest. Then and then only when that interest is killed shall we be in a position to talk to British statesmen on equal terms. To-day they are, as we would be in their place, blinded by self-interest.

In its benign aspect it gives a new life and hope to the villagers. It can fill millions of hungry mouths. It alone can bring us in touch and in tune with the villagers. It is the very best popular education that is needed for the millions. It is life-giving. I would not therefore hesitate to turn the Congress into an exclusively Khaddar-producing and Khaddar-propaganda organisation till the attainment of Swaraj, just as I would not hesitate, if I believed in the use of arms and giving violent battle to England, to make the Congress an organisation exclusively devoted to arming the nation in the use of arms. To be truly national

the Congress must devote itself exclusively to that which will bring the nation most quickly within reach of Swaraj.

Because I believe in the potency of Khaddar to give Swaraj. I have given it the foremost place in our programme. You will not hesitate summarily to reject it, if you do not share my belief. But if you believe in Khaddar, you will regard the requirements I have submitted as a mild minimum. I assure you, if I was not afraid of putting an undue strain on you, I would not have hesitated to implore you to give four hours per day to spinning instead of a paltry half hour.

In this connection let me confess my distrust of Swarajists. I understand that the Khaddar among them is on the wane more than among the others. It distressed me to find that several Swarajists had said final good-bye to Khaddar and that the material of which their dress was made was foreign. A few have threatened that if I persecute them in the manner I am doing, they would give up Khaddar and the charkha altogether. I am told that many no-changers are not much better. Khaddar with them still remains a ceremonial dress but for household wear they do not hesitate to wear *vidoshi* or mill-cloth. The wearing of Khaddar to patronise me is worse than useless and the wearing of it on ceremonial occasions only is hypocritical. Do you not agree with me that both patronage and hypocrisy should be banished from our midst? If you believe in the potency of Khaddar, you will take it up not because I advocate it but because it has become part of your life. I note that a certain fashion of dress has been prescribed for the Vice-regal social function. Prohibition of Khaddar is but a short step from the last. Yet another stage and there will be prohibition in the Assembly and Councils.

Another vexed question is about the practising lawyers. It is clear to me that if we cannot run the Congress without them, we must make the frank confession and remove the boycott. I am free to confess that removal of that boycott is a natural corollary to that of the councils. If entry into the legislative bodies can give, as they do, some relief, so does practice in the law courts. We are all aware of the signal services that the late Manomohan Ghose rendered to the poor by the voluntary assistance rendered by him to them. The Government institutions could not have existed, if they had nothing attractive about them. Only, this is no new discovery. Ours is a struggle consisting of self-sacrifice pure and

simple. We sacrificed the doubtful, temporary and partial good done by these institutions for the lasting good of the whole country. Moreover, if there is such a thing as honour among us, does it not behove us to retain the boycott apart from any other reason, for the sake of those lawyers who have been disbarred in Tamilnad, Andhra, Karnatak, Maharashtra, and elsewhere? We shall be building traditions of honour only if we cherish it even for the least among us. Let the practising lawyers beware. No family considerations can be allowed to override those of honour. Don't make the mistake of supposing that we can gain Swaraj within a short time, even though we may be dead to all sense of honour. Unless the Congress can at the present moment produce proud, defiant, self-respecting, sensitive, selfless and self-sacrificing patriots who would count no cost too great, there is, for this poor country of ours for a long time to come, no Swaraj in which the poorest can participate. You and I may get a larger share in the spoils of exploitation, but I am sure you will refuse to call that Swaraj.

Need I say anything about the schools? If we cannot resist the temptation of sending our children to the Government schools, really, I cannot understand the opposition to the system. If the Government schools and law courts and legislatures are good enough to attract us, our opposition is clearly to the personnel and not to the system. Non-cooperation was conceived for a much nobler purpose. If the wish is merely that we rather than Englishmen man the system, I grant that the boycotts are not only useless but harmful. The logical outcome of the Government policy is to Europeanise India and immediately we have become Europeanised, our English masters will gladly hand over the reins of Government to us. We would be welcomed as their willing agents. I can have no interest in that deadly process save to put the whole of my humble weight against it. My Swaraj is to keep intact the genius of our civilisation. I want to write many new things but they must be all written on the Indian slate. I would gladly borrow from the West when I can return the amount with decent interest.

Viewed in the light I have put before you, the five boycotts are vital for the Congress. They are vital for Swaraj for the masses.

Such a big question cannot be decided merely by a show of hands, it cannot be decided even by argument. It must be decided by each one of us by ringing for the still small voice within. Each one of us must retire to his closet and ask God to give a definite guidance.

This battle for freedom is no play for you and me. It is the most serious thing in our lives. If therefore the programme sketched by me does not commend itself to you, you must summarily reject it, cost what it may.

Your fellow-worker
in the service
of the Motherland,
M. K. Gandhi.

Errata

On p. 194, l. 12, read
'supersrogation' for 'superarrogation'

Hindu-Muslim Tension, Its Cause and Cure

(By M. K. Gandhi) 0-1-0

Young India office, Ahmedabad

My Jail Experiences

(By M. K. Gandhi)

IX

Some Convict Warders

I have already dealt with the system of appointing convicts as officers or warders. I hold the system to be thoroughly bad and demoralising. The prison officials know it. They say it is due to economy. They think that the jails cannot be efficiently administered with the present paid staff without supplementing it with convict officers. There is no doubt that unless the reform suggested by me in the last chapter is inaugurated, it is not possible to do away with the system of entrusting convicts with responsible duties without a very large increase in the prison expenditure.

However, it is not my purpose in this chapter to deal any further with prison reform. I simply wish to relate my happy experiences of the convict officers who were appointed to watch over and look after us.

When Mr. Bunker and I were transferred to the Yerawada Central Prison, there was one warden and one *harkari*. The latter is what the name implies, a mere servant. The convict warden whose acquaintance we first made was a Hindu from the Punjab side. His name was Harkaran. He was convicted of murder. The murder according to him was not premeditated but due to a fit of anger. By occupation he was a petty merchant. His sentence was fourteen years of which he had almost served nine years. He was fairly old. The prison life had told on him. He was always brooding and most anxious to be discharged. He was therefore morose and peevish. He was conscious of his high dignity. He was patronising to those who obeyed and served him. He bullied those who crossed his path. To look at him, no one would think he could be guilty of murder. He could read Urdu fluently. He was religiously minded and was fond of reading bhajans in Urdu. The Yerawada library has a few books for prisoners in several Indian languages e. g., Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Canarese, Tamil. Harkaran was not above keeping and hiding trifles in defiance of jail regulations. He was in the majority. It would be regarded snobbish and foolish not to steal trifles. A prisoner who did not follow this unwritten law would have a bad time of it from his fellows. Ostracism would be the least punishment. If the whole of the jail-yard were to be dug up twelve inches deep, it would yield up many a secret in the shape of spoons, knives, pots, cigarettes, soap and such like. Harkaran being one of the oldest inmates of Yerawada was a sort of purveyor-general to the prisoners. If a prisoner wanted anything, Harkaran was the supplier. I wanted a knife for cutting my bread and lemons. Harkaran could procure it if I would have it through him. If I wanted to go through the elaborate process of asking the Superintendent, that was my business. I must be prepared for a snubbing. When we became friends, he related all his wonderful exploits; how he dodged officials, how he procured for himself and others dainties, what skilful tricks were employed by prisoners to obtain what they wanted and how it was almost impossible (in his opinion) not to resort to these tricks, was described in minute detail and with much gusto. He was horrified to discover that I was neither interested in the exploits nor was I minded to join the trade. He endeavoured subsequently somewhat to repair the indiscretion he had in

himself into, and to assure me that he had seen my point and that he would thenceforth refrain from the irregularities. But I have a suspicion that the repentance was put on. The reader, however, must not run away with the idea that the jail officials do not know these irregularities. They are all an open secret. They not only know them but often sympathise with the prisoners who do these tricks to make themselves happy and comfortable. They (the officials) believe in the doctrine of 'live and let live.' A prisoner who behaves correctly in the presence of his superiors, obeys their orders, does not quarrel with his fellows and does not inconvenience officials, is practically free to break any regulation for the sake of procuring greater comfort.

Well, the first acquaintance with Harkaran was not particularly happy. He knew that we were 'important' prisoners. But so was he in a way. After all he was an officer with a long and honourable record of service behind him. He was no respecter of persons. Mr. Bunker was torn away from me the very next morning. Harkaran allowed the full force of his authority to descend upon me. I was not to do this or that. I was not to cross the white line referred to in my letter to Hakimji. But I had not the faintest idea of retaliating or resenting what he said or did. I was too engrossed in my own work and studies even to think of Harkaran's simple and childish instructions. It gave me momentary amusement. Harkaran discovered his error. When he saw that I did not resent his officiousness, nor did I pay any attention to it, he felt non-plussed. He was unprepared for such an emergency. He therefore took the only course that was left open to him and that was to recognise my dissimilarity and respond to me when I refused to respond to him. My non-violent non-cooperation led to his cooperation. All non-violent non-cooperation, whether among individuals or societies, or whether between Governments and the governed, must lead ultimately to hearty cooperation. Anyway Harkaran and I became perfect friends. When Mr. Bunker was returned to me he put the finishing touch. One of his many businesses in the jail was to boor me for all I was worth. He thought that Harkaran and others had not sufficiently realised my greatness. In two or three days time I found myself elevated to the position of a baby in woolens. I was too great to be allowed to sweep my own cell or to put out my own blankets for drying. Harkaran was all attention before, but now he became embarrassingly attentive. I could not do anything myself, not even wash a handkerchief. If Harkaran heard me washing it, he would enter the open bath-room and tear the kerchief away from me. Whether it was that the authorities suspected that Harkaran was doing anything unlawful for us or whether it was a mere accident, Harkaran was, to our sorrow, taken away from us. He felt the separation more perhaps than we did. He had a royal time with us. He had plenty of eatables and that openly from our rations, supplemented as they were with fruit that friends sent from outside. And as our fame was 'raised abroad,' Harkaran's association with us had given him an added status with the other prisoners.

When I was given the permission to sleep on the cell verandah the authorities thought that it was too risky to leave me with one warden only. Probably the regulations required that a prisoner whose cell was kept open should have two warders to watch over him. It might even be that the addition was made for my protection. Whatever the cause, another warden was posted for night duty. His

name was Shabash Khan. I never inquired about the cause but I thought that a Mahomedan was chosen to balance the Hindu Harkaran. Shabash Khan was a powerful Bajoochi. He was Harkaran's contemporary. Both knew each other well. Shabash Khan too was convicted of murder. It resulted from an affray in the clan to which he belonged. Shabash Khan was as broad as he was tall. His build always reminded me of Shaukat Ali. Shabash Khan put me at ease the very first day. He said, 'I am not going to watch you at all. Treat me as your friend and do exactly as you like. You will never find me interfering with you. If you want anything done I shall be only too happy, if I can do it for you.' Shabash Khan was as good as his word. He was always polite. He often tempted me with prison delicacies and always felt genuinely sorry that I would not partake of them. 'You know' he would say 'if we do not help ourselves to these few things, life would be intolerable, eating the same things day in and day out. With your people, it is different. You come for religion. That fact sustains you, whereas we know that we have committed crimes. We would like to get away as soon as ever we can.' Shabash Khan was the gaoler's favourite. Growing enthusiastic over him he once said, 'Look at him. I consider him to be a perfect gentleman. In a fit of temper he has committed murder for which he truly repents. I assure you there are not many men outside who are better than Shabash Khan. It is a mistake to suppose that all prisoners are criminals. Shabash Khan I have found to be most trust-worthy and courteous. If I had the power I would discharge him to-day.' The gaoler was not wrong. Shabash Khan was a good man, and he was by no means the only good prisoner in that gaol. Let me note in passing that it was not the gaol that had made him good. He was good outside.

It is customary in the jails never to keep a convict officer on the same duty for any length of time. Transfers constantly take place. It is a necessary precaution. Prisoners cannot be allowed, under the existing system, to develop intimate relations. We had therefore a most varied experience of convict officers. After about two months, Shabash Khan was replaced by Adan. But I must introduce this warden to the reader in the next chapter.

'Et tu Brute!'

An esteemed friend says, "If we do not take effective measures in time the United Provinces may experience tomorrow what the Punjab is experiencing today. Hindu-Muslim tension in Oudh is growing. To give you an idea I give below some facts about Barabanki. Serious allegations are made against the Municipal Board of that city which now that all its Muslim members who were and are still staunch non-cooperators have resigned, consists of Hindu gentlemen only. I had no time to make any detailed enquiry with regard to these allegations, but one fact is pretty well-established and is creating bitterness in the minds of Musalmans. These Hindu gentlemen have passed a law that all applications to the Board must be written in Hindi script. Applications in any other script will not be accepted." I was painfully surprised to receive the above news. For, Barabanki, if I remember rightly, used to be Maulana Shaukat Ali's pride. He used to speak in glowing terms of both the Hindus and the Muslims of Barabanki. I still hope that my informant is incorrect, informed. I cannot credit the Hindu councillors with

having taken any such thoughtless step as is attributed to them. They will ill serve the cause of Hindi script by compelling Mussalmans to adopt it. It should be optional throughout India, wherever Hindustani is the provincial language, for people to write petitions either in Devnagari or Urdu script. Which script will be ultimately accepted depends largely upon the intrinsic merits of the two scripts. It is also difficult to understand why the Mussalman councillors have resigned. I hope some one in Barabanki will give full facts.

M. K. G.

Young India

26-6-24

The Akali Struggle

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The public were hoping that the negotiations going on between the Akali leaders and the Punjab Government would bear fruit and that the Gurudwara question would be satisfactorily settled and the sufferings of the Akalis would end. But if the S. G. P. C. is to be relied upon, the Government had willed otherwise. The Akali leaders, it is stated, were all that could be wished, but the Government would not even promise to release those prisoners who are now undergoing imprisonment, not for violence actually committed or contemplated, but practically for having taken part in the Gurudwara agitation.

The Akali struggle will therefore in all probability be prosecuted with greater vigour. The Government will also probably adopt more repressive measures. Fortunately we have now become inured to repression. It has ceased to terrify us. The Akalis have shown the stuff of which they are made.

Let us see what they have already suffered, for what to them is a deeply religious question. I will say nothing of the Naunkhana tragedy, the Keys affair, the Guru-ka-Bagh brutality or the Jaito firing. I will not also say anything about S. G. P. C. being declared an unlawful association. The Congress has regarded it as a challenge to all public bodies that may be against the Government. Since the Jaito firing the Akalis, recognising that their passive resistance to arrest was capable of being misunderstood for violence, have been regularly sending to Jaito Shahidi Jathas of 500 men generally every fortnight for quiet and submissive arrest. These allow themselves to be arrested without any opposition whatsoever. They on their arrest are sent by special train to what is said to be a jungle and there detained without any trial, without any charge. Dry rations are provided which they have to cook for themselves. The jungle which is supposed to be malarial and verminous with grass passes muster for a prison. I understand that a few have died of fevers due to exposure and malarial climate. Over 3,000 prisoners are suffering in this fashion. Besides the Shahidi Jathas smaller ones of 26 each have been crossing over to Jaito daily for the past nine months. They are taken to a station called Bewal and left there to shift for themselves. These Akalis often undergo severe hardships before reaching their destination.

And so the awful routine goes on with clock-work regularity without apparently producing any impression on the authorities.

Why do these Jathas suffer thus? Simply for the sake of performing the *Akhand path* ceremony which was rudely interrupted by the Nabha authorities and whose performance is even now being prevented. The Akalis have repeatedly stated that whilst they claim the right to demand and secure for the Mahareja of Nabha an impartial and open inquiry, they do not want to use *Akhand path* as a cloak to carry on any agitation in his favour. Why the *Akhand path* is prevented no one can tell except that it is sought to crush the indomitable spirit of the Akalis which has organised and is carrying on the reform movement.

The demands of the Akalis seem to be absolutely simple. So far as I am aware they are:—

1. Possession of historical Gurudwaras by a central body elected by the Sikhs.
2. Right of every Sikh to possess a *Kirpan* of any size.
3. Right of performing the *Akhand path* in Jaito.

On the face of it, every one of these demands is unexceptionable and should be recognised for the asking.

No community has shown so much bravery, sacrifice and skill in the prosecution of its object as the Akalis. No community has maintained the passive spirit so admirably as they. Any other Government but the Indian would long ago have recognised the demands and the sacrifice of the Akalis and turned them from opponents into its voluntary supporters. But the Indian Government would not evoke the spirit of universal opposition which it has, if it had cared for and respected public opinion.

The duty of the Hindu, Mussalman, and other sister communities is clear. They must help the reformers with their moral support and let the Government know unequivocally that in the matters above-named the Akalis have the moral support of the whole of India. I know that the distrust that pervades the Indian atmosphere has not left the Akalis free from the contagion. The Hindus, and possibly the Mussalmans, distrust their intentions. They regard their activity with suspicion. Ulterior motives and ambition for the establishment of Sikh Itaj are imputed to them. The Akalis have disclaimed any such intention. As a matter of fact, no disclaimer is necessary, and none can prevent such an attempt being made in the future. A solemn declaration made by all the Sikhs can easily be thrown on the scrap-heap, if ever their successors entertain any such unworthy ambition. The safety lies only in the determination of us all to work for the freedom of all. From a practical stand-point too, moral support of the reform movement, it is clear, reduces the chances of unworthy ambition being harboured in the Sikh breast. As a matter of fact, any such mutual suspicion necessarily hinders the Swaraj movement for it prevents hearty co-operation between the communities and thus consolidates the forces of exploitation of this fair land and perhaps even makes possible an ambition which is at present clearly impossible. We must therefore judge each communal movement on its merits and give it ungrudging support when it is in itself sound, and the means employed for its conduct are honourable, open and just.

Notes

Ja-men v. Amen

A friend writes, "I thank you for having given a clear-cut programme for the future. I know it is the old programme you reaffirm. But it seems new and startling, because we have erred from the right path. In Danish we have a saying *Ja-men* which means 'yes, but—' as against *Amen* which means simply 'yes.' Most of us seem to believe in *Ja-men*. 'Yes, we promised to boycott Government institutions and not serve our oppressors; but how can we do without them?' we seem to say. These 'buts' are an invention of the devil."

Unfortunately, the last-named gentleman is always with us. He panders to our weaknesses, works upon us through them and charms us into his delusive snares. National workers will have to get out of his clutches and burn all the 'buts.' They may say 'yes' to the boycotts, if they mean 'yes' without any reservation. Even if believing in the boycotts they cannot say 'yes' through their weakness, they should make the confession openly. It would do them and the country a world of good.

Dr. Mahmud and forcible conversions

Numerous letters, some angry and some even abusive, have been received by me regarding my reference to forcible conversions in the statement on Hindu-Muslim tension. One of them was a dispassionate and reasoned letter from Mr. Madhavan Nair protesting against the statement attributed by me to Dr. Mahmud. I forwarded the letter to Dr. Mahmud for reply, so that I could give the reader his version. But before my letter could reach Dr. Mahmud, he had already posted one to me on the very thing, having received many protests himself. I now give from Dr. Mahmud's letter, which is in Urdu, a translation of the relevant part as follows:

"Quite a number of Hindu friends have written to me letters accusing me of having given you inaccurate information with regard to the affairs in Malabar. Some of them have even treated me with round, mouth-filling abuse. I feel that their resentment is just. There seems to have been some misunderstanding. What I said was that no instances of conversion by circumcision could be found. Only one such case had been reported, the one which Mr. Andrews had witnessed, and even that could not be properly investigated into. As for instances of conversion by being made to wear *jez* cap, or shirt in case of women, or by clipping off the *choti*, they could be cited in any number. I had mentioned this point in my statement to Shwaib also. Please do publish the necessary correction in *Young India* or it might give rise to a fresh controversy in the press."

I see that I have done an injustice to Dr. Mahmud. I was thinking of forcible conversions only by circumcision. It was that which had most shocked the Hindu sentiment. Any way it was that which had affected me more than anything else.

The following is the statement referred to by Dr. Mahmud.

"Forced conversion.

(a) By circumcision. No eye-witness. No direct evidence available. No case pointed out. Reliable persons amongst Hindus allege that three or four cases occurred. The only direct evidence of a case of this nature is that Mr. Andrews is reported to have seen one person who was circumcised. Have not got it confirmed.

(b) Repetition of *Ja-men*.—(1) Forced; (2) Through

fear without actual use of force.

(c) Cutting of *choti*.

(d) Making Hindus (men) wear caps.

(e) Making Hindu women wear bodices or blouses.

The total number of conversions under (b) to (e) are estimated between 1800 to 2000 (Hindu version). Muslims put it at a few hundred".

I had thought that my statement was clear. Though I had not mentioned Mr. Andrews' name, it was common knowledge that he had referred to a case of forcible circumcision which had come under his own personal observation. Bearing that in mind, there could be no mistaking my meaning. But I now see that I compromised Dr. Mahmud by exposing him to the charge of partiality by an apparent understatement of forcible conversions. I am sorry for the unintended inaccuracy. In times of high tension, one cannot be too careful or too accurate. In trying to be fair to Dr. Mahmud, I have succeeded in being unfair to him. I assure the reader that in every case I have kept closest to facts and shorn them of all colouring. The papers in my possession make out a much more terrible case against all parties. But I have in each case toned down the charges and, where I had no opinion of my own, merely stated on behalf of the parties concerned the charges thus toned down.

Not in Nizam's Dominions

In my statement on Hindu-Muslim tension I said I was told that the pernicious propaganda pamphlet referred to was taken up in the Nizam's Dominions. Khwaja Saheb Ifasean Nizami, on reading the statement, forwarded the following telegram to me:

"For the sake of Islam, Hindu-Muslim Unity, and your beloved personality, I am ready to accept your advice regarding the contents of my pamphlet *Dai ye Islam* about which you have complained in your press message provided it does not affect the work of preaching Islam, uplifting, reforming and organising the Mussalmans and counteracting the open and secret efforts of Arya Samaj, which work I am religiously bound to carry on. I had already taken off much of the so-called objectionable matter from the later editions of the pamphlet and am willing now to still more improve the future editions in reverence to your wishes. Kindly let me know your suggestions after reading the latest Urdu edition of the pamphlet carefully and not its Hindi translations which have been published only to create misapprehension and to secure sympathies".

He followed up the wire with a letter couched in similar terms; and last week he paid me the honour of visiting me and tendering a personal explanation. He told me that all the charges levelled against him as to kidnapping of children etc., were totally without foundation and that his motive in publishing the pamphlet was not as I had interpreted it. Unfortunately the visit happened to be when I was observing silence. I was therefore unable to give him my opinion on his pamphlet. The Khwaja Saheb was most anxious that I should publish his assurance about the propaganda in His Exalted Highness's Dominions. I have therefore gladly published the telegram and the purport of the interview. I must, however, state that the information about the alleged propaganda was given to me by reliable men. I have received also letters confirming the same information.

And my assistants tell me that allegations of the same nature constantly appear in the vernacular press. In the absence, therefore, of any direct knowledge of the state of affairs in the Nizam's Dominions, I can but give both the versions without committing myself to any opinion. I shall certainly publish with pleasure anything the authorities in H. E. H.'s Dominions may have to say in the matter.

So far as the Khwaja Saheb's pamphlet is concerned, while it is admirable that he is ready to make such revision as may be consistent with his faith, what is wanted is something more and something different. In spite of the Khwaja Saheb's repudiation of bad motives, the pamphlet which I have read in the original does lend itself to the construction I have placed upon it. The Musselman friends to whom I have shown the pamphlet agree with my interpretation. It is therefore not enough that even if I was so minded the Khwaja Saheb should amend his pamphlet as I may suggest. What is required is for him to see the error of this thought and to recognise that he has really done an ill-service to Islam by suggesting questionable methods of propaganda. He should therefore revise the pamphlet radically in the light of what is permissible and praiseworthy in Islamic propaganda. Needless to say that I appreciate the readiness with which the Khwaja Saheb has come forward with his explanation and vowed his solicitude for Hindu-Muslim unity.

News to me

A correspondent says that I am reported to have said that 'it is better that one cow be sacrificed rather than seven goats.' He then asks me to disown or endorse the statement and in the latter case to justify it. I do not recollect having made any such statement as the correspondent refers to. And whoever has heard me make such a statement will oblige me by reminding me of the occasion. According to my correspondent I am supposed to have made the statement as editor of *Young India*. If so, there should be no difficulty about confronting me with it. But what I am likely to have said or written is that if I could non-violently persuade people, I would have them to save the goat just as well as I would have people to save the cow. As I have said before in these pages, for me the cow is the purest type of sub-human life. She pleads before us on behalf of the whole of the sub-human species for justice to it at the hands of man, the first among all that lives. She seems to speak to us through her eyes (let the reader look at them with my faith), 'you are not appointed over us to kill us and eat our flesh or otherwise ill-treat us, but to be our friend and guardian.'

Well done, Delhi!

So Delhi has taken the lead in forming an arbitration board in the matter of Hindu-Muslim tension. Only two years ago one felt absolutely secure of Hindu-Muslim unity in Delhi where Hakim Saheb was the uncrowned king and where Swami Shraddhanandji was privileged to address Mosalmans in the Jumma Musjid. Surely it should not be beyond the joint ability of Hindus and Mosalmans to establish a lasting peace in Delhi. If a central place like Delhi can secure such peace, the other places will I have no doubt follow suit. I have not the heart to reproduce for the edification of the reader all the pestilential literature that I have received from Delhi each party painting the other in the most lurid colours. The reader may be assured however that all that I have adumbrated in my statement is to be found in that literature. It

would be a great blessing if the parties concerned will but bring their charges to the notice of the board and get from it an authoritative pronouncement.

Sikh Self-restraint

The Sikhs of Calcutta deserve the warmest congratulations of the public for the wonderful self-restraint exhibited by them under the gravest provocation. Some of them were cruelly murdered by the howling, suspicious crowd in Calcutta on utterly groundless suspicion. The Sikhs everywhere are quite capable of taking care of themselves and well able to take reprisals if they wish to. But on the occasion in question they kept themselves perfectly cool. Being brave, they realised that the mischief had no racial taint in it. The crowd in its superstitious credulity would have murdered with equal indifference members of any other community if they had suspected them. The Sikhs of Calcutta have set us an example of correct conduct on occasions of trial and provocation.

Official Delay

The reader will remember that on seeing the Nabha State Administrator's reply to me, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to the Administrator repudiating the suggestion that his release and that of his companions of whom Acharya Gidwani was one was conditional. Not having heard from the Administrator, the Pandit sent by way of reminder on the 19th June (his first letter was sent on the 24th May last) the following letter:

"I sent you a letter under registered cover on the 24th May and requested you to supply me with copies of the order suspending Principal Gidwani's, Mr. K. Santanam's and my sentences and any other order relating to us issued at the time. I have not yet received a reply to my letter nor have I received the copies asked for.

I have no doubt whatever that the statement you made in your letter to the Editor 'Young India' that Principal Gidwani, Mr. Santanam and I were discharged conditionally is wholly incorrect and a reference to the orders and other papers must have convinced you of this. I trust that being convinced of this you will take early steps to correct your previous statement and make it clear that Principal Gidwani Mr. Santanam and I were unconditionally released. There can thus be no question of Principal Gidwani being sent to jail without trial or sentence because he is said to have broken a condition which was never made.

I would again request you to let me have a copy of the suspension order. I should also like to know definitely if Nabha state is supposed to be out of bounds for me and if so under what order. I have no immediate wish to go to Nabha, but I should like to know what kind of a welcome awaits me there in case I am moved by a desire to visit the State."

Let us hope that there will be no further delay in answering the straight question put by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. There is as a rule undue delay on the part of officials in answering public inquiries especially when such inquiries are likely to be embarrassing. If no reply is forthcoming or if an unsatisfactory reply is sent Pandit Nehru (jun.) and Mr. Santanam may have to ask the Working Committee to let them challenge arrest. Such a step may become necessary even as a matter of duty towards a comrade. The last paragraph of the Pandit's letter evidently foreshadows a challenge on his part. It is, I suppose, that Acharya Gidwani should be kept in

prison even though with him there was no question of civil disobedience when he entered the Nabha territory at the time of Jaito shooting. He did so, as we know from the impartial testimony of Mr. Zimand, in obedience to a call of humanity.

Municipalities

A local Congress secretary writes :—

"Among the persons you have urged to stand out of these (Government) institutions you have not mentioned anything about those who have captured the seats in the district boards and municipalities. I know there are many among the no-changers who still maintain that the principle of N. C. O. is by no means compromised by their entering into district boards and municipalities. But in my opinion these boards are semi-government institutions. Have they not to work under government control? Can they bring about any effective change in the system of education or sanitation?"

So far as the Congress resolutions are concerned, it is open to Congress members to enter these bodies and even become office bearers. Indeed, a later resolution requires Congressmen to capture these bodies. In theory these bodies being under Government control fall under the category of Government institutions. But ours is specific non-cooperation directed against certain institutions only which are calculated to demoralise the most and which most sustain Government prestige. The best plan therefore regarding Government institutions not specifically tabooed by the Congress is to test them by the measure of service they render to the constructive programme. If they hinder it, Congressmen, it is clear to me, must leave them alone. I have had letters from several places complaining that all constructive work was stopped by reason of Congressmen having entered municipalities and district boards, and that in some places Congressmen had offered themselves as rival candidates. In every such case there is no doubt that Congressmen should abstain. I cannot understand Congressmen being rivals. Congressmen are subject to discipline, and only those can offer themselves for election who are chosen for the purpose by the Congress Committee concerned. So far as the ability to control education (primary) and sanitation are concerned, generally speaking it may be said that the municipalities have substantial control over them. In any case municipalities being largely elective bodies there is ample scope for civil disobedience whenever the proper occasion for it arises.

A Dangerous Practice

I have just read in the columns of *The Hindu* (of 12th June) what purports to be an interview with me. I do recollect a long chat with a gentleman whom I never suspected to be an interviewer. I thought that he wanted honest doubts to be solved and therefore bestowed considerable attention upon him and patiently answered all his questions. As I could ill afford the time, I should certainly have declined the honour of being interviewed at the time and at that length. I have no secrets. People who find out anything about or from me are free to report it if they like. But I do mind being misreported. If they did me the honour of showing me what they reported, I should have no objection. The so-called interview is a caricature of what I said. For instance, I am made to refer to 'every Mussalman as a vagabond.' Well, I never dreamt that every Mussalman was a vagabond. I do not consider Hakim Saheb a vagabond; nor for that matter any of my numerous Mussalman friends.

I know many Mussalman bullies but I cannot recall having met any vagabonds in the accepted sense of the term. I do not regard every Mussalman even to be a bully. I am accused of having said that 'the Government was indifferent to me and that it would be terrified if I were to undertake an all-India tour for six months.' Well, I am proud enough to think that the Government is never indifferent to what I say or do and I am humble enough not to think that it would be terrified by any tour on my part. It would however be terrified, if a real Hindu-Muslim unity can be brought about no matter by whom. The interviewer talks of fraud practised by a Khaddar worker. The statement is an abuse of the privilege of being allowed to listen to a conversation I was having with fellow-workers. There was talk of fraud alleged to have been practised. I do not even now know whether any was practised. I have simply picked samples of glaring inaccuracies. The 'interviewer' has, no doubt, meant well. But well-meaning friends who act irresponsibly are more harmful than ill-meaning opponents. I would urge those who visit me to spare me whilst I occupy a responsible position. When I become irresponsible, they may take any liberty they like with my doings and sayings. To those who see any 'interviews' with me, I ask them to reject them as unworthy of belief unless they are authorised by me.

Machine Spinning V. Hand Spinning

A friend who at one time swore by the spinning wheel says in effect:

"Your activity is useless. Why are you wasting your body and mind in dishing up old stuff in the pages of *Young India* and *Narajeevan*? I can no longer read them with profit. I have found by experience that the spinning wheel is no use. Do you know that the *charkhas* which people bought in the first wave of enthusiasm are rotting? They will not pay.

I suggest turning your attention to something better. Substitute hand spinning with machine spinning. Erect a spinning mill in every Taluka. Nationalise the profits. Only patriots should work the mills, not for gain, but for love of the country. Distribute the yarn to the local weavers only. The cloth woven should be confined to the respective Talukas. You thus save waste of time and freight. To start with, organise one Taluka in this manner and you will render great service."

As the argument is specious and comes from one who has in his own way tried the *charkha*, I propose to examine it for the sake of those who may hold the views that the friend does. The reader does not need to be told that the scheme is as old as the Khadi movement. Like the proverbial bad penny it turns up again and again.

The friend has forgotten the central truth that the wheel furnishes occupation and a small income to the millions who must have an additional income if they are not to starve. It is not possible to put up a handloom in every home. A loom in every village, a *charkha* in every home is the formula. If a spinning mill is put up in every Taluka, it will result in nationalising the exploitation of the many by the few. All cannot be employed in a Taluka mill. Moreover, we must import the machinery needed for over 2,000 Talukas. And the experts for managing and working the mills will have to be trained. Mills cannot grow up like mushrooms, as *charkhas* can. The failure of a *charkha* is felt by nobody; the failure of a Taluka mill will mean consternation among the people of the Taluka concerned. In my opinion the proposition advanced by the friend is

utterly unsound. I have however suggested that if he has faith in his scheme, he should try it. I must continue to paddle my own canoe, because nothing else attracts me. The charkha for me has a charm all its own.

I may be too dense to see its failure. I am not unwilling to be convinced of my error.

The same day that I received the friend's letter, I received another from another friend who says that he has ten years experience of the mill industry. He has tested power spinning and hand weaving and is now engaged in the trade of hand spinning and hand weaving. He gives the palm to the last as a solution for the economic distress. I give this experience for what it is worth. The whole experiment is in too nebulous a state for giving a firm opinion on it. But this much is clear that the spinning wheel is today the only comforter in many a poor home to which no substitute can be taken. Of the spinning wheel, it can be truly said as of no other

'In this there is no waste of effort, there is no disappointment.'

'Even a little of it saves one from great distress.'

M. K. G.

Parallels from Mazzini

While reading something from Mazzini during the last two days of Shravan last in the A. C. P. (this is a mystic symbol, the meaning of which only a few fortunate members of the esoteric section can fully realize), I noticed great similarity between his views and many points of the Gandhian doctrine. This did not surprise me. As the grand old Shruti has it, truth is one, sages announce it in a variety of ways. It is like white light, which, passing through different mediums, breaks up into all the magnificent colours of the rainbow. I give below some fine extracts from Mazzini, which are full of unexpected anticipations of Gandhi-ism.

I

The duty of civil resistance to evil

वरिष्ठाय मधूरा विनाशय च वृष्टताम् ।

धर्मस्वापनार्थी तस्माद्युच्चर भारत ॥

(a)

The universe is God's Temple, and the sin of every unrepented or unexpiated profanation of the Temple weighs on the head of each and all of the Believers.

It is of no avail to assert your own purity, even were true purity possible in isolation. Whenever you see corruption by your side and do not strive against it, you betray your duty. It is of no avail that you worship truth: if you see your brother ruled by error in some other portion of the earth, our common mother, and you do not both desire and endeavour, as far as lies in your power, to overcome that error, you betray your duty. The image of God is disfigured in the immortal souls of your fellow-men. God wills to be adored through his law, and his law is violated and misinterpreted around you.... And do you dare to call yourselves believers while you remain loose? (b)

A law of Solon decreed that those who in an insurrection abstained from taking part on one side or the other should be degraded. It was a just and holy law, founded on the belief, then instinctive in the heart of Solon, but now comprehended and expressed in a thousand formulae, in the solidarity of humanity. It would be just, now more than ever. You are in the midst of the uprising, not of a town, but of the whole human race; you see brute force on the

one side and right on the other; you march between proscription and martyrdom, between the scaffold and the altar; whole nations are struggling under oppression;.... men die by hundreds, by thousands, fighting for or against an idea; this idea is either good or evil; and you, continuing the while to call yourselves men, would claim the right of remaining neutral? You cannot do so without moral degradation. Neutrality, that is to say, indifference between good and evil, the just and the unjust, liberty and oppression, is simply Atheism. II

Without compulsion, educate the democracy in the principle of Duties before Rights

"There is no compulsion in religion" (and for that matter in anything else)—Al Quran.

पराये संस्करणम् । Not प्रेयः । but अप्यः ।

Education, I have said, and my whole doctrine is included and summed up in this grand word. The vital question in agitation at the present day is a question of education. We do not seek to establish a new order of things through violence. Any order of things established through violence, even though in itself superior to the old, is still a tyranny. What we have to do is to propose, for the approval of the nation, an order of things which we believe to be superior to that now existing, and to *educate* men by every possible means to develop it and act in accordance with it.

The principle of education is *Duty*. We must convince men that each of them is bound to live not for himself, but for others; that the aim of existence is, not to be more or less happy, but to make themselves and others more virtuous; that to struggle against injustice and error (wherever they exist), in the name of and for the benefit of their brothers, is not a right but a duty; a duty which may not be neglected without sin, the duty of their whole life.

III

The duty of self-purification

'Physician, heal thyself.'

'Purification begins at home.'

Improve yourselves! Let this be the aim of your life. It is only by improving yourselves, by becoming more virtuous that you can render your condition lastingly less unhappy.

A change of social organisation is of little moment while you yourselves remain with your present passions and egotism. Social organisations are like certain plants which yield either poison or medicine according to the mode in which they are administered. Good men can work good even out of an evil organisation, and bad men can work evil out of good organisations.

No doubt it is also necessary to improve the classes who now oppress you, but you will never succeed in doing this, unless you begin by improving yourselves.

IV

Final Warning

Be warned and believe the words of a man, who has been earnestly studying the course of events in Europe during the last thirty years, and who has seen the holiest enterprises fail in the hour of promised success through the error or immorality of their supporters. You will never succeed unless through your own improvement. You can only obtain the exercise of your rights by deserving them through your own activity and your own spirit of love and sacrifice. If you seek your rights in the name of duties fulfilled or to fulfil, you will obtain them.

V. G. Desai

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Defeated and Humbled

Reporters are rarely able to interest me but one of them did succeed the other day in interesting me in him. I therefore gave him towards the end of the interview more than he had expected. He asked me what I would do if the house was evenly divided. I told him in effect that God would send something to prevent such a catastrophe. I had no idea that my innocent and half-humorous remark was prophetic.

The proceedings of the A. I. C. C. reminded me of those at Delhi just before I was imprisoned. The disillusionment of Delhi awaited me at Ahmedabad.

I had a bare majority always for the four resolutions. But it must be regarded by me as a minority. The house was fairly evenly divided. The Gopinath Saha resolution clinched the issue. The speeches, the result and the scenes I witnessed after, was a perfect eye-opener. I undoubtedly regard the voting as a triumph for Mr. Das although he was apparently defeated by eight votes. That he could find 70 supporters out of 148 who voted had a deep significance for me. It lighted the darkness though very dimly as yet.

Up to the point of the declaration of the poll, I was enjoying the whole thing as a huge joke, though I knew all the while that it was as serious as it was huge. I now see that my enjoyment was superficial. It concealed the laceration that was going on within.

After the declaration, the chief actors retired from the scene. And the house abandoned itself to levity. Most important resolutions were passed with the greatest unconcern. There were flashes of humour sandwiched in between these resolutions. Everybody rose on points of order and information. The ordeal was enough to try the patience of any chairman. Maulana Mahomed Ali came through it all unscathed. He kept his temper fairly. He rightly refused to recognise 'points of information.' I must confess that the suitors for fame most cheerfully obeyed his summary rulings. Let not the reader conclude that there was at any stage of the proceedings the slightest lassitude. I have not known many meetings where there was so little ceremony or personalities in the debate as in this, even though feelings ran high and the differences were sharp and serious. I have known meetings where under similar circumstances the chairmen have found it most difficult to keep order. The president of the A. I. C. C. commanded willing obedience.

All the same, dignity vanished after the Gopinath resolution. It was before this house that I had to put my last resolution. As the proceedings went on I must have become more and more serious. Often I felt like running away from the oppressive scene. I dreaded having to move

a resolution in my charge. I would have asked for postponement of the resolution but for the promise I had made to the meeting that I would suggest a remedy, or failing that, move a resolution for protecting litigants from the operation of the third resolution which requests resignation from members who do not believe in the principle of the five boycotts including that of law courts and do not carry them out in their own persons. Protection was intended for those who might be driven to the courts either as plaintiffs or defendants. The resolution that was adopted by the Working Committee and previously circulated among the members did protect them. It was substituted by the one actually passed by the A. I. C. C. As the reader knows it exempts from its operation those who might be covered by the Coconada resolution. In drafting that amendment I had not protected litigants. I had wished to do so by a separate resolution. I had announced the fact at the time of introducing the resolution. And it was this promised resolution that opened for me a way out of 'darkness invisible.' I moved it with the preface that it was in redemption of the morning promise. I mentioned too Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande was an instance in point. I do not believe in exemptions and as-far-as-possible. But I know that some of the strongest non-cooperators have found it difficult to avoid law courts. Unscrupulous debtors have refused payment to non-cooperators because of their knowledge that the latter could not sue them. Similarly I know men who have brought suits against non-cooperators because they would not defend themselves. The curious will be agreeably surprised to discover, if they searched among the rank and file, the numerous cases in which non-cooperators have preferred to suffer losses to defending themselves or suing. Nevertheless it is perfectly true that representatives have not always been able to keep to the prohibition. The practice, therefore, has been to wink at filing suits and more often at defending them. The Committee has from time to time also passed rules legalising the practice to a certain extent. I thought that now when the A. I. C. C. was adopting a rigid attitude regarding the observance of the boycotts, the position of litigants should be clearly defined. Nothing would please me better than for the Congress to have only those representatives on its executive who would carry out all the boycotts to the full. But the exact fulfilment at the present stage, of the boycott of law courts on the part of many is almost an impossibility. Voluntary acceptance of poverty is essential for the purpose. It must take some time before we can hope to man the Congress organisations with such men and women, and run them efficiently. Recognising the hard fact I was prepared to incur the odium of having to move the said resolution of exemption. Hardly had I

finished reading it, up sprang the brave Harisarvottama Rao to his feet and in a vigorous and cogent speech opposed it. He said it was his painful duty to oppose me. I told him the pain was mine in that I had to move a resolution I could not defend. His must be the pleasure of opposing an indefensible resolution and of keeping the Congress organisation pure at any cost. I liked this opposition and was looking forward to the voting. But the opposer was followed by Swami Govindanand who raised the technical objection that no resolution designed to affect one previously passed could be moved at the same session of the Committee. The chairman properly rejected the objection, if only because the previous day the very first resolution was amended after it was passed by a majority. But the last straw was unwittingly supplied by Dr. Chethram. I have known him to be a responsible man. A long period of unbroken service lies to his credit. He has embraced poverty for the sake of his country. I was not prepared for a constitutional objection from him in a matter in which the Committee had on previous occasions softened the effect of the boycott resolution. But he thoughtlessly asked whether my resolution was not in breach of the Congress resolution on boycott. Maulana Mahomed Ali asked me whether the objection was not just. I said of course it was. He therefore felt bound to hold my resolution unconstitutional. Then I sank within me. There was nothing, absolutely nothing, wrong about anybody's speech or behaviour. All were brief in their remarks. They were equally courteous. And what is more, they were seemingly in the right. And yet it was all hopelessly unreal. The objections were like reading a sermon on the virtues of self-restraint to a hungry man reduced to a skeleton. Each of the actors acted involuntarily, unconsciously. I felt that God was speaking to me through them and seemed to say 'Thou fool, knowest not thou that thou art impossible? Thy time is up.' Gangadhar Rao asked me whether he should not resign. I agreed with him that he should do so at once. And he promptly tendered his resignation. The president read it to the meeting. It was accepted almost unanimously. Gangadhar Rao was the gainer.

Shaukat Ali was sitting right opposite at a distance of perhaps six yards. His presence restrained me from fleeing. I kept asking myself, 'Could right ever come out of wrong? Was I not cooperating with evil?' Shaukat Ali seemed to say to me through his big eyes, 'There is nothing wrong, for all will be right.' I was struggling to free myself from the enchantment. I could not.

The President asked, 'Shall I now dissolve the meeting?' I said, 'Certainly.' But Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who was evidently watching whatever changes my face was undergoing, was all eyes. He quickly came up and said, 'We cannot disperse without the message you have promised.' I replied, 'Madan Sahab, it is true I wanted to say something about the future plans. But what I have been witnessing for the last hour after the Gopinath resolution, has grieved me. I do not know where I stand now and what I should do.' Then he said 'say even if it is only that.' I complied and in a short speech in Hindustani laid bare my heart and let them see the blood oozing out of it. It takes much to make me weep. I try to suppress tears even when there is occasion for them. But in spite of all my efforts to be brave, I broke down utterly. The audience was visibly affected. I took them through the various stages I had passed and told them that it was Shaukat Ali who stood in the way

of my flight. For I regarded him as trustee for Hindu honour as I was proud enough to regard myself as such for Mussalman honour. And then I told them that I was unable to say how I would shape my future course. I would consult him and other workers who were closely associated with me. It was the saddest speech I had ever made. I finished and turned round to look for Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. He had stolen away from me and was standing at the farthest end opposite to me. I told him I would now like to go. He said 'Not yet for a while. For we must speak too.' And he invited the audience to speak. Those who spoke did so with a sob. The sight of the hoary-headed Sikh friend who was choked as he was speaking, touched me deep. Of course Shaukat Ali spoke and others. All begged pardon and assured me of their unwavering support. Mahomed Ali broke down twice. I tried to soothe him.

I had nothing to forgive for none had done any wrong to me. On the contrary they had all been personally kind to me. I was sad because we were weighed in the scales of our own making—the Congress creed—and found wanting; we were such poor representatives of the nation! I seemed to be hopelessly out of place. My grief consisted in the doubt about my own ability to lead those who would not follow.

I saw that I was utterly defeated and humbled. But defeat cannot dishearten me. It can only chasten me. My faith in my creed stands immovable. I know that God will guide me. Truth is superior to man's wisdom.

M. K. Gandhi

[The foregoing was written on Monday the 30th June. I wrote it but I was not satisfied nor am I satisfied now with the performance. On reading it I feel I have not done justice to the meeting or myself. Great as the informal meeting was, the one that preceded it and that stung me to the quick, was not less great. I do not know that I have made it clear that no speaker had any malice in him. What preyed upon my mind was the fact of unconscious irresponsibility and disregard of the Congress creed or policy of non-violence.

The informal meeting was a heart-searcher. It purified the atmosphere. The whole of Tuesday I passed in discussing with co-workers my position. My innermost wish was and still is to retire from the Congress and confine my activity merely to Hindu-Muslim unity, Khaddar and Untouchability. They would not listen. I had no right, they said, to retire at a critical period in the history of the nation. My withdrawal would not smooth matters. It would cause depression and remove from Congress meetings its active restraining influence. I must actively work the programme of which I was the author, so long as the majority favoured it. The programme had a far greater majority than the voting at the A. I. C. C. would indicate. I must travel in the country and see things for myself. My second proposal was for all who fully accepted the Congress creed to retire in favour of the Swarajists. As the argument against it developed, I rejected it myself as thoughtless. It was the last thing the Swarajists wanted. I felt that it would be doing violence to them to expect them to do the impossible. I know that they would not entertain even the first proposal. I offered it to them at Juhu and renewed it in Ahmedabad. I have therefore reluctantly decided to drink the bitter cup and continue to be in the Congress organisation and shoulder the

responsibility for working it until the Congress puts me in an actual numerical minority.

I may not choose short cuts. I must plod. I must pocket my pride and wait till I am driven out.

I must seemingly become a party-man and show that I can still work as a no-party man. I must strive for a majority at the next Congress and endeavour, so far as it is possible, to act impartially. It is not beyond the capacity of a Satyagrahi.

The conditions are incredibly simple. The striving to be in a majority consists in solid work.

1. Over and above the spinning for half an hour every spare minute should be given to it.

2. Extra spinning can be dispensed with in order to do Khaddar propaganda.

3. We may swell the electoral roll by getting as many Congress members as possible.

4. There should be no manipulation of papers.

5. There should be no managing for securing votes.

6. There should be no criticism of the opposite party, as distinguished from policy.

7. There should be no undue pressure exercised on the voters.

Both the parties are said to have resorted in the past to unscrupulous practices in the matter of election of delegates and members of the subordinate organisations. The best way of avoiding corruption is to be indifferent to the result after having adopted all honest measures for influencing voters.

The no-change programme must be what it means. The proceedings of the Committee have but confirmed the view that the two methods cannot be worked in the same organisation. The Swarajist method cultivates British opinion and looks to the British Parliament for Swaraj. The no-change method looks to the people for it. The two methods represent two opposite mentalities. This is not to say that one is wrong if the other is right. Each may be right in its own place. But for one organisation to work both is to weaken both and therefore to damage the national cause. Whilst one school claims to give political education through the Councils, the other claims to give it exclusively by working among the people and evoking its organising and administrative capacity. One teaches to look up to a government for popular progress, the other tries to show that even the most ideal government plays among a self-governing people the least important part in national growth. One teaches the people that the constructive programme alone, cannot achieve Swaraj, the other teaches the people that it and it alone can achieve it.

Unfortunately I was unable to convince the Swarajists of this obvious truth. And I saw constitutional difficulty in the way of securing a homogeneous organisation. We must now therefore do the next best thing. We must silently work up the constructive programme without regard to what will happen in December, in the full belief that whether the Congress rejects or accepts the programme, for us there is no other. I would ask those newspapers that call themselves no-change papers not to criticise the Swarajists in any shape or form. I am convinced that newspapers play a very small part in shaping the policy or programme of the masses. They do not know newspapers. The no-changers have to reach and represent those who have had no political education whatsoever.

M. K. G.]

Bombay, Remember Sarojini

Shrimati Sarojini Naidu returns to Bombay on the 12th instant. I have no doubt that Bombay will give her a rousing reception. The Congress could not have sent a better messenger to East Africa and South Africa to plead the cause of her sons and daughters in those distant lands. Sarojini has been a real mother to those sons and daughters. She has not spared herself in their service. I present Bombay with the latest letter received from her to remind it of its duty when India's nightingale returns to delight the Indian ear with her sweet music. Here is the letter:

"At long last I have, I confess with great sadness, disentangled the tendrils of my heart from all the clinging hands in your South Africa that is so full of your children.

After three months of ceaseless work and travelling when I got aboard the *Karagola* I felt I could sleep and sleep and sleep—every fibre of my body was charged with weariness and for the first few days I lay in my chair like a lump of indolence, but now in spite of my fever (a faithful companion) I am quite ready to start another month's work in East Africa. Tomorrow I land at Dar-es-salaam and after finishing my tour in Tanganyika I go on to Kenya and sail from there on 2nd July and reach Bombay on the 12th. I know there will be a struggle to keep me longer in Kenya but I shall be obdurate because of a selfish reason. My small daughter is returning home for the long vacation from Oxford. I have not seen her for three years. Have you not accused me of being a good mother?

You would laugh if you saw my luggage. I have arrived at a stage in my life and mind when I am dismayed by too many possessions; but Africa has added to them with both hands. I am devising means whereby to dispossess myself of most of them to advantage. Fortunately I have a large family clan! Seven silver jewel boxes and not enough jewels to put into one! Seven silver purses and not enough money to fill one! Fine gorgeous sets of hair-brush and not enough hair left to brush, and O! such beautiful foreign silks which I cannot wear! Caskets of gold, silver, ivory, tortoise shell with scrolls full of praises of some imaginary lady whom I don't recognise, and so on and so forth,—about 175 presents and presentations and I a wandering singer! How you would laugh at the joyous irony of life. The one thing I am really in need of I could not get in the whole of the African continent—a pair of Indian shoes.

This is quite a frivolous letter but it is a wholesome reaction, though temporary, from the many South African politicians and the many addresses of high praise. I am taking refuge in light magazines and playing with blue-eyed babies on board.

My fellow travellers are friendly. It is my good fortune that I always find friendliness everywhere, even while some of the more rabid Anti-Asiatics were bitterly attacking me politically, they were most friendly personally! Some people ask such funny questions like a young American in a train who quite seriously asked me in the course of conversation if after all Gandhi was not verily a patriot at heart. I nearly collapsed on my seat."

M. K. G.

Young India

3-7-24

The All India Congress Committee

(By M. K. Gandhi)

All the resolutions of the All India Congress Committee will be found printed at another page. The first resolution is bereft of the penalty clause. It was my first defeat in a series. Majorities cannot deceive me. It was impossible for me to be satisfied with a bare majority when I knew that if the Swarajist withdrawals were to be taken into account the defeat was a certainty. I therefore urged the meeting to take into account the withdrawals and remove the penalty clause from the resolution.

The second resolution is not the same as the original draft, but in substance it is the same. The principle of disciplinary action is retained.

The third resolution constitutes real failure. I still feel that the elective organisations of the Congress are executive and that therefore they should contain only those who heartily support the Congress Programme for the time being and who are prepared not to obstruct or tone it down, but to carry it out in its entirety. But it was not possible to get over the constitutional difficulty. Any restriction upon the Cocomada programme must be considered a breach of the Congress constitution. Putting the interpretation that I do even now, the original resolution was not a breach. But it was pointed out to me that I have no right to put my own interpretation upon it and that the Swarajists had the right to contend that those who entered the Councils were not debarred from being on the executives. They said that as a matter of fact there were Swarajists on the Working Committee already. The argument had great weight with me, and in view of the knowledge that the original resolution disqualifying the Swarajists from being on the executives could only be passed by a narrow majority, was decisive in reconciling me to the resolution as finally adopted. It does not please me. But it was the only possible course left save that of dropping the whole proposition. That was required for the sake of keeping before the country the idea of having a homogeneous organisation and of insisting on purity of political conduct. Representatives must be expected to conform to the standards they lay down for others. It must be pointed out in a variety of ways that the Congress is no longer a begging association but that it is primarily a self-purification association designed to achieve its goal by developing internal strength. Public opinion must therefore be created in favour of the things needed for the national life. The best way of creating it is to frame propositions and enlisting support therefor. Whilst therefore I have reconciled myself to the possibility of temporary heterogeneity I would strongly plead with both the parties not to obstruct each other's path.

The fourth resolution however completed my defeat. It is true that the Gopinath resolution was carried by a bare majority. A clear minority would have pleased me more than a narrow majority. I do not forget the fact that many who voted for Mr. Das's amendment did so because of the rumour of impending arrests. Many naturally felt it a point of honour to protect a valued

chief and comrade who had rendered signal services to the country and who had performed great self-sacrifice. Sentiment often outweighs moral considerations and I have no doubt that the Bengal Government will make a serious blunder if they arrest Mr. Das and his supporters. It is too late in the day to punish opinions. If there was no moral consideration against supporting Mr. Das's amendment, I would have had no hesitation whatsoever in myself tendering my support. But I could not, no Congressman could. Mr. Das sees no difference between my resolution and his. I can only call it self-deception. Those who spoke in support of his proposition did not mince matters. They had room for political murder in their philosophy and after all is it not the common philosophy? The majority of the so-called civilised peoples believe in and act upon it on due occasions. They hold that for a disorganised and oppressed people political assassination is the only remedy. That it is a false philosophy, that it has failed to make the world better to live in, is only too true. I merely state that if Mr. Das and his supporters have erred, they have the bulk of 'civilised' opinion on their side. The foreign masters of India have no better record to show. If the Congress was a political organisation with no limitation as to means it would be impossible to object to Mr. Das's amendment on merits. It would then be reduced to a question of expediency.

But that there were seventy Congress representatives to support the resolution was a staggering revelation. They have proved untrue to their creed. In my opinion the amendment was in breach of the Congress creed or policy of non-violence. But I purposely refrained from raising such an objection. If the members wanted the resolution it was well for them to have it. It is always best in my opinion to let constitutional questions be decided as a rule by members.

The other resolutions do not require any discussion.

The resolution extolling the Sikh sacrifice and bravery was in continuation of the traditional policy of the Congress.

The opium resolution became necessary for two reasons. Miss La Motte, who has been doing most valuable work in trying to reduce the world's growth of opium to its bare medical necessity, has pointed out in tragic terms the immoral opium policy of the Government of India. Mr. Andrews has shown how the Government of India made itself responsible for changing at the Opium Convention the word "medical" to "legitimate" in describing people's requirements. It therefore became necessary in view of the approaching convention at Geneva for the A. I. C. C. to say what the nation thinks of the Government of India policy. It had become equally necessary to inquire into the condition of the Assamese under the opium habit. A fine body of men and women are undergoing a process of decay under the cursed opium habit. The Assam Provincial Congress Committee is ready to inquire into the matter. The A. I. C. C. has therefore thought it desirable to appoint Mr. Andrews to conduct the inquiry in cooperation with the Provincial Committee.

The seventh resolution authorises the Working Committee to appoint if necessary a deputation to inquire into the condition of Indian labourers of the Malay Peninsula and Ceylon. We know nothing of the condition of the labourers who emigrate to Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula except from the stray reports that appear in the press. It is our duty to enquire their condition and do whatever we can to ameliorate it.

Notes

Quick Response

Immediately on the resolution requesting members who did not carry out the boycotts in their own persons to resign, being carried at the A. I. C. C. meeting, Mr. Kalidas Jhaveri who is a practising lawyer handed in his resignation as member of various committees. He was elected with the full knowledge of the voters that he had resumed practice. I congratulate Mr. Kalidas Jhaveri on the quick response to the committee's invitation. He is a good worker. Let us hope that his services will not be lost to the Congress because he has resigned office. Every one who either may not see eye to eye with the Congress in all its programmes, or because of weakness or circumstances over which he may have no control and therefore cannot have a place in the executive organisation, can still work as effectively as if he was in the executive. There is for instance nothing to prevent Mr. Jhaveri from enlisting members, spinning, carrying on Khaddar propaganda, collecting subscriptions etc. Indeed a sincere worker prefers work to responsibility of office and by not being on the executive escapes the terrible wranglings that take place therein.

When the A. I. C. C. rejected the resolution exempting migrants, Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande immediately tendered his resignation which was accepted as soon as tendered. Mr. Deshpande happened to be the General Secretary of the Congress. He is also the chairman of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee. It will be interesting to learn how the difficulty in Karnatak is to be overcome, seeing that Mr. Deshpande is the moving spirit. He is organising the Congress work.

Mr. Gangadhar Rao's case is a very big experiment. If he is able to guide the people under his influence without occupying any office, he will have set an example for all of us to copy. It is necessary for us to bring into being workers who would want no office and yet would render as effective service as the strongest official. Such men and women are the pride of a nation. They are its reserve force.

There is yet another reflection that arises from the interesting situation. Why should all of us possess property? Why should not we after a certain time dispossess ourselves of all property? Unscrupulous merchants do this for dishonest purposes. Why may we not do it for a moral and a great purpose. For a Hindu it was the usual thing at a certain stage. Every good Hindu is expected after having lived the household life for a certain period to enter upon a life of non-possession of property. Why may we not revive the noble tradition? In effect it merely amounts to this that for maintenance we place ourselves at the mercy of those to whom we transfer our property. To me the idea is attractive. In the innumerable cases of such honourable trust there is hardly one case in a million of abuse of trust. Of course, there are moral considerations arising out of such transactions. Take the instance of father and son. If the son is as good a non-cooperator as the father why should the father tempt his son by burdening him with ownership of property? Such considerations will always arise and the moral worth of a person is tested by his ability in delicately balancing cross problems of ethics. How such a practice can be worked without giving a handle to dishonest persons can only be determined after long experimenting. No one however need be deterred from trying the experiment for fear of the example being abused.

The divine author of the Gita was not deterred from delivering the message of the 'Song Celestial' although he probably knew that it would be tortured to justify every variety of vice, including murder.

Vaikom

The Vaikom Satyagrah has entered upon probably the last stage. The newspapers report—and the report is confirmed by private advice—that the Travancore authorities have now practically abandoned the Satyagrahis to the tender mercies of *goondas*. This is euphemistically called the organised opposition of the orthodox section. Every one knows that orthodoxy is often unscrupulous. It has 'a rule' prestige and public opinion behind it in comparison with the reformer. It therefore does things with impunity which the poor reformer dare not. But what baffles one is the attitude of the Travancore authorities. Are they conniving at this open violence against the innocent Satyagrahis? Has such an advanced state, like Travancore abdicated its elementary function of protection of life and property? The violence of the *goondas* is said to be of a particularly barbarous type. They blind the eyes of volunteers by throwing lime into them.

The representatives from Kerala asked me if they should not have a resolution of the Congress supporting the movement. I told them that I did not like the idea. What they wanted was moral support. It would have been given by the Committee for the asking, if they had sent a resolution to the president. My responsibility in dissuading them was therefore serious. But I am convinced that all local movements must be self-reliant and that the A. I. C. C. should give its moral support only in exceptional cases. The talk with the members was followed by the resolution regarding the Sikhs. The members when they found me settling the draft of that resolution asked me again whether, in view of the Sikh resolution, I should not relent. I told them that the Congress had already taken up the Sikh cause and that therefore it could not very well now refrain without giving rise to the suspicion it had given up the Sikh cause. The members did not perhaps appreciate my reasoning. But they cheerfully submitted to it. The Travancore authorities may however be respectfully told that the Congress cannot watch barbarity with philosophic indifference. So long as Satyagrah is met by ordinary State processes, the movement must remain local. But the letting loose of the *goondas* on the devoted heads of the Satyagrahis is bound to gather round the Satyagrahis the full weight of all-India public opinion.

A word now to the organisers of Vaikom Satyagrah. The challenge of the *goondas* must be taken up. But the Satyagrahis must not lose their heads. The khaddar dress of the volunteers is said to have been torn from them and burnt. This is all most provoking. They must remain cool under every provocation and courageous under the hottest fire. Loss even of a few hundred lives will not be too great a price to pay for the freedom of the unapproachables. Only the martyrs must die clean. Satyagrahis like Caesar's wife must be above suspicion.

An Apology

I have much pleasure in printing the following letter. In my note on Barabanki I did not give the name of my informant. But I cannot withhold the name any longer. I wish all will be as ready as Mr. Shusib to admit mistakes and slow to believe stories about Hindu and

Musselman misdeeds. The reader will share my gladness that the charge against the Hindu Municipal Commissioners of Barabanki was baseless. I apologise to them for having been the unconscious instrument of doing an injustice to them:

To the Editor, *Young India*,

Sir,

Since I wrote to you about conditions at Barabanki I am informed by a Musselman member of the District Congress Committee Barabanki, who is also a member of the Provincial Congress Committee U. P., that the facts are not as they were reported to me. All that took place was that in place of the old rule of Barabanki Municipal Board by virtue of which applications to the Board could only be given in Urdu script the Board passed a law that they could be given either in Devanagari or Urdu characters—a law which I personally consider to be just and fair. I am very sorry that I supplied you with facts which have turned out to be incorrect. My only excuse is that my informants were very reliable persons. I do not intend to name them but should like to say that they are both of them office-bearers of the Congress and recognised by all to be absolutely free from communal prejudices. It was because of this that I readily believed what they said. I, however, do not wish to blame those gentlemen who, I may in passing say, fully believed those facts themselves. The mistake is all mine. I should have thoroughly ascertained the facts before writing about them to you even though they were reported to me by persons whom I considered perfectly reliable. I shall know how to act in future. But for the present I can only express my sincere and profound regrets for having been an unconscious instrument in giving publicity to facts likely to affect adversely Hindu-Muslim relations which are strained enough already.

Yours etc.
Shuaib Qureshi

Cordial Relations

Mr. K. Rajagopalachari of Tirupati sends the following by way of a variety in the unbroken series of unpleasantnesses between Hindus and Mussalmans.

"As you seem to have been presented with the dark side only of Hindu-Muslim tension I wish to present you with the bright side of it also.

Tirupati is a small place with a population of 18000 people of whom about 500 are Mussalmans, the rest being Hindus. You know it is one of the sacred places of Hindus and men from all parts of India visit this place in thousands daily. Naturally the Hindus are very influential, the head of the temple being a northern Indian Bairagi and extremely influential with Government. The Mussalmans are all traders and some of them are leading merchants in the place. The Mussalmans are new-comers, but the relationship between them and the Hindus is as cordial as possible. In September last one of the leading Mussalmans of the place, in celebrating the birth-month of the Prophet had put paper festoons right across the street (the only main street in the town) and a red cloth in which was written 'Mahomed's birth-month celebration' on one side and 'Prophet of

all prophets' on the other side. Hindus were silently murmuring protests against the latter writing on the cloth. But no trouble arose in any of the previous years. However, the temple authorities stopped a number of processions of the Hindu Deity through that street lest they should create some trouble between Hindus and Mussalmans; more with a view it appears to respect the sentiments of Muslims. One day, however, the procession of the Deity through that street could not be prevented. The temple authorities took the precaution of speaking to the Muslim friends beforehand and had arranged to get the cloth alone removed when the Deity had to pass that street. The Muslim friend seems to have consented, but, when the Deity actually came near his shop, the Hindus wanted even the paper festoons to be removed, while the Muslim friend refused to remove even the cloth. I happened to pass that way then and found a large number of Hindus assembled in front of the shop and about a hundred Muslims had also gathered to have a fight if necessary. I could not convince the Hindus, that there was nothing wrong in the Deity passing through the festoons nor the Mussalmans that they would not lose their prestige by removing them at once. The Hindus were in no mood to listen to me for a large number of them were drunk and no respectable Hindu was present there. When I argued with such of the Hindus as were sober that it was not derogatory to Hinduism to take our Deity underneath the festoons, they said I was pro-Muslim and even conspired to beat me. Meanwhile, two or three responsible temple officials appeared on the scene and dramatically announced that the Deity should be taken underneath the festoons and no police help was needed so far as they were concerned. The attitude of Muslims at once changed. They suggested that their own men should go up and raise the paper festoons so that they might not touch any portion of the sacred Deity and its ornaments and that the cloth should be removed at once. The matter ended smoothly that night. The next morning, a Hakim friend, a good Mussalman, as soon as he came to know of the trouble the previous evening, ordered the festoons all to be removed or he would come and remove them himself. The festoons were at once removed. The temple authorities, even a few days after, declined to take the Deity through the street, because, one of them told me subsequently, they did not want to create the impression in the minds of the Muslims, that the Hindus being larger in number and more powerful were coercing them into doing things which otherwise they would not do. Many of the prominent Hindus agreed with us that what we did was commendable and we had their sympathies.

The Hakim Sahib, two or three days later, sent for me and told me that he was ashamed to look up in the face of any Hindu for their magnanimity, in the face of comparative unreasonableness on the part of Muslims. A few days after that, both Hindus and Moslems closed their shops, the Hindus showing their sympathy towards Mussalmans during Ramzan. Next time, the Moslems closed their shops along with the Hindus and the mutual friendly relationship still continues and I am sure will continue for ever. For a long

time there was only one mosque in this town and recently another mosque has been erected. The Hindus refrain from music even in front of the new mosque today. The Hindus are so powerful that if they only care, they can ignore the Mussalmans and have their own way, but, they are conducting themselves very considerately towards the Mussalmans and even yield when necessary. By such behaviour, we have created in the minds of Mussalmans a certain amount of confidence in us, and many sensitive Mussalmans are ashamed even to talk of the incident of September last. By our yielding to their demands, even though unreasonable, we disarm them of all opposition. Our educated people can do and undo things. The masses follow us, and if we lead them aright, there will be no Hindu-Muslim trouble and we could reach our goal quickly."

Let us hope that the cordial relations between the two sections will continue for ever.

M. K. G.

Assam and Opium.

(By C. F. Andrews.)

There can be no sadder thing on God's earth than to see Nature herself radiant in beauty and mankind sunk under the spell of some deadly vice. Such is the case in a certain direction with Assam, where the opium evil has eaten into the very heart of the people. When I was at Nowgong last year, presiding at the Student's Conference, news was brought to me by the students from every Assam district concerning this curse of opium, and they all condemned it in unmeasured terms. When I asked the Assam leaders to tell me on what subject it seemed to them most necessary to speak, they all unhesitatingly said "Opium." Two of my own pupils were among those present. They had gone back from Shantiniketan, determined to take up agricultural work. When they started to employ labour they were faced with a dilemma. They wished to employ Assamese labourers, but they found that every one who came required, in addition to his daily wage, a daily dose of opium. This they refused to give. They told me that it was easy to get East Bengal labourers from Mymensingh, who were flocking into Assam and competing with the Assamese labourers. These did not yet take opium, though some of them were learning the evil habit. But my pupils had wished especially to employ Assam labourers from Swadeshi motives. They asked me, what they were to do. I answered them: "Whatever you do, don't encourage the opium habit. That must be wrong. Nothing can do more permanent harm to the country than that!" They took my advice. But I am afraid they will not get any local labour in that district without the opium bribe.

The non-co-operation movement did wonders. I heard about this on all sides. Again and again I received the welcome news from reliable sources, including Government Opium Excise officials, that after the visit of Mr. Gandhi the opium consumption had fallen by over 10 per cent. But I was told, at the same time, that owing to the repressive measures of Government officials, who had imprisoned the workers giving them long sentences of rigorous imprisonment, the opium consumption had again increased.

The local Council had brought in a measure now passed into law, by which the amount of opium offered for sale by the Government monopoly should be reduced each year by 10 per cent. By this time the reduction ought to amount to 80 per cent of the former Government sales. But I could not find out how far this had actually been carried

into practice, or how far it had really affected the opium-sodden districts. There was a general opinion, I found, at Gauhati, that the legislation had not proved effective, and that opium could be had as easily as before, though not so cheaply. From all I could gather after very careful enquiry there was evidently no doubt in any one's mind, that opium was still the supreme curse of Assam, and there could be no regeneration of Assam until this curse was removed.

At a meeting, held at Gauhati, it was unanimously agreed in a resolution, that an enquiry should be made as to the extent of the opium evil and a report be drawn up for the Geneva Convention, which was to be held in November in connection with the League of Nations. Splendid workers can be found who will undertake this work; but funds must be provided. I trust that the All India Congress Committee may help with an emergency grant. In that case, I have full confidence that Assam itself will be able to do the rest. I hold strongly that the work should be primarily undertaken by the Assam Congress Committee and that this opium enquiry should be its substantive work during the next few months.

At the meeting, which was held in Gauhati, when my turn came to speak at length on the opium question, I read before the audience, passages from the Opium Despatch, which was published by the Government of India during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge. In that Despatch, it is declared that the people of India know how to use opium without injury to themselves. The benefits of opium for children, the aged and infirm, when taken to relieve suffering, are held up for approval, and it is stated that in India Opium though taken freely without medical prescription is very rarely abused. When I read in Assam this passage from the Government of India Despatch, it only called forth derisive laughter. The people of Assam know only too well how hollow and false such sentiments are when related concerning their own country.

Along with the restriction of opium consumption there must be a corresponding reduction of alcohol, if Assam is to be made safe from intoxicants. It must never be forgotten that drink and drugs go together. They are both intoxicants. The literal meaning of the word 'intoxicants' is 'poison-producers.' These drugs poison the human body. In America, since alcohol has been prohibited, there has been an alarming increase in other drugs. It is said that there are over a million opium addicts today in the United States. In Canada also, the drug habit is increasing. It is only by stopping the cultivation of the opium poppy and the preparing of the opium drug (except in strictly limited quantities, such as are needed for medical and scientific purposes) that the evil which threatens the world can be cured. This is what the League of Nations at Geneva has been asking for. Up to the present time, India alone has stood in the way. Very much depends upon the report of the people of Assam whether the full facts concerning opium consumption in India shall continue to be misrepresented at Geneva or not.

Hindu-Muslim Tension

Its Cause and Cure

by

M. K. Gandhi

A reprint in pamphlet form of the statement that appeared in 'Young India' with a fresh preface by Mr. Gandhi. Price one anna, exclusive of postage. Apply to Young India office, Ahmedabad

Resolutions adopted by the A. I. C. C.

I Handspinning

Part 1

1. In view of the fact that the members of Congress organisations throughout the country have themselves hitherto neglected handspinning, in spite of the fact that the spinning wheel and its product handspun Khaddar have been regarded as indispensable for the establishment of Swaraj and although their acceptance has been regarded by the Congress as a necessary preliminary to civil disobedience, the A. I. C. C. resolves that members of all elected Congress organisations shall, except when disabled by sickness or prevented by continuous travelling or other similar cause regularly spin for at least half an hour every day and shall each send to the Secretary of the All India Khadi Board or to any person appointed by him in this behalf at least 2,000 yards of even and well-twisted yarn of their own spinning so as to reach him not later than the 15th day of August 1924, and thereafter in regular monthly succession. Any member failing to send the prescribed quantity by the prescribed date shall, unless unavoidably prevented, be deemed to have vacated his office and such vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner; provided that the member vacating in the manner aforesaid shall not be eligible for re-election before the next general election for the members of the several organisations.

Part 2

In view of the fact that certain members whilst the proceedings of the committee were going on, deemed it necessary to withdraw from the committee, by reason of their resentment of the penalty clause in the obligatory spinning resolution, and in view of the fact that the penalty clause of the resolution was carried only by 67 against 37 votes and further in view of the fact that the said penalty clause would have been defeated if the votes of the withdrawals had been given against, this committee considers it proper and advisable to remove the penalty clause from the resolution and to reaffirm the said resolution without the said penalty clause.

II Defaulters

Inasmuch as it has been brought to the notice of the committee that instructions issued from time to time by offices and organisations duly authorised thereto have sometimes not been carried out properly, it is resolved that such disciplinary action, including dismissal, as may be deemed advisable by respective executive committees of the P. C. C.'s of the provinces in which the failure has occurred shall be taken against the persons about whom complaint may be made and in the cases of complaints by or on behalf of the central organisation such disciplinary action as may be taken by the Provincial Executive Committee shall be reported to the complaining organisations. In the case of default by the whole organisations the disciplinary action shall be taken by the superior organisation.

III

Request to representatives

The A. I. C. C. draws the attention of the Congress voters to the fact that the five boycotts viz. of all foreign cloth, Government law-courts, educational institutions,

titles and legislative bodies except in so far as the boycott of legislative bodies may be affected by the Cocomada resolution and the propaganda for the exclusive use of Khaddar are still part of the Congress programme, and therefore considers it desirable that those Congress voters who believe in the Congress programme do not elect to the various organisations subordinate to the Congress those who do not believe in the principle of and carry out in their own persons the said five boycotts except where affected by the said Cocomada resolution and do not exclusively use handspun Khaddar and the A. I. C. C. therefore requests such persons who are now members of Congress elective organisations to resign their places.

IV

Condemnation of murders

The A. I. C. C. regrets the murder of Ernest Day by Gopinath Saha and offers its condolences to the deceased's family; and though deeply sensible of the love, however misguided, of the country prompting the murder, the A. I. C. C. strongly condemns this and all such political murders and is emphatically of opinion that all such acts are inconsistent with the non-violent policy of the Congress; and is of opinion that such acts retard the progress towards Swaraj, and interfere with the preparations for civil disobedience which in the opinion of the A. I. C. C. is capable of evoking the purest sacrifice but which can only be offered in a perfectly peaceful atmosphere.

V

Appreciation of Sikhs

The A. I. C. C. places on record its appreciation of the amazing self-sacrifice undergone by the Sikhs in the prosecution of the defence of their religious rights and congratulates them specially on the bravery and cool courage exhibited by them at the time of the unnecessary, uncalled for and cruel firing at Jaito.

VI

Opium Policy

In the opinion of the A. I. C. C. the opium policy of the Government of India is altogether contrary to the moral welfare of the people of India and other countries. The A. I. C. C. is further of opinion that the people of India would welcome the total abolition of the opium traffic for purposes of revenue and is also of opinion that the production of opium is out of all proportion to the medical requirements of India.

The A. I. C. C. hereby appoints Mr. C. F. Andrews to conduct an enquiry in connection with the Assam Provincial Congress Committee into the opium habits of the people of Assam and the effect upon them of the opium policy of the Government and for this purpose authorises the Working Committee to make the necessary arrangements.

VII

Indians Over-seas

After reading the report of Messrs Andrews and Chatterjee on emigration from India for labour purposes, the A. I. C. C. hereby authorises the Working Committee to send if necessary the deputation suggested in the report to the Malay Peninsula and Ceylon and invite the cooperation of other organisations on the deputation.

Young India

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Notes

Council Entry

After the closing of the session of the A. I. C. C. Pandit Motilalji went to Rajkot for a domestic visit and halted at Ahmedabad on his way to Bombay. We met during the halt. In the course of our discussion I happened to say that it would be disastrous if the Swarajists retired from the councils at this stage. He immediately reminded me of my previous writing that if I could convince the Swarajists I would ask them to withdraw. I said I saw no contradiction between the two. The one statement is permanent and based upon principle, the other is applicable to the immediate present only and is based on expedience. There is no doubt that the Swarajists have created a stir in the Government circles. There is no doubt too that any withdrawal at the present moment will be misunderstood as a rout and weakness. As a matter of fact, so far as the A. I. C. C. is concerned, the Swarajist position has been never so strong as it is now. They are entitled to claim a moral victory. Believing as they do in giving battle to the Government in the Assembly and the councils, they have no reason whatsoever for withdrawing from the legislative bodies at the present moment. Their withdrawal at this juncture can only add to the present depression in the country and strengthen the hands of a government which wants to give nothing to justice and which yields gracelessly and reluctantly to pressure.

The only opportune time for the Swarajists to come out will be when we the whole-boggers have become active workers of our own programme, which we consider to be the only one that can bring us Swaraj, and shown progressive success, or when the Swarajists are by bitter experience convinced that the councils can only give cordiments but no bread, and that therefore they should give their whole time and attention to the constructive programme.

The key to the situation lies in the hands of us 'whole-boggers.' We claim that the masses are behind us. I at least feel so. If they are, we must show it by results—not by merely securing a majority at the Congress but by showing substantial work. All the No-changers in all the provinces cannot show adequate results. The fault is probably not theirs. We like the programme, but we have not evolved the capacity for working it. But if that be the true diagnosis, we must now work, for work not words will give us the capacity. Then and not till then, when we have shown substantial results, will the Swarajists of their own accord come away from the councils.

There is, in my opinion, no room for a centre party. A centre party is a party of vacillation. It floats with the tide. Whereas the time has come for us all to decide one

way or the other. Those who believe in the councils must remain in or being out enter them or organise work for them. It will be disastrous for them and for the country if, in spite of their belief in the councils, they retired from them for fear of public opinion. No one who wants Swaraj can do well away his or her time.

My Position

I would like to retain my hold on the Congress not by a fictitious or manufactured majority—not merely because my withdrawal is likely to create disorganisation and depression. Even that must be faced if I cannot make my programme acceptable. Enervation is bound to be followed by rejuvenation. The Congress had become a reality in 1920—21. There is fear of its becoming an unreality worse than before 1920. In 1920 there was no organised dishonesty. Then there was no limitation of delegates, no obligation upon Congressmen to do any continuous work and no purse. Now we have a limitation to the number of delegates, resolutions are almost all addressed to them and we have even now a purse such as the Congress never possessed at any time before 1920.

The natural result must therefore be dishonesty if we are not incessantly watchful. Swarajists tell me that the No-changers have dishonestly worked the constitution and the latter pay the same compliment to the former. I do not know the truth. But I do know that it bodes ill for Swaraj, if we cannot or do not work the Congress constitution with the utmost honesty.

I would like the Congress to become progressively popular. I would therefore man it with mercantile, artisan and agricultural classes. I would therefore also keep all the boycotts intact and have on the executive only those who fully carry them out in their own persons. Those who cannot but still believe in them can help those who do carry them out but who are inexperienced in the management of institutions or who are not known to the public as workers. It should be the privilege of educated classes to be behind and push into public life those who have hitherto kept aloof.

In an organisation thus conceived, privileged classes have no place on the executive. They can all be in the annual deliberative assembly. Pandit Motilalji suggests a small standing deliberative assembly. I should not mind it. It would perhaps be an advantage to have such a body with all the powers of the Congress. There is no doubt that the constitution requires some drastic changes. We must secure efficiency and swiftness. And these cannot be secured even under a perfect constitution, if we who have to work it are not honest or do not want efficiency and swiftness.

M. K. G.

My Jail Experiences

(By M. K. Gandhi)

X

Some Convict Warders

(2)

Adan was a young Somali soldier who was sentenced to ten years' hard labour for desertion from the British Army which he had joined during the war. He was transferred by the Aden Jail authorities. Adan had served four years when we were admitted. He was practically illiterate. He could read the Koran with difficulty but could not copy it correctly, if at all. He was able to speak Urdu fairly fluently and was anxious to learn Urdu. With the permission of the Superintendent I tried to teach him but the learning of the alphabet proved too great a strain upon him and he left it. With all that he was quick-witted and sharp as a needle. He took the greatest interest in religious matters. He was a devout Mussalman, offered his prayers regularly including the midnight one, and never missed the Ramzan fast. The rosary was his constant companion. When he was free, he used to recite selections from the Koran. He would often engage me in a discussion on complete fasts according to the Hindu custom as also on Abhisara. He was a brave man. He was very courteous but never cringing. He was of an excitable nature and therefore often quarrelled with the bardasi or his fellow warder. We had therefore sometimes to arbitrate between them. Being a soldier and amenable to reason, he would accept the award, but he would put his case boldly and cogently. Adan was the longest with us. I treasured Adan's affection. He was most attentive to me. He would see to it that I got my food at the appointed time. He was sad if I ever became ill and anticipated all my wants. He would not let me exert myself for anything. He was anxious to be discharged or at least to be transferred to Aden. I tried hard. I drew up petitions for him. The Superintendent too tried his best. But the decision rested with the Aden authorities. Hope was held out to him that he would be discharged before the end of last year. I do hope he is already discharged. The little service I rendered gave rise to deep personal attachment. It was a sad parting when Adan was transferred to another part of the prison. I must not omit to mention that when I was organising spinning and carding in the jail, Adan, though one of his hands was disabled, helped most industriously at making slivers. He became very proficient in the art which he had come to like.

As Shantakarla was replaced by Adan, Harkaran was replaced by Bhiwa. Much to our agreeable surprise, Bhiwa was a Maher from Maharashtra and therefore an untouchable. Of all the warders we met he was perhaps the most industrious. The reader will be surprised to find that the carker of untouchability has not left even the jail untouched. Poor Bhiwa! He would not enter our cells without considerable hesitation. He would not touch our pots. We quickly set him at rest by telling him that we had not only no prejudices against untouchables but that we were trying our best to do away with the curse. Shankarla Bunker specially befriended him and made him feel perfectly at home with us. He permitted Bhiwa to be so familiar with him that the former would resent an angry word from Mr. Bunker and the latter would even apologise. He induced Bhiwa to apply himself to studies

and taught him also spinning. The result was that Bhiwa became in an incredibly short space of time an accomplished spinner and began so to like it that he thought of learning weaving, and earning his living through that occupation when he went out. I cultivated in the jail the habit of drinking hot water and lemon at 4.15 A. M. When I protested against Mr. Bunker doing it for me, he initiated Bhiwa into the mystery. Prisoners, though they get up early enough, do not like to leave their matting (which is their bed) at that early hour. Bhiwa however immediately responded to his friend's suggestion. But it was Mr. Bunker's business always to wake up Bhiwa at 4 o'clock. When Bhiwa went (he was discharged under special remission), Adan undertook the duty. He will not listen to my doing it myself. And the tradition was kept up even after Mr. Bunker's discharge, each out-going warder initiating the in-coming one into all the mysteries. Needless to say this morning duty was no part of the prison task. Indeed convicts when they became warders were not expected to do any labour at all. Theirs is but to order.

Even as the best of friends must part some day, Bhiwa bade good-bye. He was permitted to receive from Mr. Bunker khaddar caps, khaddar dhoties, khaddar vests and a khaddar blanket. He promised to wear nothing but khaddar outside. Let me hope good Bhiwa, where-ever he may be, is keeping the promise.

Bhiwa was followed by Thamu. He too belonged to Maharashtra. Thamu was a mild-mannered warder. He had not much 'go' in him. He would do what he was asked but did not believe in specially exerting himself. He and Adan therefore did not get on quite well together. But Thamu being timid always yielded to Adan in the end. He had such a royal time (all bad) with us that Thamu did not want to be separated from us. He therefore preferred to bear Adan's hard yoke to being transferred. Thamu having come to us a considerable time after Adan, the latter was Thamu's senior with us. It is remarkable how these fictitious seniorities spring up in little places like jails. Yerawada was to us a whole world or better still the whole world. Every squabble, every little jar, was a mighty event commanding sustained interest for the day and sometimes even for days. If the jail authorities permitted a jail newspaper to be conducted by the prisoners and for them, it would have a cent per cent circulation and such toothsome news as properly cooked dholi, well dressed vegetables, and sensational items as war of words between prisoners, sometimes even resulting in blows and consequent *khatlaz* (trial) before the Superintendent, would be as eagerly devoured by the prisoners as the news of big dinner parties and great wars are devoured by the public outside. I make the present of a suggestion to enterprising members of the Assembly that if they desire fame they cannot do better than introduce a bill requiring Superintendents of jails to permit the publishing and editing of newspapers by prisoners exclusively for their own use and under strict censorship by the authorities.

To return to Thamu, though he was flabby, as a man he was otherwise as good as any of his predecessors. He took to the charkha like fish to water. In a week's time,

he pulled a more even thread than I did. And after a month, the pupil out-distanced the teacher by a long way. So much so that I grew jealous of Thamm's superiority. I saw too from Thamm's rapid progress that my slow progress was a peculiar defect of mine and that an ordinary person could pull a perfect thread in a month at the outside. Every one of those who were taught by me excelled me in no time. To Thamm as to Bhiwa, the spinning wheel had become a welcome companion. They were able to drown the sorrows of separation from their nearest in the soft and gentle music of the wheel. Later on spinning became Thamm's first work in the morning. He spun at the rate of four hours per day.

When we were shifted to the European yard, there were several changes. Among them was a change of warders. Adan was the first to be transferred. Though neither he nor we liked it, we took his transfer bravely. Then came Thamm's turn. Poor fellow, he broke down. He wanted me to try to keep him. I would not do that. I thought it was beyond my province. The authorities had a perfect right to shift whom and where they would. Adan and Thamm were followed by Kunti, a Gurkha, and a Canarese by name Gangappa. The Gurkha was called Goorkha by everybody. He was reserved but grew 'chummy' later on. For the first few days, he did not know where he was. Probably he thought we would report and involve him on the slightest pretext. But when he saw that we meant no mischief, he came closer to us. But he was soon transferred. Gangappa I have partly described in the introduction to the jail correspondence. He was an elderly man. His almost punctilious observance of rules and his great devotion to duty commanded my admiration. He put his whole soul into whatever he was ordered by the authorities to do. He took up duties which he need not have. He rarely remained idle. He learnt to make and cook chapatis for my companions. His devotion to me personally I shall never forget. No wife or sister could be more unsparing than Gangappa in his attention. He was awake at all times. He took delight in anticipating my wants. He saw to it that all my things were kept spotlessly clean. During my illness, he was my most efficient nurse, because he was the most attentive. When we were transferred to the European yard, Messrs. Mansar Ali and Yagnik used to join me at prayer time. Mr. Mansar Ali was transferred to Allahabad for his discharge in due course. Mr. Yagnik because he needed more intensive and philosophical rather than devotional meditation dropped out. Gangappa felt that without these friends I would feel lonely at prayer. The very first time that he saw that I was alone at prayer, he quietly took his seat in front of me. Needless to say I appreciated the delicate courtesy underlying the action. It was so spontaneous, unofficious, and natural for Gangappa. I do not call it religious in the accepted sense of the term, though, according to my conception, it was truly religious. I always hesitated to invite anybody to these prayer meetings of mine. I did not want them to come for my sake. I did not feel lonely. I realised most at that time the companionship of God. If any one came, I wanted him not for keeping company but for sharing the divine companionship. I therefore particularly hesitated to invite the warders. I felt that they might join merely out of form, whereas I wanted them to join only if they naturally felt like joining. With Gangappa it was a mixture of pity for me in my loneliness and desire to share with me the sacred half-hour, though he could understand not a word

of what I sang or save, of course *Ramnam*. Gangappa drew to the prayer meeting another warden Annappa, also a Canarese, and later Mr. Abdul Gani felt impelled to join. I imagine that Mr. Abdul Gani was unconsciously influenced by Gangappa's unobtrusive act of joining me.

The reader will see that I had a uniformly happy experience of these convict warders. I could not have wished for more devoted companions or more faithful attendants. Paid service would but be a patch upon this and that of friends could only equal it. And yet the pity of it is that society treats such men as criminals and outcastes because they had the misfortune to be convicted. I entirely endorse the remark of the head jailer already quoted by me in a previous chapter that there are in our jails many men who are better than those outside. The reader will now understand why I felt a pang when I heard that I was discharged, and most of the companions who had covered me with so much kindness and whom there was in my opinion no occasion to detain any longer in the jails were left behind.

One word more and I must regretfully part with Gangappa. Gangappa always knew his limitations. He would not spin. He said he could not do it. His fingers had not the cunning for it. But he kept the work room in order, cleaned my wheel and devoted all his spare time to sunning and cleaning the cotton for carding.

Of all the many happy memories of my prison life I know that those of the company of the convict warders will perhaps linger the longest.

Charkha at 86

BoroDada sends the following encouraging letter:

"We Bengalis are addicted to abstract reasoning more than any other people of India. A man who has got ordinary common sense goes directly to his work if he thinks it to be the only way of salvation under the existing circumstances, but a man of abstract logic, if he sees before him any work that he has to perform for the general good, he calls to his aid a host of 'ifs' and 'buts' to serve as loop-hole for escaping from any little sacrifice, which may be required of him to successfully carry out the task which he undertakes to perform. We seem to argue, 'If such honourable men as A and B who are engaged in the great work of writing which require the exercise of brain rather than hand, were to spend their valuable time in plying the charkha, like the old women of past generations, instead of pen and tongue, they would be rendered quite unfit for leadership.' A man of common sense can at once see that if a man holding the high position of a leader, spin the charkha only half an hour a day, his pen and tongue would be entirely free to preach and write with a great deal more convincing efficacy about the message of the charkha for the masses."

His secretary who encloses the letter says,

"BoroDada is fully convinced about the khaddar movement. His faith in the charkha is stronger than ever, and he believes that this will bring about the economic salvation of India which she sorely needs. He says that it is a superstition with us that men should not spin, as if it is the sole monopoly of old women. In order to remove this superstition he has ordered a charkha for himself, and he will try whether he can spin with his own hands. You will be surprised to know how keenly he is watching the present movement even at the ripe age of 86"

M. K. G.

Young India

10-7-24

Spinning Resolution

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The spinning resolution of the A. I. C. C. is, in my opinion, the most important of all the resolutions of the A. I. C. C. There is an inclination to laugh at it. The members of Congress organisations can demonstrate in a month's time the impropriety of the laugh. Even if the economic value of khaddar be admitted, it will be found on experience that the resolution was necessary to bring about an economic revolution. It is not too much to expect Congress workers to give half an hour's labour to its most popular programme.

Those who voted for the resolution are in honour bound to carry it out. In my opinion the penalty clause had a proper place in the resolution. An organisation has every right to prescribe penalties for a breach by its members of self-imposed conditions. But now that the penalty clause is out, I hope that even the objectors will comply with the resolution.

Its possibilities are immense. Spinning is obligatory on all representative congressmen. There are or should be in every one of the twenty provinces, provincial, district, taluka and village organisations. They have each at least five hundred such representatives. I understand that some provinces have several thousand representatives. But taking the lowest figure we get over ten thousand members. Two thousand yards of 10 counts means nearly ten tolas. Therefore ten thousand members would be sending 2500 pounds of yarn. That is to say, the representatives would have spun enough yarn to supply five thousand poor men with one vest length of cloth. Apart from every other consideration, is this labour not worth taking for the sake of the poor? Imagine the effect of such work on the poor people! The knowledge of Congressmen working for them must fill them with a new hope.

Take another consideration. Ten thousand representatives cannot be satisfied with just spinning themselves. They must infect with their zeal those they represent. And thus khaddar which is supposed to be on the wane will wax again with redoubled force.

The workers being intelligent men and women will learn the science of spinning and will be therefore in a position to organise their neighbourhoods for hand-spinning.

Moreover, half an hour and ten tolas is the minimum required. As a matter of fact one spins 100 yards in half an hour with the greatest ease. The minimum therefore one can send should be three thousand yards. And half an hour is suggested for the busy worker. Many should be able to spin for one hour. I know some who are now spinning at the rate of two hours per day. The average receipts should therefore be at least double the minimum counted by me i. e. 5000 yards.

I do not suppose any one has yet realised what this hand-spinning means. It is nothing less than making national work self-supporting. Here are some figures. I have taken low average rates and low average work.

	Rs. P.
Ginning one mound ...	18 lbs. 0-8-0
Carding 13 pounds seed-free cotton out of 1 md. seed cotton ...	40 lbs. 2-8-0
Spinning 12½ lbs. 10 counts at the rate of 275 yards per hour ...	400 lbs. 2-6-0

Rs. 5-6-0

Thus one man working for 452 hours (say 450) would earn Rs. 5-6-0 (say Rs. 5). ∴ 450 men working one hour, would earn Rs. 5 ∴ 450 men working for thirty days at the rate of 1 hour per day would earn Rs. 150. ∴ 450 men giving one hour daily can support with ease 5 volunteers at the rate of Rs. 30 per month.

And five volunteers can easily organise the whole Congress work among 450 men and women. The united labour for a single item of a large number of persons has illimitable possibilities, though the labour of one person for it may mean practically nothing.

An ardent worker may work out many startling figures. I make a present of three propositions to be so worked.

1. If hand-spinning in a poor district is chiefly paid it can remove its poverty.

2. If spinning in a well-to-do district is mainly voluntary, it can support all the volunteers that may be needed.

3. Every village school can defray at least half its expenses if the school children are made to work at all the processes up to spinning for at least 3 hours per school day.

I need not point out that no such results are possible if khaddar does not become as saleable as a postage stamp. It would be criminal if it does not become so in a country which grows more than enough cotton for its wants, whose population is used to spinning, which has all the accessories necessary for it and which has a very large starving population waiting to be organised for such work.

If this work is to be done efficiently and economically, the Provincial Secretaries and others will have to carry out to the full the instructions they may receive from the Khadi Board. The head-quarters must have a duplicate register containing the names of all the members (serially numbered) who are expected to spin. All yarn must be labelled containing the number of yards, weight and the name and the serial number of the spinner. The Provincial organisations will have to collect sufficient cotton for distribution. Carding will have to be organised. Thus there is no time to be lost, if the returns are to be complete as they should be the very first month.

Lastly those who do not know spinning at all will make no head-way if they commence by spinning only half an hour daily. For the first few days before the fingers respond, the beginner will have to work several hours per day.

Hindu-Muslim Tension

Its Cause and Cure

by

M. K. Gandhi

Price 1 Anna Apply to, Young India's office, Ahmedabad

One Programme

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Friends have asked me to suggest one universal programme in which Rajas, Maharajas, No-changers, Pro-changers, Liberals, Independents, practising lawyers, Anglo-Indians and all others could join without reserve. I am asked to suggest such a programme with the condition that it must be effective and swift enough for the attainment of Swaraj. The most effective and the swiftest programme I can suggest is the adoption and organisation of khaddar, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, and removal by the Hindus of untouchability. It is my unalterable belief that if these three things are achieved we can establish Swaraj without the slightest difficulty. I further believe that if all the parties whole-heartedly work the programme, it can succeed within one year. Success of khaddar will mean boycott of foreign cloth. It is India's right and duty to manufacture all the cloth she needs. She has the means of doing it. And boycott of foreign cloth will automatically purify the English mind and remove the one insuperable obstacle in the way of Englishmen looking at things Indian from the Indian stand-point.

If therefore the country as a whole adopts this three-fold programme, I would be prepared to advise suspension of the non-co-operation programme and civil disobedience for a period of one year. I say one year, because an honest working of the programme must bring about a virtual boycott of foreign cloth within that period.

I need hardly say that the cooperation of Swarajists alone in the above programme is not enough to suspend non-co-operation or preparations for civil disobedience. Their assent is already there. They are pledged like all other Congressmen to the full constructive programme. Non-co-operation is necessary so long as there is no change of heart in the Government. And without that change those who keep themselves outside the Congress pale will not actively and openly participate in the programme.

I fear that the time has not yet arrived for such sincere cooperation with the people on the part of the Government or those whose position and prestige depend upon its patronage.

I know too that a very large number of people are not yet converted to the programme of unadulterated khaddar. They disbelieve in the mighty potency of the charkha. They even suspect me of evil designs upon the Indian mills. Few take the trouble of drawing a mental picture of the meaning of the message of the charkha.

I have no doubt that the country will soon come round to the charkha if its votaries are true to their faith. But some of my friends tell me that I am wrong in my diagnosis. They tell me that if I would but drop non-co-operation and civil disobedience everyone will gather round the charkha and that it is preposterous for me to suspect the Government of a desire to divide Hindus and Mussalmans. I hope I am wrong.

Let me make the position clear regarding our mills. I am not their enemy. I believe they have a place in our economy for some time to come. Boycott of foreign cloth cannot perhaps be brought about speedily without the assistance of mills. But if they are to help, they must become national in spirit. They must not be worked merely for the agents and share-holders but for the nation at large. In our programme, however we must erase the mills, for khaddar has to carve out a position for itself.

The message of khaddar has not even been delivered to one out of seven lakhs of villages. The mills have therefore more than six-sevenths of India yet at their disposal. If khaddar is to establish a permanent footing, Congressmen can only use and popularise it to the exclusion of mill cloth. Patriotic mill-owners must see at a glance the utility, the necessity and the reasonableness of my proposition. Indeed they can help khaddar without hurting themselves. If the time comes when the whole of India adopts khaddar, they must rejoice with the nation and they will, even as the Lancashire mill-owners will and must some day, find other uses for their capital and machinery. I have sketched the universal programme for the satisfaction of insistent friends. But I would warn the workers against turning their attention away from the immediate task before them which is to attend to their own and their neighbours' spinning. If universal acceptance does not come now, their spinning and their faith will precipitate it. That it must come some day is a certainty. The precise date can be determined only by those who have already a living faith in it and who have proved it by acting up to it in the face of heaviest odds.

Rules to be observed

The All India Khadi Board has passed the following resolutions.

1. Every member of the A. I. C. C., every member of the general body of the Provincial Congress Committees and of District, Sub-divisional and Taluka Committees, and every member of the executive committee of primary Sabhas are bound by the A. I. C. C. resolution about spinning to send to the All India Khadi Secretary at least 2000 yards of yarn on the 15th of every month beginning from 15th August next.

2. Provincial Khadi Board Secretaries are requested with the assistance of the Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committees to prepare registers of all members bound by the resolution serially numbered and take steps to inform them of the duties imposed therein.

3. The register should be made in folio size with 3 names to a page and leaving enough blank space under each name for making entries month after month. If the register cannot be made up in one volume, more books than one may be used. There should be sufficient number of blank pages at the end for entering names of new members elected to vacancies. An alphabetical index should be appended.

4. Each Provincial Khadi Secretary will collect the yarn received and despatch them in one consignment every month to the All India Khadi Board. Every member's yarn however should be in a distinct packet labelled and described outside though the packets are sent in one parcel to the All India Khadi Board's office.

5. Where there are no Provincial Khadi Secretaries, the Provincial Congress Secretary is requested to do the needful as above.

6. Members are requested to note that all yarn should be:—(a) of the member's own spinning, (b) even and well twisted, (c) properly banked in one uniform size; the banks should be as far as possible of standard size, four feet long each winding, (d) with ends properly tied, (e) with the name of the member and his serial number and the length of the yarn and the date shown by a label attached to the yarn.

7. Provincial Khadi Secretaries will enter in their registers the date of receipt of yarn every month and note defaults.

8. All defaulters' names should be reported in the last week of every month."

Notes (Contd.)

A Deserved Rebuke

The Punjab Government have administered the public a deserved rebuke in its *communiqué* intimating its intention of prosecuting those Hindu and Mussalman sheets which ply their calling of abusing rival religions. Here is the *communiqué*:

"The Punjab Government has for some time had under notice the fact that certain newspapers, both Hindu and Muhammadan, published in the province have been issuing abusive and inflammatory matter regarding each other and the religions which their rivals represent. The government has anxiously watched the course of this campaign in the hope that the scurrility and in some cases unfortunately the obscenity with which it has been conducted would disgust all respectable members of both communities and that the papers in question would find that their articles held no appeal for any section of the public. This hope has, however, unfortunately not been realized, and Government has now been compelled to start criminal proceedings against two of the offending newspapers. Government relies on the good sense of the leaders of both communities to assist it by all means in their power in suppressing these most objectionable expressions of religious animosity, which constitute a grave menace to the existence of good relations between the two great communities."

It must be regrettably confessed that the public could have stopped these sheets if they had actively worked against them. It is to be even now hoped that the publishers of these sheets will apologise for their irreligious behaviour and stop their publications.

Posts under Swaraj

Mr. Ali Hassan of Patna takes exception to my suggestion that *Swaraj* service should be filled on the sole ground of merit and not according to communal proportion. He cites the general statement that most of the best posts are today monopolized by the Hindus. I have not the statistics before me so as to enable me to test the proposition. But my opinion would remain unaffected even if the proposition was proved. The existing Government whose chief concern is about its own stability ensures its safety by conciliating the most clamant party. We can deduce nothing from the state of affairs found under it. The only way of doing justice is to grant special facilities to educationally backward communities for receiving education. It is the duty of the state to level up those of its citizens who may be backward and it is equally its duty to make efficiency and character the only test in the matter of making appointments. The greatest impartiality should certainly be ensured in making them, but there can be no hard and fast rule as to communal percentages in the matter.

Who are Hindus?

In this connection Mr. Ali Hassan makes this curious statement. He says, "The Hindus of today practically mean Brahmins and Kayasths. They have no right whatever to secure advantages by the inclusion of untouchables amongst them while they are not prepared to treat them equally. The lower caste people and untouchables are quite distinct bodies altogether and they ought to be treated better. The Hindus and Muslims both should be

considerate to them as well as to other minorities." I would not have noticed this statement but for my knowledge that such belief is held by many Mussalmans. The writer of course goes a step further than most and would regard all lower class Hindus as distinct from Hindus. This is a dangerous belief for a Mussalman to hold because it seeks to decide who are Hindus and who are not. Now 'Brahmins and Kayasths—not Kshatriyas—are, according to the writer, the only Hindus. Then the Hindus are in a hopeless minority. As a matter of fact nobody can decide for another what he is. The untouchables have decided for themselves what they are. I have not yet met an untouchable who has not claimed to be a Hindu. Naturally I exclude converts.

Who is superior as Administrator?

The writer further says that since I have admitted that Mussalmans are better than Hindus as administrators, there should be no difficulty in my agreeing to an equal proportion of Mussalmans receiving administrative posts. I have not made any such admission. He has a post-card from me in which a 'not' has been inadvertently omitted. I informed him of the omission as soon as I saw the post-card printed in a newspaper. Mussalmans are superior to Hindus in several matters but I have never considered them to be superior as administrators. I would like to be able to give the palm to them in everything. Then there would be no cause for quarrels and jealousies. Jealousies arise as a rule between equals in the same game. Lawyers have been known to be jealous of one another but I have not known them to be jealous of doctors in their profession. But supposing that Mussalmans make as a matter of fact superior administrators, they should have no difficulty in an impartial and open competition in securing not merely fifty per cent but cent per cent of posts and I should not shed a single tear over the discomfiture of the Hindus. I have already informed Maulana Shaukat Ali that when I become the first President of the Indian Republic or some such thing, I propose to appoint him as the first Commander-in-chief and his brother as the Minister of Education. That bribery probably accounts for our friendship but let the Mussalmans beware lest they draw the inference that I regard Mussalmans as a rule superior to the others as soldiers and educationists. My own opinion is that, on the whole, we are all about equal and under fair auspices we can, if we make the effort, beat one another in open competition.

A Correction

With reference to my note in *Young India*, giving the information that the Rewa State had a law similar to that of Bhopal, a correspondent writes:

"No order is in force in the Rewa state prohibiting the conversion of a Hindu to Mahomedanism nor is there any punishment prescribed for the convert or for the agent bringing about the conversion."

It is, however, true that before a Hindu can be converted to Islam he must obtain the Durbar's sanction. Any person infringing the order renders himself liable to prosecution and punishment in the ordinary course for disobeying the order. This order is meant to exercise a salutary check on conversion where the main end in view is some pecuniary gain, prostitution or other illegal object.

The order also enables the state to keep figures regarding conversion up to date. This order cannot be

taken to prohibit or otherwise affect bonafide conversion from Hinduism to Islam."

I am glad to be able to publish the correction which my correspondent assures me is authentic. It does seem to me however that the condition of prior consent of the Durbar is more than a salutary check. Why should an adult of full understanding be obliged to obtain consent? Who will determine the bonafides of such conversion? To a Hindu all conversion to another faith must appear a fall and therefore he must approach every case of conversion with a bias against it. I would therefore respectfully suggest to the Durbar to remove the clause about consent. Registration of conversions will be sufficient insurance against bogus conversions. It would be interesting to know how the law as it is has worked in the State. All Hindu states will best guard Hinduism by becoming themselves model States and removing abuses that have crept into Hinduism. What I would like to see in the Rewa State is a law against untouchability. No external safeguards can possibly keep alive a system that is dying of internal corruption.

False Pride?

I understand that the Khadi Board which is employing a large number of young men for the Khadi work is finding it difficult to get the right kind of men to give their whole time to the work. They want to earn their livelihood by other means. In my opinion this disinclination to accept payment for work is not a healthy sign. We want an army of whole-time workers. In a poor country like India, it is not possible to get such workers without pay. I see not only no shame, but I see credit in accepting pay for national work honestly and well done. We shall have to engage many paid whole-time workers when Swaraj is established. Shall we then feel less pride in belonging to the Swaraj service than Englishmen do in belonging to the Indian Civil Service? How much more justification is there now when no one can be guaranteed absolute permanence, much less pension? Is it not also a grim irony that when lawyers are said to have gone back to practice for want of maintenance, the Khadi Board is hard put to it to find suitable paid workers?

There is another matter also that needs attention. When a person volunteers his service for national work, whether with or without pay, he undertakes to come under all the discipline of an ordinary employee. If anything, the discipline is stricter in the case of a volunteer. He may not therefore absent himself without leave. He may not even invite imprisonment except under permission. Civil disobedience has to be civil in more scores than one. There can be no braggado, no impetuosity about it. It has to be so ordered, well thought out, humble offering.

Ladies to the Rescue

Shrimati Hemprova Mezundar a member of the A. I. C. C. has left this note for me:

"I think unless the ladies of our country take special charge of spinning, the movement cannot be successful. So I pray that special appeal to all the members of A. I. C. C. be made to take special care for the training of women for spinning."

I heartily endorse the remark and would like to add that many more things are impossible without the help of the women of India. The only question is 'who shall do it and how?' Many sisters are doing the

work but many more are necessary. There should be whole-time women workers as there are men. Some I know there are in the field but they are all too few. I invite the fair writer to make the commencement herself. She can do so by setting apart a time specially for spinning herself and mastering the science by carding, testing cottons, understanding the counts, testing their strength etc. She can begin too with her neighbours by interesting them in the national occupation and she will find that the circle will widen. I would certainly appeal to husbands to let their wives organise the work. The case of Bengal is perhaps the most difficult because the ladies whether Hindu or Mussalman observe the purdah. I promise that who-ever commences the work with faith and earnestness will find it most interesting and from a national stand-point most profitable.

Bakr-Id

This festival is at all times a time of anxiety for both Hindus and Mussalmans. It should not be if we have toleration and respect for one another. Why should Hindus interfere with Mussalmans who believe in animal sacrifice and who therefore offer even cows in sacrifice? Similarly why should Mussalmans sacrifice the cow or perform the sacrifice in a manner purposely to offend Hindu susceptibility? Why should not Mussalmans repeat the noble performance of 1921 when they for the sake of respecting their Hindu neighbours' sentiments took it upon their heads to save the cow and actually succeeded in saving hundreds as Hindus themselves acknowledged. Surely on that festival day Mussalmans should specially exert themselves to cultivate affectionate feelings towards Hindus and the latter should respect the former's rites and ceremonies even though they may be repugnant to them, the Hindus, just as they expect the Mussalmans to respect their idol worship even though it is repugnant to their feelings. God will hold each one of us responsible for his own actions not for his neighbour's.

Barabanki Again

I have received two illuminating letters about my note on Barabanki one from a Mussalman and the other from a Hindu. Though they are written independently of one another, they agree on facts which they both deal with. There are a few new facts in each. Both seem to give an impartial version. I suppress the letters because their publication can do no good. The facts disclosed do no credit to anybody except the writers. One thing however is quite clear that the capture of the municipality has been an apple of discord between the Hindus and the Mussalmans of the place. Apart even from non-cooperation, it seems to me to be absolutely clear that where there is no heart-unity between the two communities, non-cooperators whether Hindu or Mussalman should refrain from entering municipal or district boards. Even where one party is eager to enter, the other should refrain. Before the unseemly squabble in the municipality, both the communities were, it is stated, living in perfect harmony. Now because of municipal contest, there is tension not only among the rivals in the municipality, but it has permeated the whole town. I do hope that Barabanki will retrieve its once fair name by reverting to the old cordiality.

A Repudiation

With reference to the reported interview with the Tiya priest Shri Narayana Guruswami I gladly publish the following letter from Mr. Narayanan:

"I was very much pained to see your note in 'Young India' regarding the views of His Holiness Shri Narayana Guru Swami on the present methods of Satyagraha at Vaikom. A few days before that I happened to see the Swamiji with whom I had a fairly long conversation over the Vaikom struggle. The Swamiji himself told me at the outset that one Mr. Kesavan who had a talk with him sometime back in a railway train has misrepresented him to the public by publishing an unauthorised account of the so-called interview in the vernacular press. First of all Swamiji is not in the habit of granting interviews to press representatives. But he freely expresses his opinions to whomsoever he talks with on any subject. Very recently Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari also had a free talk with the Swamiji on the Vaikom affairs; and it is said that the Swamiji expressed himself in unmistakable terms his approval of the present methods of Satyagraha at Vaikom.

What the Swamiji says is this. It is true that he spoke in favour of entering temples and sitting with others to dine: because he has always been an advocate of temple entry and interdining. But he lays great stress on non-violence. He says that even advancing into the prohibited area in the absence of barricades is an act of violence, because the prohibitory board at the boundary line carrying the Government order itself is equivalent to a barricade of policemen who simply repeat the same order as the volunteers advance. He is of opinion that so long as the prohibitory board is there, the volunteers should remain at the boundary line praying God to give courage to the oppositionists to change their mind and cause the removal of the board. He might have told Mr. Kesavan that if the volunteers may advance into the prohibitory area disobeying the Government order put up in the prohibitory board, they may as well scale the barricades and advance. This, the Swamiji says, might have been misunderstood by Mr. Kesavan. He drew my special attention to the fact that the volunteers must be of exemplary character, and that they must not even show signs of distemper at the greatest provocation. The Swamiji also expressed the view that the proposed procession on foot of 500 caste Hindus from Vaikom to Trivandrum will produce a great moral effect on all concerned. Lastly he wished all success to the movement saying that, if carried on in the same strain as at present, success is not far off."

After the foregoing was prepared I received the following authoritative letter:

"The report of the interview K. M. Kesavan had with me in the railway train, published in the Desabhimani, seems to have been prepared without correctly understanding my meaning. That report was not shown to me before publication nor did I see it soon after it was published. The removal of untouchability is quite essential for the attainment of social harmony. I have no objection whatsoever to the Satyagraha movement started by Mahatma Gandhi to fight this evil nor to the cooperation of people in that movement. Any method of work that may be adopted for eradicating the evil of untouchability must be strictly non-violent."

Muttakkadu
27-6-1924 }

Narayana Guru

Half a dozen and six

My remarks on the unreadable pamphlet on the Prophet and on the scurrilous sheet *Shaitan* have brought me a scoreful of letters from Arya-Samajists who whilst admitting the force and truth of my remarks say that some Mussalman sheets are no better and that they began the abuse and the Arya-Samajists followed by way of retaliation. The writers have sent me some of these sheets. I have suffered the pain of going through a few of the extracts. The language in some parts is simply revolting. I cannot disfigure these pages by reproducing it. I have also been favoured with a life by a Mussalman of Swami Dayanand. I am sorry to say it is largely a distortion of the great reformer. Nothing that he did has escaped the author's venom. One of my correspondents complains bitterly that my remarks have emboldened the Mussalman speakers and writers to become more abusive than before towards the Arya Samaj and the Samajists. One of them sends me an account of a recently held Lahore meeting where unmentionable abuse was heaped upon the Samaj. Needless to say such writings and speeches can have no sympathy from me. In spite of the opinion I have expressed, claim to be one of the many humble admirers of the founder of the Samaj. He pointed out the many abuses that were corrupting Hindu society. He inculcated a taste for Sanskrit learning. He challenged superstitious beliefs. By the chastity of his own life he raised the tone of the society in which he lived. He taught fearlessness and he gave a new hope to many a despairing youth. Nor am I oblivious of his many services to the national cause. The Samaj has supplied it with many true and self-sacrificing workers. It has encouraged female education among Hindu girls as perhaps no other Hindu institution save the Brahmo Samaj has done. Ignorant critics have not hesitated to insinuate that my remarks about Shraddhanandji were due to his criticism of me. But the insinuation does not prevent me from re-acknowledging the pioneer work done by him in Gurukul. Whilst therefore I am unable to withdraw a single word of my criticism of the Samaj, the Satyarth Prakash, Rishi Dayanand and Swami Shraddhanandji, I repeat that my criticism was that of a friend with the desire that the Samaj may render greater service by ridding itself of the short-comings to which I drew attention. I want it to march with the times, give up the polemical spirit, and whilst adhering to its own opinions extend that toleration to other faiths which it claims for itself. I want it to keep a watch on its workers and stop all discreditable writings. It is no answer in justification that Mussalmans commenced the campaign of calumny. I do not know whether they did or not. But I do know that they would have been tired of repetition if there had been no retaliation. I have not even urged the Samajists to give up their Shuddhi. But I do urge them as I would urge Mussalmans to revise the present idea of Shuddhi.

To the Mussalman writers and speakers of whom conduct I have received the letters referred I venture to point out that they neither enhance their own reputation nor that of the religion they profess by unrestrained abuse of the opponent. They can gain nothing, they cannot serve Islam, by swearing at the Samaj and the Samajists. M. K. G.

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To Correspondents

My correspondents are daily increasing in number. I mean both those who write to me as Editor and those who write and seek advice on public matters. I assure them that I read the correspondence as much as I can, and deal with it in these columns to the extent of my ability. But I confess my inability to deal exhaustively with all the important matters discussed by my correspondents. Nor is it possible for me to answer them all separately. 'Young India' they will kindly regard as a personal letter to them. Correspondence, if it is to command attention, must be brief, legible and impersonal.

M. K. G.

More about Varnashram

[The fair friend whose letter I reproduced in part in the issue of the 17th with comments complains that I have not done justice to her by giving only part of her letter and omitting that which was inconvenient for my argument, and challenges me to reproduce the whole of the letter. As I had no intention whatever of suppressing any part of her letter for the cause she mentions, I gladly place before the reader the whole of her letter and her comments on my remarks. As I have no desire to enter into any further discussion on the matter I have told her that hers shall be the last say.]

M. K. G.]

A fellow-traveller drew my attention to the message of yours to the Rajput Parishad of Vartej. By reading it a protest which was lying suppressed in the sub-conscious level of my mind made its way to the surface and claimed a hearing. Man or *manava* is one who does *mananam* or thinking. So I hope you will be tolerant to a fellow-thinker and give an attentive hearing to thoughts that may run counter to your habitual ones.

These thoughts had occurred at the first sight of the Sabarmati Ashram with its weaving shed in 1920, had disappeared and reappeared off and on till of late they have been busy building a permanent abode in my mind for which your message to the Rajputs has supplied the straw for the last brick.

In a place where "the whole station was lined from one end to the other with volunteers dressed in military style with swords hanging at their sides" where the whole air was redolent with reminiscences of bravery and chivalry of men of the military caste of India, was not your message urging them in a way to substitute the music of your wheel for the music of their sword a preaching of the *dharma* of your caste to all castes *ad absurdum* like the Christian missionary? Should you not rather like the sages of ancient India exhort a Brahman to be a true Brahman, a Kshatriya to be an ideal Kshatriya and a

Vaishya to be a model Vaishya? The insignia of the Brahman is the book or the pen, of the Kshatriya the sword or the bow, and of the Vaishya the wheel or the plough. You may well pride yourself in being called a weaver or an agriculturist as thereby you are true to the instincts of your *jati dharma* or *Vaishya dharma*. But why would you a Hindu, a believer in Varnashram principle, help in the degradation of a Brahman or a Kshatriya by insisting on their accepting *Vaishya dharma* and rejecting or neglecting their respective *jati dharmas*? Can a Kshatriya not serve and protect the poor even in these days but in the Vaishya way?

As a human being is made up of three component parts, the body, the life and the spirit, so the division of service in ancient human society was three-fold—the Vaishya was to supply the bodily needs of the community by exerting himself bodily—by weaving, by ploughing, by rearing cattle and by trade and commerce, the Kshatriya was to preserve the life of the community and help it to live in peace by placing his life always in danger at its service; and the Brahman was to keep the spirit of the race up to the highest standard of excellence by devoting himself to knowledge pure and simple and leading an exemplary spiritual life. They were the guardians each of the three sheaths of man—the *annamaya* kosa, the *pranamaya* kosa and the *vijnanamaya* kosa respectively. All the castes, including the non-dwija shudra absorbed into the Aryan fold, could be highly moral without giving up their hereditary callings or duties in accordance with temperamental differences. Even in present-day India saints have received their tribute of homage irrespective of their birth. In Medias just as in other parts of India holy men and women of the Panchama class even have received recognition at the hands of Brahman historians.

The *Sharmayogin* or the butcher saint is a well-known character in the *Mahabharata* which is one of our ancient books of wisdom. When a Brahman Rishi being vain of his spiritual achievements was directed by a woman-seer devoted to her husband to go to the butcher and receive instructions in spirituality, the Brahman, though humiliated, followed her advice and sought out the butcher whom he found surpassing all his expectations in spiritual excellence without ever giving up his hereditary duties of selling the flesh of animals. When the Rishi took him to task for it the butcher saint's discourse on *swadharma* became a veritable treat and the Rishi went back wiser than he had come. But the saint never enjoined or enforced his *swadharma* on the Rishi.

The great men of India have always upheld *swadharma* for each individual temperament. You are the first of them to preach the throwing in of the dharmas of all people into the same melting pot and thereby Vaishyaizing the

whole nation. Uplift the Vaishyas by all means but pray do not pull the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas by their legs. Spiritualise your caste people but do not materialise the men of other castes by turning them into spinners and weavers with the spell of your personality. A Vinoba or a Balkoba would have rendered more potent service to the nation as pure Brahmins with intellects fully developed rather than as spiritual weavers which you have turned them into. If they have acquiesced in their devolution and submitted to your stronger will, rather to the charm of your hypnotic self-absorbing egoism, their insensibility or helplessness is the more pitiable and your responsibility none the less deep. In these days of *carnesarker* you should not make confusion worse confounded, rather pick out types and set them out on the true typal line of culture. Shri Krishna's exhortation to the *sreshthas* to set example to the *itaras* or the common folk is applicable to the *sreshthas* of each caste in relation to the *itaras* of the same caste and not those of another.

Since writing the above I read your 'acid test' in the *Young India*. There is no doubt that in the present day India there is a lot of *dharma-sankara* or mixed temperaments. Very few are purely Brahman or purely Kshatriya by nature, all are akin to the best Vaishyas. Thus there would be not much of an anomaly in turning a national assembly into a Vaishya Conference only by making every member of the A. I. C. C. a spinner. Even a non-Vaishya by birth who votes for the resolution and thereby retains his seat in the Committee confesses himself a Vaishya at heart. Yet one of your premises that the spinning wheel and the khaddar have been regarded as indispensable for Swaraj is being challenged on all sides by many an aspirant after Swaraj. But you are consistent throughout. Your repetition in this article that you have faith in no other plan but that of spinning agrees with what you wrote to Hakim Ajmal Khan from the jail wherein you mentioned that in the competition between the charkha and literary pursuits the former had triumphed in you and that with each turn of the spinning wheel you felt you were approaching nearer God. This is a simple and straight-forward confession of the deep-seated caste instincts in you. But must you impose it on men of other castes? Should the national assembly be bereft of the counsel and services of men of the Brahman and Kshatriya instincts, of scholars and soldiers? Must you yoke Pegasus to the luggage cart?"

[To the original letter reproduced above, she adds the following comments on my article. M. K. G.]

1. Mahatmaji begins with the assumption that I am opposed to the charkha and remarks, 'The friend tells me she is not the only one to oppose the charkha.'

I have no where in the letter said I am personally opposed to the charkha nor is there anything between the lines to my thinking to excuse such an assumption. Personally I love the charkha without doing homage to it as the symbol of my swadharma. In my broken home my charkha was lying in a broken state. I fished it out of the lumber room and got it fitted up to play with—as I would play with my vina or sitar if I had them in order. My weakened body does not permit me to do more. Like practising progressive pranayama daily according to one's growing strength I turn the wheel for no more than a few minutes at a time for the present.

If I could, I would love to make a monthly present of a fixed quantity of yarn to the country for the sake of one who is wearing his life out for popularising it—if for nothing else as a tribute to the force of activity within him which is fighting incessantly to drive the evil spirit of indolence out of the country. I differ from him in his mental out-look which will make a distinct minority also bow to the charkha—a minority that resents with all the strength of its soul the thrusting of the wheel in its hours in thought even as a form of violence.

2. Mahatmaji infers that if I had only borne in mind that he had presented the message of the wheel not to the Hindus alone but to all Indians without exception to all men and women who claimed to be Indians, I would have written differently. He gives me more grace-marks for assumed failing of memory than I deserve. Bearing fully in mind that his message is for men and women of all denominations I objected and do object still to his pressing the message for the acceptance of the minority above referred to who take it as ill as if offered forbidden food. In certain parts of India there are Brahman families to whom tradition has handed down an injunction that however much in want they may be they must never take to the occupation of a caste whose insignia is according to them—'a pair of scales' i. e. of the Vania or Vaishya. This is only a very concrete method of keeping up before a Brahman's mind that he should always keep himself at an arm's length from material associations and temptations. I have no *locus standi* to speak for non-Hindus. But I have not the slightest doubt that there must be a select minority in each non-Hindu sect, too which rightly rebels against the very idea of having to serve the nation by turning the wheel—their inner call to self-dedication pointing to quite a different plane. *Swadharma* is nothing but the science of heredity or the science of natural equipment and tendency in its application to duty and affects Hindus and non-Hindus, Indians and Europeans alike.

3. Mahatmaji assures me he asks no one to forsake his own hereditary dharma or occupation but he asks every one to add spinning to his natural occupation. He would admit, I am sure, if any thing is worth doing it is worth doing well, whole-heartedly and with single-mindedness. Hereditary dharma or occupation is a jealous mistress, it demands absolute loyalty and undivided attention to make one an adept in it. Secondary occupations can be taken up only at leisure hours and that too not in all cases. Agricultural lands if allowed to remain fallow after a seasonal crop increase in their productive capacity though there are exceptions which lose in it unless made to bear a minor crop in between. Same with the human soil, natures and capacities differ. The poet Tagore compares his leisure moments to the vacuum in a cup which if stuffed with the clay of politics or commercialism will no longer serve the purpose of a cup.

4. Mahatmaji says the ideal Rajput is he who defends without the sword and dies at his post without killing. In my humble opinion here is a confusion of thoughts. The Rajput is a species of the *genus* man. An ideal man is one who resists not evil, who has attained *brahmantrana*, is of a homogeneous frame of mind towards both good and evil (सत्त्व व असत्त्व) A Rajput is one who has specialised himself

in physical resistance and an ideal Rajput is one who follows his dharma rightly, i. e., walks along the path of resistance within the bounds of restriction laid down by ancient men of wisdom to make him progress by gradual stages from brutality to humanity and from humanity to divinity. A Rajarsi is a divine Rajput as a Brahmarshi is a divine Brahman—both arrived on the last rung of the ladder from their respective directions.

5. A man with true Brahmanic inspiration within him would rebel against the call to identify himself with the starving millions by being made one of a supply and transport corps to their bodily wants. He will want to enlist his name in the register of generals like Kapila or Buddha or Christ who sought to strike at the root of the four-fold ills that human flesh is heir to and to prepare for it heavenly food leaving to other adhikaris the immediate beneficent work of relieving the pangs of the body. When the national vessel is in the grip of a violent storm of commercialism, and particularly when so, the men at the steerage should not be allowed to leave their post.

6. Mahatma admits that the vocation of Brahmins is that of teachers. He must also accede that to be a teacher one must be a student. It is the dharma or duty of Brahmins to specialise in knowledge both temporal and spiritual, to develop the intellect as well as intuition to their highest capacities in this mortal frame. The Vaishya and the Kshatriya are not to eschew knowledge, it is the bounden duty of each of the dwijas to be students of the Vedas—the store-house of knowledge—but it is for the Brahman alone to specialise in them. Similarly every living human being whether a Brahman, a Kshatriya, a Vaishya, or a Shudra has to perform certain manual and even menial labour, if need be, for sheer existence, but it is only the Vaishya or the Shudra who specialises in them. Yet the butcher-saint referred to in my letter who was fit to teach divine wisdom to a Brahman and had attained this very wisdom while pursuing his hereditary occupation of selling flesh, did not perceive in it a reason to prevail upon the Brahman to sell flesh or persuade him to accept the creed that by selling flesh alone a man could attain perfection and that there was no other way to the knowledge of God.

7. I have had the joy of studying, I believe, all the Upanishads extant in the original with commentaries as well as in translations, but I cannot recall to my memory a single passage where a teacher is shown attending cattle, chipping wood or fighting. It is always the pupil who does all these things for the teacher. We find the self-same Brahman, who came *savit-pani* with fuel in his hands to offer at the feet of his teacher and tend cattle for him, being in turn sought as teacher by others in the same fashion when he had become a full-fledged Rishi or Seer himself of a particular aspect of God-head and his fame had gone abroad. The teacher would be too preoccupied in his spiritual research and discourses to find time for manual occupations—not that he could not give his hand to any physical work when the occasion called for it such as the arrival of a guest, the nursing of a sick disciple etc. The humble writer has been the recipient of exquisite attention by physical service of—besides heads and inmates of other Ashrams including the Satyagrah Ashram for which she cannot be too grateful—of Swami Vivekananda,

Like the last supper of Christ the last dinner cooked by the master with his own hands for the guest whom he loved to honour was a thing which his disciple Sister Nivedita could never tire to recall with wonder and love. But suppose Vivekananda made it his daily business to cook and serve, where would have been the time for his great message to the world?

Again in the matter of fighting too the Rishis have never been found to wield arms themselves though they were the teachers of the science. It is their Kshatriya pupils who fought on their behalf for the good of the commonwealth. Even in pre-English days the saint Ramdas inspired Shivaji and commanded him to rule and resist the Moslem irreligious oppression, but never struck the tyrant himself for the so-called setting of example by the *shrestha* to the *itara*.

8. A Brahman is the teacher *par excellence*, teacher of temporal as well as spiritual matters. Every school-master if he could rise to the consciousness is a potential Brahman. When not teaching, the Brahman should be at work in his laboratory for research spiritual as well as in all the arts and sciences that are necessary appendages of human life—the life of the masses. Like the *agreed* and the *disagreed* let the *rastram* be taken up by the Brahmins as a department of knowledge only to specialise in—not for the object of turning out a few more *rastram* with his own hands to clad the poor with but to teach others how to do so. By non-observance of this difference in the mental gesture towards the same thing what is ennobling to one will be degrading to the other. A Brahman's objective must be always knowledge and nothing else. He has to raise himself by the pursuit of knowledge of things material to knowledge of immortality. I have said in my letter there are very few men who are purely Brahman or purely Kshatriya in spirit in these days, nearly all are but as good as Vaishyas. A Brahman whose natural inclination is for hoarding money and not acquiring knowledge to impart is no better than a common Vaishya. India is teeming with such in the present day. Mahatma may very well pull them by the ears and make them sit for hours at the weaving loom for all that I care. I would only entreat him to keep his hands off and exempt those who show distinct signs of typal culture even if they be members of the A. I. C. C. unless he be determined to turn the Congress into a parade ground of modern Vaishya-drill only.

[The following was received by a subsequent post:

M. K. G.]

There has been one omission in my 'comments' which I had better make clear.

In stating that nowhere in the ancient literature we find Rishis wielding arms though they have been the teachers of them, I omitted purposely the mention of the obvious exception of Dronacharya. For he was not a Rishi in the sense of one living in the forest. He lived in the palace with his pupils, he came to them with the positive unspiritual object of training a pupil who would avenge the insult to him by King Drupad. Vasishtha, Vishwanatha & others who tried to lead spiritual lives in the forests initiated their pupils into the secret of human and divine arms without using them themselves.

Young India

31-7-24

The Lokamanya Anniversary

(By M. K. Gandhi)

This fourth anniversary of the withdrawal of the physical presence of the Lokamanya from our midst has a special significance for me and the movement I represent. Both friends and critics inform me that a section of the Maharashtra press is delivering a series of attacks on the movement and me which I should read and answer. I have resisted the temptation to do so. But from what they write and the extracts they send, I know enough to understand their meaning.

I am anxious to pay my quota of tribute to the memory of the deceased on this occasion of the fourth anniversary. But in the midst of distrust of me by some of the best of the followers of the Lokamanya, how shall I pay my quota?

The task is difficult. Just as on that memorable night in 1920 I returned from Sardar Griha after having had a last look at the remains as they lay in the death chamber, I felt an oppressive loneliness. I was secure in the Lokamanya's presence. But by his departure I felt hopelessly insecure. I could differ from him and express my difference in respectful terms, but we could never misunderstand each other. I could not feel so with his followers not because they would want to distrust me but because, being without a guide whose word was law to them, they would always feel insecure and hesitant about my views and not in perfect agreement among themselves. Division in their ranks was the last thing in the world I desired. I have more than once expressed my admiration for the Maharashtra party. It has a determined policy. It is well-drilled. It is able. It has a record of great sacrifice behind it. I wanted and want still to capture not to divide the party. I wanted and still want to convert it to my view of the means for the attainment of Swaraj. With Lokamanya alive, I had only him to convert or to be converted by him. He had an instinctive perception of things and situations. As he said to me, 'if the people follow your method, I am yours.'

But to-day there is a divided Maharashtra. If however my faith in Satyagraha is immutable, I must conquer Maharashtra as I hope to conquer Englishmen. But I must have the help of Maharashtra no-changers. If they have understood the secret of non-violence and truth, they must actively love the pro-changers even whilst they differ from them. They must not criticise them. Each party has enough work to do without flying at each other's throats.

Two distinguished friends have appealed to me to bring the two parties together and lead them. One of them in the course of a long letter says, 'To my mind there is no more necessary or radical contradiction but only a difference between the Tilak policy and the Gandhi policy than between submarine blockade and aeroplane attack. Indeed the two can work together, (but along separate lines—the Tilak policy within the Councils, the Gandhi policy in the country outside, at large) in open, express and therefore righteous alliance

against the common enemy for the common good.' These sentences put forth the position clearly up to a point. I say 'up to a point' because my conception of non-cooperation is exclusive of participation in the Councils. That may be and is my limitation. One man cannot control both the movements—those of the submarine and the aeroplane. Nor can the two directors change places though both may have a common aim. I can strengthen the work in the Councils only by working outside and even by decrying the Councils and thus turning the attention of the people away from them. The better analogy for my purpose is that of anti-septic and aseptic treatment. The two cannot be applied at the same time and on the same patient. But the surgeons belonging to the two schools may try their methods on different patients likely to submit to them and can do so without hampering each other. The same friend says further, 'While Tilakji and Gandhiji remain unreconciled, the heart of India will continue to be torn between the two and will not be able to settle down to steady work.' If such a catastrophe happens, if the country does not 'settle down', I would prove indeed an unskilful surgeon and an indifferent representative of my own method. I assure the friend and the reader that I am all attention. It is a matter of no pleasure to me that the strain continues. It will not however continue a day longer than is inevitable.

I invite assistance of the no-changers in hastening the process of settling down. The no-changers' faith consists in working from within and in that only. They can therefore religiously gag themselves. They will turn out better work. They must not retaliate. In every case where a fight in the shape of canvassing or wire-pulling is required, they may relinquish the Congress control. The pro-changers cannot afford to do without out-side activity and agitation. They may therefore control the press and the Congress organisation if they choose. I would like, by their consent, to keep the Congress a mass organisation, which it can only be, if the workers concentrate their attention upon that to the exclusion of everything else. But it cannot be so kept if there has to be a pitched and bitter fight between two parties. In that case the no-changers must, even if it is possible by manoeuvring to secure a majority, surrender control with the greatest good grace to the pro-changers. Let us recognise this one fact. The masses do not yet actively participate in or understand our method of work. Only workers in their midst can gain influence over them. I could quote a dozen illustrations of silent workers who have more influence with the masses than any of our notable orators. We must not therefore use the masses as pawns in the game. Nor should control of the Congress be surrendered in a manner to embarrass the pro-changers. The passage to their hands must be decorous and frank, without mental reservations. Such delivery can only be made by those who have a living faith in the charkha and who will grudge to take away a single minute from it and its organisation.

But whether the no-changers appreciate and follow my advice or not, I hope, God willing, to prove my faith by completest surrender at a time and in a manner that cannot embarrass the pro-changers and cannot compromise the national cause. When I have succeeded in so doing, not before, I shall have paid my humble tribute to the memory of the Lokamanya. I can deserve the heritage left by him only by being true to myself.

Notes

Unhappy Malabar

Last week I referred to the floods in South Kanara. This week the public has the painful news that Malabar is practically under water. I have also a wire from Mr. Nambudripad giving details of the havoc played by the floods and asking me for help. The matter however seems to me to be beyond the capacity of private agency. The Congress neither possesses funds nor influence nor an organisation that can cope with a calamity of the magnitude such as Malabar has to face. It is best in all humility to admit our limitations. I would even not hesitate to help the distressed people, if necessary through any committee that the authorities may appoint, provided of course that they would accept our help. If we find that our service is unwelcome or the organisation of official help is make-believe, I should refrain from joining the committee and should render such personal and individual help as I may be capable of rendering. God will not punish me for want of capacity. But He will for want of will. I would therefore advise local workers to do whatever lies in their power and neglect no opportunity of alleviating distress. After all money plays the least part in such times. It is the personal touch, the readiness to suffer for the sake of the sufferers, readiness to share the last morsel with the neighbour in distress that counts for much more than millions. The sacrifice of the Brahman who shared his scanty meal with the man in distress was infinitely more meritorious than the rich sacrifice of king Yudhishtira who showered gold mohurs as donations.

To S. V. K.

I must apologise for having delayed my reply to your questions. Here it is:

(1) My fast in Ahmedabad in connection with the mill-strike of 1917 was against 'lovers'—the mill-hands, and not against the owners—'the tyrants.' I announced at the time that my fast was not flawless, because it was bound to influence the mill-owners who were personal friends. But it was not possible for me uncorcerned to see the mill-hands, my associates, committing a breach of a vow solemnly repeated by them in my presence for twenty one days. The effect of the fast was electrical. The wavering labourers became at once strong in their determination.

(2) My philosophy does teach me to love alike friend and foe. But that does not do away with the distinction till the foe has become friend. The letter to Mr. Joseph was cryptic. It was not written for publication. Mr. Joseph could easily dot the i's and cross the t's. The fuller enunciation of the proposition put before Mr. Joseph would be—

One may fast to reform a comrade in work and thought but not one however friendly if he is hostile. Thus I may not fast against Pandit Motilalji Nehru, although he is a dear friend in order to convert him to my view on Councils, but I fasted against the Bombay rioters because they were, though not personal friends, comrades in the same mission. We have no right by fasts to convert people to our ideals. That would be a species of violence. But it is our duty to strengthen by our fasting those who hold the same ideals but are likely to weaken under pressure.

(3) I happened to preside at a meeting of condolence on the death of the great Irish patriot Mac Swiney and

humbly expressed my opinion that I could not ethically justify the fast on the facts that the public had then before them. I have since seen no new facts to alter my opinion. I am not here concerned with the political value of that celebrated fast if it had any. Nor must I be understood to cast any reflection upon the memory of the deceased patriot. I am simply giving my view as a Satyagrahi of the ethics of the fast.

India's share

An American friend sends me a long letter on the opium policy of the Government of India. She quotes the following from a bulletin issued by the British Society for the suppression of the opium trade:

'The nations are face to face with a growing evil which, unless it is dealt with speedily, internationally and drastically, may become the gravest curse from which the world has ever suffered. Plague, war and famine could not combine to present a more terrifying prospect than is presented by drug addiction'...What is the crux of the whole position? It is, undoubtedly, the over-production of opium in India. If that were arrested, other sources of production could be dealt with with comparative ease. The Indian Government maintains just this one trade. Condemned by a unanimous vote of the House of Commons as morally indefensible when carried on with China, India is still permitted to supply five eastern Governments with as much opium as they officially ask for. Boasting that she does not sell the drug to private persons, in those five countries, by agreement she drenches them with narcotics which find their way by smugglers into China. Passing a Dangerous Drug Act for our own country, which forbids the unlicensed possession of opium and its derivatives, the British-India Government yet maintains this scandalous and nefarious traffic.'

Ignorance

A friend sends me for answer a 'Guardian' cutting wherein a retired Indian police officer has succeeded in airing his general ignorance of things Indian. It is so difficult to overtake newspaper paragraphs and correct them. A movement to succeed has to pass through the stage of ridicule and ignorance. But I may say categorically that the non-cooperation movement is nothing if it is not constructive. Its Khaddar work, its efforts (it does not matter that they appear to be unsuccessful at present), its work among and for the untouchables, its national schools, its attempt to found parchayats, its propaganda against drink and opium, its relief of distress due to famines and floods are all examples of constructive work. The movement does not seek to establish Hindu Raj by the 'grace of British Raj', but it seeks to establish Swaraj, meaning the government by the chosen representatives of the people in the place of the British Raj i.e., government by British or Indian administrators utterly irresponsible to the people and appointed in the interest of the exploitation of India and her people. Full and frank expiation has always been made for every mistake made in the course of the struggle. No movement on such a large scale has been so free from violence as the non-cooperation movement. Compare the Indian to every other contemporary national movement and the list of murders and other violence committed in the name of patriotism. The writer brings up for commendation the Christian work among the untouchables. I must not enter into the merits

of Christian work in India. The indirect influence of Christianity has been to quicken Hinduism into life. The cultured Hindu society has admitted its grievous sin against the untouchables. But the effect of Christianity upon India in general must be judged by the life lived in our midst by the average Christian and its effect upon us. I am sorry to have to record my opinion that it has been disastrous. It pains me to have to say that the Christian missionaries as a body with honourable exceptions have actively supported a system, which has impoverished, enervated and demoralised a people considered to be among the gentlest and the most civilised on earth. Lastly I do not share the belief that there can or will be on earth one religion. I am striving therefore to find a common factor and to induce mutual tolerance.

Change of Heart

Here is a reverse instance to the foregoing. An English correspondent writes.

"I was in an Indian regiment during the events of 1919 and I know only too well how easy it is to be blind to Truth, how difficult it is for Englishmen to extend their very limited outlooks. I left the army for a university. While there I was appointed to the Indian Civil Service. Fortunately as I see it now, I was impelled to resign it. Lately, away from the seclusion of a university, I have seen for myself the horrors of industrialism, materialism and machinery.

I have followed your great work for India, as a rare example of spiritual truth applied to the world. It has stirred me the more as I saw the more clearly that there were two Englands. I hope and trust that in delivering India from the menace of a materialist civilisation you will also free the great mass of English people from its evil results.

This aspect of the Indian movement is, of course, well-known to you.

But I thought that in a life, which must entail its own disappointments and sufferings, a tribute of recognition from one who was an 'Anglo-Indian' in 1919 would not be unacceptable."

School books Proscribe

The U. P. Government issued on the 15th instant the following notice:—

"In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99A (V of 1898), the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies, wherever found, of Pandit Ramdas Gour's Hindi readers Nos. III, IV, V and VI published by Baij Nath Kedia, Hindi Pustak Agency, 126, Harrison Road, Calcutta, and printed at the Banik Press, Calcutta, and also all other copies of or extracts from the same readers wherever printed inasmuch as the said readers, in the opinion of the Local Government, contain seditious matter, the publication of which is punishable under section 124A, Indian Penal Code."

Now these readers have been before the public for nearly three years. They are widely used in national schools. They have been adopted in municipal schools also. The Provincial Congress Committee has therefore rightly congratulated Professor Ramdas Gour, declared the books to be inoffensive and recommended their continuance notwithstanding the Government order. One would have

thought that the Government had now abandoned the policy of utilising arbitrary procedure against non-co-operators. The Government contend that the books are in breach of section 124A of the Penal Code. It was then open to them to prosecute the author and secure a conviction against him. It might then have been justified in proscribing the books. I have taken the trouble of going through the contents of all the volumes. They appear to me to be perfectly harmless i. e., from the Government stand-point. The least that the Government owed the public was to inform it of the objectionable matter in the several books so as to enable the public to judge for itself as to the propriety or otherwise of the Government order assuming of course that it is proper to exercise arbitrary powers in cases such as this. As it is, the conclusion is irresistible that the Government do not like the growing popularity of the readers and are seeking by questionable methods to favour its protégés whose readers may have suffered a check in competition with Professor Ramdas Gour's. The Government must have had the readers brought to its notice by its elaborate detective agency if they were seditious. The long delay in proscribing adds to the strength of my inference. I invite the Government of the United Provinces to tender to the public full reasons for its decision. I would be glad to feel that the inference I have drawn is not justified. I advise too the president of the committee to ask the Government to state its reasons and offer to advise Professor Ramdas Gour to amend his books or withdraw them from circulation if the committee is satisfied of the justness of the Government decision.

Hindu Muslim Unity

No reader of the statement issued by Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan on the recent events in Delhi can fail to notice the deep grief underlying it. I must copy from it at least one paragraph:

"Of all the incidents which form part of the recent disturbance in Delhi, to me the most humiliating and heart-bending are the atrocious and cowardly assaults committed on women. So far as I know one Mussalman woman was molested by the Hindus but what is much worse is the fact that during the rioting of the 15th some of those who claim to be the votaries of Islamic faith, not content with attacking a Hindu temple and breaking the idols, perpetrated cowardly assaults on women and children. I tremble with the deepest indignation at the very idea of my co-religionists exhibiting such wanton and callous disregard for the honour and sanctity of womanhood. No word of condemnation is strong enough for the perpetrators of this crime and I appeal to all true Muslims to condemn this depravity in unfaltering and absolutely unqualified terms. I am inviting Jamiat-ul-Ulema and the Khilafat Committees to stand up and exercise all that is best in Islam in order to condemn and to prevent the repetition of such acts of savage lawlessness. It is our moral duty as true Mussalmans to make these acts absolutely impossible and if we don't succeed in this we deserve to be defeated in our efforts for national freedom and Swaraj."

A correspondent upbraids me for saying nothing in my statement on the assaults referred to by Hakimji. My note was based on the very first news of the trouble.

These had no reference to the assaults. Events then took an uglier turn. The news was too serious to base public criticism on the alarming telegrams. I therefore entered into correspondence with friends in Delhi but I am not able to criticise anything with effect now. Fortunately Maulana Mahomed Ali is now in Delhi. He is making inquiries and I have suggested that if it is at all possible he should as President of the Congress publish the results of his preliminary inquiry. I am fully aware of my duty in the matter. My place is just now by the side of the Maulana Saheb. I am deterred from so doing by the advice of medical friends. All the medical precaution that has been insisted on may not be necessary, for whilst I am not moving about I am able to go through a great amount of work. But I want to avoid risks so far as it is possible. I may assure the friends who are rightly reminding me of my duty at this juncture that I have placed myself unreservedly at Maulana Mahomed Ali's disposal and I have asked him not to think of my health if he needs me in Delhi immediately. And in any event I am trying to hurry forward to Delhi. But if Maulana Mahomed Ali does not require me to go to Delhi earlier I do not want to commence travelling till the end of August. It was because my health had suffered some deterioration in Ahmedabad that Mr. Vithalbhai Patel was requested to extend the time for the presentation of the Corporation address to the end of August. But I shall have no hesitation if need be to go to Delhi before going to Bombay for the address.

Favouritism or Justice

I note that the chief executive officer of the Calcutta Corporation has come in for a good deal of hostile criticism because of his having given 25 out of 33 appointments to Mussalmans. I have not read the comments themselves. But I have read the statement made by the chief executive officer. In my humble opinion it is a creditable performance. I have no doubt that appointments have not till now been made with impartiality whether by Europeans or Indians. There is no doubt too that in many cases Hindus have influenced decisions in their favour. It ill becomes them to quarrel against many posts having now gone to Mussalmans. If the charge be true that the appointments have a party purpose behind them, there is nothing immoral or reprehensible in the fact itself if they are otherwise justifiable. In England such appointments are certainly made in party interests, though as a rule care is exercised not to sacrifice efficiency. Personally I would like appointments to go to the best men irrespective of parties, and should therefore be made by a permanent non-party board. But if Hindus wish to see India free, they must be ready and willing to sacrifice in favour of their Musselman and other brethren. I can heartily endorse the remark of the chief executive officer when he says:—

“With thousands of educated young men out of employment and on the verge of starvation and with a very limited number of vacancies it is not possible for any human being to do anything which will please all. Whatever I may do, I am sure to leave the major portion of the unemployed as discontented as before. The only solution of this problem is the provision of technical education and in this matter the Corporation can, in my opinion, do much.”

We must learn to do without these appointments. Only a microscopic minority can get them. Education must

cease to be merely clerical. Why may not a graduate be an artisan or a hawker of vegetables or khaddar?

A Muslim Khadi Committee

Mr. S. H. Uraizee, secretary of a Muslim Khadi Committee recently established in Ahmedabad sends me the following for publication:

“Hazrat Maulana Azad Subhani Saheb of Cawnpore with the help of some enthusiastic Muslims has been successfully able to organise the Muslim Khadi Committee in Ahmedabad on the 15th instant, with an express view for the wide spread of khaddar among the Mussalmans. The following gentlemen have formed the Committee.

President—Hakim Syed Ahmed Saheb Dehlavi; Vice President Hakim Samir Saheb Siddiqui; Secretary Syed Husain Uraizee; Treasurer—Seth Mohamedbhai Rajahbhai Shaikh; Members—Maulvi Syed Sajjad Husain Saheb; Hakim Rahimullah Saheb Ajmeri; Munshi Manzarali Saheb; Seth Noor Mohamad Mohamadbhai Mansuri Saheb; Seth Peerbhai Adamji Modi Saheb; Seth Abdur Rabim Abdul Karim Saheb; Maulana Sharaf Sahib Dehlavi.”

I have gone out of my way to advertise this committee. Nor as a rule I have been loath to publish such details. Bitter experience has shown that such committees grow up like mushrooms and have an equally transient existence. They often exist only on paper. But I am making an exception in favour of this committee in the hope that it will do credit to the founder Maulana Azad Subhani. I have not known many Muslim organisations devoted specially to khadi work. Nor are many Muslims found to take a lively interest in this much needed national work. Indeed during the Bakr Id in Ahmedabad a friend tells me Mussalmans could be counted on the fingers of one hand who were dressed in khadi. They were not even dressed in Indian mill cloth. It was all foreign. Let me hope this committee will change this state of things. I hope too that the members are all spinners and khadi wearers.

To Spinners

The manager of the Satyagrah Ashram tells me that he is inundated with applications for slivers, spindles, holders, wheels, carding bows and ginning instruments. This is a healthy sign of response to the A. I. C. C. resolution. But a word of warning is necessary. Those who are new to the task would naturally require guidance and assistance. But organisers and spinners must understand that it is not possible to organise national spinning if every spinner has to be supplied with slivers from a distant central place. Slivers being very soft things get damaged in transit. It is possible to prevent crushing if they were packed in metal jars. But that means more cost than that of the slivers themselves. The ideal thing is to learn both carding and spinning. But where that is not possible, spinning clubs may be formed of thirty or less. One member of the club may be a whole-time worker merely carding and making slivers except for the half hour he must devote to spinning. Nor is it possible to work spinning successfully, if wheels, spindles etc. have to be received from one place. There must be depots connected with every provincial committee for the supply of all accessories and repairs. The spinning

wheels are difficult to pack and cost much railage. An ordinary carpenter should be able to make a good spinning wheel if he has a decent pattern to go by. It is because thousands of details have to be worked out for an effective organisation, that I would if I could make the Congress exclusively a work-shop for the supply of all the material and a ware-house for the sale of khaddar. It must require hard thinking and harder toil to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth by effort from within. One man or one Taluka becoming entirely khaddar-clad may not bring Swaraj, but the whole country doing so must bring it for all that a successful boycott means. 'Oh ! for a little imagination that would work out the implications of the khaddar movement and all doubt will vanish. That khaddar may not appeal to the nation is another matter. But that cannot be said until there is honest effort that comes only from inward faith.

To an inquirer

No it is not true that I reduced my meals, because the country was not spinning. I reduced them for the conservation of mental energy and health. I have now reverted to three meals and bhakri. But when the 'Siamese twins' lovingly pressed me before their departure from Ahmedabad to return to three meals and increase the quantity I was then taking, I said humorously that I would do so, if they re-established Hindu-Muslim unity and popularised khaddar. Either therefore the reference by them to the reduction of my meals, was a friendly licence or their taking my joke seriously. In either case I agree with the inquirer that the reference to my personal habits or restraints should have been avoided. Both the Hindu-Muslim and the khadi questions must be decided on merits. Both are a vital necessity for the national existence and we shall succeed only when we have converted the nation to our view.

"For Gandhiji or Country"

A friend says in effect the fashion nowadays has become to goad students into spinning for the sake of Gandhiji. He asks whether the appeal is justified. To a certain extent an appeal of that character under certain circumstances is not inappropriate so long as I stand for the country and that alone. An appeal to spin for my sake may go home more directly than one 'for the country.' The proper thing no doubt is for everybody to spin for the country, better still for himself in the higher sense of the term. For every one who works for the country works for himself also. He who works only for himself works to his own undoing. Our interest must be identical with and must merge in the country's. Those however who spin on occasions only and for show and afterwards stop, practise deceit.

First in the Field

A. I. K. B. has already begun to get response to the spinning resolution. The reason for the prompt response from some is obvious. Practised spinners can easily spin 150 yards per half hour. 300 yards per hour is the average speed. There are many already who have finished their quota. The highest speed attained is over 500 yards per hour.

Srimati Avita Bai and her friends are the first to send their yarn. Most of them do not belong to the Congress. They are certainly not on any Congress executive. But as I have said in these pages it is the duty of every Indian, no matter to what party he or she belongs, to

send his or her quota to the A. I. K. Board. I therefore congratulate these ladies upon their gift. They would naturally like to know the report of the experts on the quality of their yarn. So far as the quality is concerned it is good. But the manner of doing the hanks &c. is naturally not as it should be. Over an hour had to be given to examining and classifying the yarn. As a result of the examination of this lot the Secretary sends me the following specific instructions for the attention of spinners:-

(1) Each spinner should attach a label on each of his or her hanks, and it should contain:-

- (a) The length and number of strands in it.
- (b) The weight in tolas.
- (c) The count which may result on calculation.

These labels are in addition to the main label referred to containing name etc. of the spinner.

(2) All hanks should be of uniform size and bulk.

(3) Every hank should contain two or more leases in it, which is done by passing a piece of strong string round each skein of 80 or 100 or more strands and crossing the string after each successive skein in the hank.

(4) It would be better to write down on the card attached to the bundle the kind of cotton used. It will give an opportunity to the collector of the yarn of knowing the varieties used in the different provinces and of instructing as to the counts to be drawn from a given variety.

It has been customary in Bombay and elsewhere too for that matter, to use mill slivers. Yarn drawn from mill slivers is perfectly useless for the purpose intended. The purpose is to popularise all the hand-processes in connection with raw cotton. Between mill slivers and mill cotton there is only a shade of difference. If we may use mill slivers we may as well use mill-spun yarn.

The central idea behind hand-spinning is to put money into the pockets of millions by finding them an easy uniform cottage industry. Slivers must therefore be hand-made. The question of the circumference of the reel should also be decided. That the reels should be uniform goes without saying. If they are not, it is tedious to find the count of a given quantity of yarn. Experience has shown that the circumference of the reel should be four feet. Then 375 lengths or strands would make a hank of 500 yards. Four such hanks would make 2,000 yards. It is incredibly simple to find the count of such hanks if we know the weight. Convert the tolas weight into aries and divide the number of strands by the aries the answer is the count. Thus if a hank of 375 strands weighs say 15 onies, the count is $375/15=25$. Many suggestions have been made as to the size of the reel. Experience seems to favour four feet circumference. These reels are attached to the Ashram wheels. It is a convenience no doubt to have them so. But reels can be easily improvised with slit bamboo. Four to six pieces of slit bamboo of required length pierced in the middle and supported on an upright whose ends pass through three bamboo pieces on either side and held in position by means of strings make a serviceable reel. The appliances accompanying the wheel are as simple as the wheel itself. Lastly it would be well to remember that the yarn should be sprayed and kept on the reel for an hour for saturation and drying. The spraying settles the twist.

M. K. G.

Wanted Excitement

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India and Malaya

(By C. F. Andrews)

Along with Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi, I was asked by a special resolution of the All-India National Congress assembled at Coconada to report on the condition of Indian immigrant labour in Malaya, with a view to considering whether or not a policy of restricting immigration to that country should be adopted.

A certain number of untoward incidents had been referred to in the Press which appeared to show that the Tamil labourer was not well treated. There were also signs in the Malayan administration of a political bias against Indians, certain posts which had previously been open to men of Indian birth, having been closed to any one except a European whose descent was European on both sides, an unheard-of racial distinction and also I believe unconstitutional. It was only quite recently that this racial regulation was made known to the Indian public, owing to Mr. P. K. Narobya having asked a question in the Straits Settlements' Legislative Council.

As my old friend and fellow-worker Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi was bracketed with me in the Congress Resolution, we met together and consulted as to the possibility of a joint visit of inquiry sometime during the year 1924. But when we were both considering the matter, a cable reached me suddenly from the poet Rabindranath Tagore, asking me to meet him without delay in China. Since my actual journey to China and back would take me directly through Malaya and the Straits, I broke my steamer journey at Penang on June 10th and went over-land to Singapore by rail, stopping for a few hours at Kuala-Lumpur. I was also able to spend some days in the centre of Government at Singapore itself and there to find out, both the opinion of the Indian leaders on the one hand, and the opinion of the Government officials on the other. It has further been possible to study all the blue books and papers. I have communicated to Pandit Banarsidas Chaturvedi my first impressions and would wish through the pages of *Young India* to present them to the public, on the understanding that I hope to carry my inquiry still further on my return journey and that I shall be able, after doing so, to go more into detail. These two articles which I am now publishing, will be rather for the sake of giving, in India, important information, than for the purpose of stating conclusions. The conclusions, indeed, as far as India is concerned, have not yet been reached.

First of all, I should like to deal with the Census Report, and explain from it what very important events in the history of the Far East are taking place in this

present generation in Malaya. It is necessary to explain, that there are three different forms of administration, (i) the colony of the Straits Settlements (Singapore, Malacca, Penang), (ii) the Federated Malay States, & (iii) the Unfederated Malay States. The Federated Malay States are managed by a Chief Secretary, who is under the Governor of Singapore. The Unfederated States are like the Indian States in India. All three administrations put together are called 'British Malaya' in the Census. I shall give figures for this whole territory of British Malaya rather than for the separate administrations. But I should note that there are comparatively few Indians, as yet, in the Unfederated Malay States.

The first point to pay special attention to is this, that the total Malay population of Malaya is 1,651,000 compared with 1,487,000 in 1911. But this increase of 14 per cent is due largely to the arrival of foreign Malays, and not so much to the natural increase of the Malay population. The area of British Malaya is 66,600 square miles; and it contains some of the most fertile land in all the world. It has also no desert land of any description. Java, which lies near to Malaya, has a population which is more than ten times as dense as that of Malaya. The rainfall and fertility of both countries are about the same. It is therefore as clear as possible, that the present Malay population is by no means occupying the ground in such a way as to make the immigration of other races objectionable. It is still an 'empty' country; and it has always been a country to which immigrants have drifted, a kind of 'no man's land'.

The Malay population is practically all Muhammadan. The conversion of Malaya and Java and other islands to Islam appears to have taken place, chiefly through Arab conquests, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Buddhist kingdoms for a long time flourished, in certain inhabited areas, long before that date; but the early history is very uncertain. There can be no doubt, however, that the first beginnings of culture and civilisation were brought to the Malayan coast, in Hindu-Buddhist times, and that the intercourse between the coastal districts and India from A. D. 700 to A. D. 1200 was frequent. There was also a considerable admixture of Indian blood which still is noticeable in the Malay features. The name for Indian 'Kling' is a corruption of the word 'Kalinga' which shows that the emigrants came from Orissa and Andhra.

Thus, the peninsula of Malaya, very sparsely inhabited and very little cultivated, has remained somewhat empty

to. It has only been during the last few years that its immense fertility has been recognised and that settled colonisation from India and China has been taking place on any large scale. An interesting thing to remember is that during the last century up to the year 1867 the Straits Settlements were under the Government of India and were reckoned as a part of India. When the Queen's Proclamation of racial equality was made in 1858, Singapore, Penang and Malacca were all reckoned as part of the Indian Empire. They were included in that Proclamation. This point raises an issue of great importance, when it is realised that to-day an Indian is not allowed, by an irregular and unconstitutional rule, to hold any post in the higher branches of the Malayan Civil Service. There can be no conceivable doubt, that this is a direct and open breach of the Queen's Proclamation such as Indians have never suffered from in India.

At the close of this article I will give rapidly the figures of the present population in its different races, and point out what estimates may be drawn from these about the future. As I have stated the natural Malay indigenes population is hardly increasing at all, and it never appears to have increased in the past with any rapidity. The problem of Malaya therefore is a triangular one—(i) Will the Chinese immigrants finally make Malaya an off-shoot of China? (ii) Will the Indian immigrants finally make it an off-shoot of India? (iii) Will there be a mixed population in which the foreign Malay immigration will considerably increase and the three races, in the end, serve to balance one another, growing each of them about a third of the whole?

The figures at the Censuses of 1911, and that of 1921, were as follows, quoting in thousands only:—

	1911	1921
Malays	14,37,000	16,51,000
Chinese	9,15,000	11,74,000
Indians	2,67,000	4,72,000

It will be seen that while the Indian population is still the smallest, its increase has been by far the most rapid. It appears almost certain that the Malay population will keep up its increase, census by census owing to the foreign Malays coming over from Java and other islands and being included in the Malay race. The Chinese population at last appears to be settling down more than ever before. The number of Chinese women, who had emigrated from China to Malaya between 1911 and 1921, was one of the most striking features of the last census. The Indian population also is inclining to settle, instead of merely migrating backwards and forwards.

Therefore the natural inference to be drawn from the Census is, that there is every likelihood of Malaya, as an empty country, being filled up from the three races, Indians, Chinese and Foreign Malays. It is also not unlikely that, at the 1931 Census, the Indian population will have drawn still nearer to that of the Malays and Chinese, showing that things go on normally as they are going on at present.

What result? (2) whether every parent has been canvassed and his objection noted and met wherever it was reasonable. It is slovenly and impatient to rush to compulsion without trying all available mild means. It is not reasonable to assume that the majority of parents are so foolish or heartless as to neglect the education of their children even when it is brought to their doors, free of charge.

Pertinent Questions

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent asks:

"Are you in favour of the introduction of compulsory primary education system in India? Is it unjust or unnecessary to make this education compulsory? If we get Swarajya, in the present condition of our country, will you make primary education compulsory throughout the whole of India?"

I fear I must answer the main question in the negative. I am not quite sure that I would not oppose compulsory education at all times. All compulsion is hateful to me. I would no more have the nation become educated by compulsion than I would have it become sober by such questionable means. But just as I would discourage drink by refusing to open drink shops and closing existing ones, so would I discourage illiteracy by removing obstacles in the path and opening free schools and making them responsive to the people's needs. But at the present moment we have not even tried on any large scale the experiment of free education. We have offered the parents no inducements. We have not even sufficiently or at all advertised the value of literacy. We have not the proper school-masters for the training. In my opinion therefore it is altogether too early to think of compulsion. I am not even sure that the experiment in compulsory education has been uniformly successful wherever it has been tried. If the majority wants education, compulsion is wholly unnecessary. If it does not, compulsion would be most harmful. Only a despotic Government passes laws in the teeth of the opposition of a majority. Has the Government afforded full facilities for education to the children of the majority? We have been compulsion-ridden for the past hundred years or more. The State rules our life in its minutest details without our previous sanction. It is time to use the nation to voluntary methods even though for the time being there may be no response to prayers, petitions and advice addressed to the nation. It has had little response to its prayers. Nothing is more detrimental to the true growth of society than for it to be habituated to the belief that no reform can be achieved by voluntary effort. A people so trained become wholly unfit for Swaraj.

It follows from what I have said above that if we get Swaraj to-day, I should resist compulsory education at least till every effort at voluntary primary education has been honestly made and failed. Let the reader not forget that there is more illiteracy in India to-day than there was fifty years ago, not because the parents are less willing but because the facilities they had before have disappeared under a system so foreign and unnatural for the country. The same thing is happening to-day in Burma.

The writer's other question is:—

"Are you in favour of primary education being made compulsory by the municipal and local bodies, by taking advantage of the present Compulsory Primary Education Act, specially when it is possible to do so by the hearty support of members of all shades of opinion?"

This question has reference to non-cooperators. I am of opinion that it is not inconsistent with the Congress resolution to take advantage of the Act if the councillors wish to do so. But for the reasons mentioned, I should hesitate straight-way to adopt compulsion. Before giving a decided opinion on merits and apart from the fundamental objection to compulsion, I should like to know (1) whether attempt has been made to make primary education free and with

Some Objections Answered

[A correspondent to *Narajivan* sends a formidable letter where in he objects to most of my propositions and generally my way of life. A friend has translated my reply to it for the benefit of the readers of *Young India*. Translation of the letter is not given as the reply itself enables the reader to know the objections. M. K. G.]

Right conduct is not like Euclid's right line. It is like a beautiful tree, not one of whose millions of leaves is like any other. Though therefore they are from one seed and belong to the same tree, there is none of the uniformity of a geometrical figure about any part of a tree. And yet we know that the seed, the branches and the leaves are one and the same. We know too that no geometrical figure can bear comparison with a full-blossomed tree in point of beauty and grandeur.

Therefore where the correspondent sees inconsistency I see neither contradiction nor insanity in my life. It is true that as a man cannot see his back, so can he not see his errors or insanity. But the sages have often likened a man of religion to a lunatic. I therefore beg the belief that I may not be insane and may be truly religious. Which of the two I am in truth can only be decided after my death.

I never asked my audience to substitute the spinning wheel for the rosary. I only suggested that they could go on spinning taking the name of 'Narayana' simultaneously. And whilst to-day the whole country is on fire, I think it behoves us all to fill the buckets of the spinning wheel with the water of yarn, and extinguish the fire with 'the name of 'Narayana' on our lips.

I want to see the spinning wheel every where, because I see pauperism every where. Not until and unless we have fed and clothed the skeletons of India, will religion have any meaning for them. They are living the cattle-life to-day, and we are responsible for it. The spinning wheel is therefore a penance for us. Religion is service of the helpless. God manifests himself to us in the form of the helpless and the stricken. But we in spite of our forehead-marks take no notice of them i.e. of God. God is and is not in the Vedas. He who reads the spirit of the Vedas sees God there-in. He who clings to the letter of the Vedas is a Vedika-a literalist. Narasimha Mehta does indeed sing the praise of the rosary and the praise is well-merited where it is given. But the same Narasimha has sung:

'Of what avail is the tilaka and the tulsi, of what avail is the rosary and the muttering of the Name, what avail is the grammatical interpretation of the Vedas, what avail is the mastery of the letters? All these are devices to fill the belly and nothing worth without their helping to a realisation of the Para-Brahma.'

The Mussalman does count the beads of his *tasbih*, and the Christian of the rosary. But both would think themselves fallen from religion if their *tasbih* and rosary prevented them from running to the succour of one who, for instance, was lying stricken with a snake-bite. More knowledge of the Vedas cannot make our Brahmins spiritual preceptors. If it did, Max Muller would have become one. The Brahman who has understood the religion of to-day will certainly give Vedic learning a secondary place and propagate the religion of the spinning wheel, relieve the hunger of the millions of his starving

country-men and only then, and not until then, lose himself in Vedic studies.

I have certainly regarded spinning superior to the practice of denominational religions. But that does not mean that the latter should be given up. I only mean that a *dharma* which has to be observed by the followers of all religions transcends them, and hence I say that a Brahman is a better Brahman, a Mussalman a better Mussalman, a Vaishnava a better Vaishnava, if he turns the wheel in the spirit of service.

I certainly did not repeat the divine word 'Rama', nor count the beads on account of a feeling that my end was near. But I was too weak then to turn the wheel. I do count the rosary when-ever it helps me in concentrating on Rama. When however I rise to a pitch of concentration where the rosary is more a hindrance than a help, I drop it. If it was possible for me to turn the wheel in my bed, and if I felt that it would help me in concentrating my mind on God, I would certainly leave the rosary aside and turn the wheel. If I am strong enough to turn the wheel, and I have to make a choice between counting beads or turning the wheel, I would certainly decide in favour of the wheel, making it my rosary so long as I found poverty and starvation stalking the land. I do look forward to a time when even repeating the name of Rama will become a hindrance. When I have realised that Rama transcends even speech, I shall have no need to repeat the name. The spinning wheel, the rosary and the 'Rama-Nam' are all the same to me. They subserve the same end, they teach me the religion of service. I cannot practise ahimsa without practising the religion of service, and I cannot find the truth without practising the religion of ahimsa. And there is no religion other than truth. Truth is Rama, Narayana, Ishwara, Krti, Allah, God. As Narasimha says, 'The different shapes into which gold is beaten gives rise to different names and forms; but ultimately it is all gold.'

I have nothing to withdraw from what I have said about machines in the *Indian Home Rule*, and a reference will show that I have included the printing press in the machines. It must be remembered that it is not *Indian Home Rule* depicted in that book that I am placing before India. I am placing before the nation parliamentary i.e. democratic Swaraj. I do not suggest to-day a destruction of all the machines, but I am making the spinning wheel the master-machine. The *Indian Home Rule* depicts an ideal State. The fact that I cannot come up to the ideal condition of things laid down therein is to be attributed to my weakness. I believe that there is no religion greater than ahimsa, and yet I cannot escape the himsa which is inevitably involved in the processes of eating and drinking. The ideal of ahimsa is how-ever ever before me; therefore even in these processes I do endeavour to restrain myself. I am striving every moment to reduce even those functions to a minimum.

What I have said about hospitals is also true. And yet I suppose I shall resort to the few medicines I hold lawful, so long as I retain the least attachment for my body. I went to the hospital as a prisoner. I did not run away from it immediately on my release, because I thought it my duty to remain under the care of those who had treated me with courtesy and kindness.

I am however ashamed at the very fact of my illness, inasmuch as I believe that a man should never fall ill. It is humiliating for me to take any medicine, and the more so that it was at all necessary to take me to the hospital.

I have never preferred killing a dacoit to winning him over with love. But he who is not equal to that love, who cannot muster all the love that the act demands, has the right to protect his protégés and his property even by killing the dacoit.

It is a gross error to liken the Englishmen to dacoits. The dacoits loot you by sheer violence, the Englishmen do so chiefly by seducing us. There is thus a great difference of method in the two. A liquor-vendor also robs me of my soul by selling his liquor. Should I suggest killing him, or non-cooperating with him? But if an Englishman brutally assaults you, or a liquor-vendor forcibly tries to pour liquor down your throat, and if you will not win both over by love, then it is open to you to engage them in an armed combat. It would make no difference if the aggressors in the case were one or many, weak or strong.

Young India

14-8-24

Wanted Excitement

I present the readers with extracts from a letter received from a lawyer who has made considerable sacrifices in the national cause. When he non-cooperated, he sold out his books. He is now dependent. He ends his letter by saying, 'I have written this letter only to relieve my surcharged mind. If it is ignored, I shall not feel disappointed.' I cannot ignore any genuine article. I have therefore adopted the middle course. I have boiled down the letter by expunging sorrowful and admonitory portions. Here then are the extracts that call for comment.

"The charkha, Hindu Muslim unity and removal of untouchability have not appealed to the masses for the last two years. There is no sign of coming change.

The no-changers should form their programme in conformity with human nature. They should take into consideration that there must be excitement to call forth mass-enthusiasm. Satyagraha is the best form of excitement. But it should be a direct and open fight with the Government. Inter-communal Satyagraha is harmful. It only gives advantage to the Government to fight in the darkness and behind the trenches at safe distance. It leaves plenty of way for intrigues and mischievous propaganda. To enter into open fight with the Government strong issues should be selected on which wider public sympathy can be enlisted. Any of the following issues will fulfil these conditions, one of which may be selected.

1. Boycott of courts and establishment of arbitration in villages, towns and cities with offices for registration of documents.

2. Boycott of currency by replacing it with hundis.

3. Suppression of drinks and intoxicating drugs."

I do not believe that we have worked enough among the masses to entitle us to know that the three things do not appeal to them. What experience we have of the masses i. e. the villages goes to show that the charkha

has appealed to them. They simply need organising. But we who claim to be their leaders refuse to go to the villages and live in their midst and deliver the life-sustaining message of the charkha. The writer simply does not know the masses. Or he should know that the Hindu-Mosalmān masses do not quarrel. Delhi is not a village. And there too it would be a libel to say that the poor people quarrelled. We invited them to the fratricidal fight. The untouchability is undoubtedly a difficult point among the masses. It does however appeal to them, only it appeals in a way we do not like. They hug the exclusiveness which they have inherited for ages. But if we cannot, by our purity, unselfishness and patience, cure them of the disease, we must perish as a nation. The sooner every political reformer realises the fact, the better it is for him and the country. We must refuse to give up the struggle or postpone it till after Swaraj. Postponement of it means postponement of Swaraj. It is like wanting to live without lungs. Those who believe that Hindu-Muslim tension and untouchability can be removed after Swaraj are living in the dream-land. They are too fatigued to grasp the significance of their proposition. The three things must be an integral part of any programme of Swaraj. But though the task is difficult, it is not impossible. I claim therefore that this three-fold programme of construction is in strict conformity with human nature as it exists in India. It is in keeping with the daily requirements of a people that is bent on making progress.

But the friend says, there must be 'excitement.' I do not know what the word means. For workers there is enough excitement in the three things. Go to any village, put up a wheel and call the villagers to embrace their untouchable brethren. The children will dance round the forgotten wheel and the villagers will be inclined to pull you out of their midst for asking them to embrace the untouchables unless you ask them in a reasonable and sweet way. This is 'excitement' that giveth life. But there is another variety of it which 'kills'. It is momentary excitement that blinds people and makes them create a splash for a moment. That kind of excitement cannot bring Swaraj. I can conceive its use for a fighting people prepared to wrest power from other hands. The problem in India is not quite so simple. We are not prepared and we are not fighters with arms. The Englishmen do not rule merely by force. They have seductive ways also. They can carefully conceal their fist in soft-looking gloves. The moment we show intelligent organisation, honest but unbendable purpose and perfect and disciplined cohesion, they will hand over the whole administration to us without a blow and serve India on our terms, as we to-day unwittingly or unwillingly slay for them on their terms.

Satyagraha is not excitement of the second variety. It dies in such atmosphere. It needs the development of calm courage that knows no defeat and despises revenge. Even inter-communal satyagraha (if it is satyagraha) strengthens the nation for fighting the Government. The unseemly fight between no-changers and pro-changers is not satyagraha in any sense of the term. The disgraceful events of Delhi are clearly not satyagraha. The only instances of inter-communal satyagraha are the Vaikom and Tarkeshwar. I know something of Vaikom because I am supposed to be directing it. It must succeed if the satyagrahis are patient, absolutely truthful, absolutely non-violent, yes, in thought, word and deed, and if they are gentle towards their opponents and remain fixed to their minimum. If they

fulfil the conditions, the orthodox Hindus will bless them and they will strengthen and not weaken the national cause. Of Tarkeshwar I know next to nothing. But the result can only be good if it is true satyagrah.

The correspondent's method of bringing about a state of 'excitement' is in keeping with his misunderstanding of satyagrah. He does not realise that arbitration courts and registration of documents, if they have the element of compulsion in them, must defeat the very end the writer has in view. And if they are devoid of compulsion, they will offer less excitement than the wheel is only because no one will care to register documents in private course. Boycott of currency without the stick behind will be still less exciting. I would give much to be able to revive liquor shops' picketing if a calm atmosphere can be established and 'peaceful' picketing can be found. Experience shows that our picketing in 1921 was not all peaceful.

True solution is to be found from within. It is not the masses but we that have lost faith. For the correspondent who is in charge of a Congress committee says that resignations are pouring in upon him. Why? Because those who are resigning have no faith in the programme. Whereas hitherto they were playing, now they are taking themselves and the nation seriously. They are responding to truth. I regard these resignations a distinct gain to the cause. If all play the game and either carry out the resolutions or resign, we should know where we are. To the secretary in charge I would suggest that he should invite the electors, if there are any at all on his register, to elect their representatives. If the members were practically self-appointed, as I fear is the case in many places, the secretary may safely remain the sole true representative of the Congress, if he has faith in himself and the programme. He is then free to devote his whole time and attention to spinning. I premise that he will not find himself the only one so devoted to spinning. There is no cause for despondency for a man who has faith and resolution.

The moral of it

I have seen the letter addressed to the A. I. K. B. by the Punjab local secretary in which he speaks in glowing terms of Mr. Bharucha's efforts during his all-too-brief stay there. He has been able to infuse vigour into the khadi movement and to assist in disposing of the surplus khadi by hawking. Over six thousand rupees worth was sold in Amritsar and Lahore. The secretary says that this is the slack season in the Punjab. Could Mr. Bharucha go again in September, when all who have gone out will have returned, there will be much more work done. I congratulate Mr. Bharucha on his success and hope that he will be able to revisit the Punjab. The moral however of the visit is that every province, if it wills, can dispose of its own khadi. The people are willing if the workers are ready.

Hindu-Muslim Tension

Its Cause and Cure

by

M. K. Gandhi

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Notes

Mr. Kelkar's Contempt

I do not think Mr. Kelkar or the *Kesari* will lose by the punishment awarded by the learned judges of the Bombay High Court. Both will survive the fine. Mr. Kelkar has carried the congratulations of journalists and public men on the brave stand he took up. The judgment has only enhanced the status of the *Kesari* great as it already is. But why this extreme sensitiveness on the part of the judges? They will surely not lose by fearless public criticism. It may not be always justified or defensible. I have not seen the article which constituted the contempt. But what is the public gain from the punishment? Will Mr. Kelkar or the public think more kindly of the judges? If the articles merely impinge bias to the judges, they have but echoed public opinion. The bias need not be conscious. But popular belief is that it is there in cases between Europeans and Indians. My own experience, wide in South Africa and comparatively limited here, confirms the popular belief. The analysis which I published in these columns of the judgments in 1919 of the special tribunals in the Punjab undoubtedly established the charge of bias against the judges of those tribunals in the Punjab. Justice as between Europeans and Indians is a rare commodity. I would like to think otherwise. But it has not been possible. I am prepared to admit that under similar circumstances, anybody else would have done like-wise. That is another way of saying that human nature is the same in all climes. And judges are but human beings having the same traits and are guided by the same feelings as the average man. I would therefore respectfully point out to the judges that if they resort to public criticism in the manner they appear to have done in the *Kesari* case, they put themselves against healthy influence. Surely it must serve as a tonic for judges when a journalist of Mr. Kelkar's status and experience finds it necessary to criticise a judgment. European judges, if they will struggle against natural bias and one-sided influences that operate upon them, should in my humble opinion encourage and welcome the criticism of Indian journalists. The pity of it is that they rarely if at all read such criticism except when it comes up before them for punishment. The judgment against Mr. Kelkar may make editors conceal their opinion or gild it. It will then seek a sub-terrenean passage. We have already more than our ordinary share of it. I cannot help saying that the punishment awarded against Mr. Kelkar is calculated to increase the falsity of the life that surrounds us and still further to embitter the relations between Europeans and Indians. It was so unnecessary.

'King can do no wrong'

Mr. Kelkar, if he criticises a judge, must pay R. 5000, the *Chronicle* must pay R. 15000 for criticising a Collector. But Lord Lytton, because he is the king's representative in Bengal, may libel the woman-hood of India with impunity and may probably receive applause from his admirers for his 'frank' talk. His Excellency is reported to have said in a serious speech that 'more hatred of authority can drive Indian men to induce Indian women to invent offences against their own honor merely to bring discredit upon Indian police-men.' If it was not in a report of his speech but if it was merely a reporter's summary, I would have refused to believe that a responsible

Englishman could be capable of such a 'blazing indiscretion.' Lord Lytton evidently does not know or does not care to know how deeply Indian sentiment can be stirred by such charges against Indian women. Has Lord Lytton incontestable proof for the assertion he has made? If it is merely the testimony of the police he has relied upon, he has relied upon a brick & reed. His advisers should have warned him against putting faith in any such interested testimony. But why has he been able to utter such calumny with impunity? If public opinion in Bengal and for that matter in India was effective, he would not have dared to utter such a charge even if it could be established in an isolated case? But there is no public opinion in the country that can assert itself to-day. Let not even the mightiest in the land however consider that they can flout Indian sentiment for ever. Hindu Muslim feud and the differences between pro-changers and no-changers are temporary aberrations in the national movement. But the insults of Englishmen in high places sink deep in the hearts of all Indians. It is so humiliating to contemplate a closing up of all ranks among us on the strength of indiscreet acts of irresponsible representatives of the king.

A Business like Report

The Tamil Nadu Khadi Board has sent to the A. I. K. B. an excellent resume of its work. If I had space at my command, I should give the whole report. As it is, I must be content with giving a summary. It deals with production and sales in the centres under its control. The secretary expects soon to be able to manufacture Rs. 50000 worth of khadi per month. The Tiruppur depot now produces between 15 to 20 thousand rupees worth per month. Local sales keep pace with the production. And thus sales and production react upon each other. They are steadily improving the quality of khadi and are now trying to introduce coloured khadi satis. For production they begin, as is only proper, with storing cotton. They have purchased Rs. 50,000 worth of cotton which is all insured. Training depots too have been established where young workers are trained to gin, card and spin. The disbursements appear to me to be modest and they have full check over the departments. At their model training school at Koyur they have over a dozen youths at present under training. These are under strict discipline. They rise early in the morning at 4.30 and attend to all the labour themselves. They become used to all the variety of carding bows and wheels. An interesting table is attached to the report giving the quantity of cotton ginned, carded and spun by every scholar under training. The special feature of their propaganda consists in organising *bhajan* parties resulting in much interest being taken in their work. At Koyur about 50 homes possess clothes of yarn of their own spinning. Let the reader imagine what concentration, method, business habits, honesty, organising ability and co-operation must be required for such work. Let him next imagine one such district fully organised for khadi and self-contained. It is then easy for him to know that for that district at least there is Swaraj. Let him be certain that, steady as the progress is, the district will not be fully equipped for khadi unless the curse of untouchability is removed from it. For voluntary production and distribution, there must be voluntary co-operation. That can only come when the least of the inhabitants feels a pride in being a free citizen of that little commonwealth.

Prompt Action

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has sent the following to the U. P. Government regarding the proscription of Prof. Ramdas Gaur's Hindi readers:—

"The attention of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee has been drawn to the notice issued by the U. P. Government declaring, under Section 99 A of Act V of 1898, all copies of Prof. Ram Das Gaur's Hindi readers Nos. III, IV, V and VI as well as extracts therefrom, 'forfeited to His Majesty'. These readers have been in use for some years past in a large number of schools. Their principal contents are extracts from classical Hindi writers and it is difficult to understand what passages or extracts in the books are supposed to offend against section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code. I shall be obliged if you will kindly point out the particular passages which in the opinion of Government are objectionable and have led to the proscription of the books. My committee will carefully consider these passages and if they are satisfied of their impropriety will certainly advise Prof. Gaur to remove them from his books. I shall be glad if you will kindly send me an early answer as the books are being used in many schools connected with my committee."

The Pandit has sent a similar letter to the U. P. Minister of Education. The public will watch the developments with curiosity. Meanwhile the publishers are said to have filed legal proceedings for setting aside the order. The books have been sold in thousands. The Government will therefore be hard put to it to confiscate all the books unless the boys and girls voluntarily destroy them. As yet there is no movement in that direction. On the contrary the books are still in use as before. But of course the Government may have many cards up its sleeve and may be able in its own time to confound those who are harbouring these tainted books. The public will be glad to learn that the learned author has kept no copy right in the books.

A Welcome Correction

The converor of U. P. Khadi Board wires to say 'figures published last week for U. P. do not show total number registered to spin. Registers are being sent in as we receive lists from subordinate committees.' I welcome the correction and look forward to a list that will eclipse Bengal. For, next to Bengal, U. P. is the most thickly populated of our provinces.

Orthodox Protest

The president of Savarna Mahajan Sabha at Vaikom sends me a letter enclosing resolutions protesting against my countenancing Satyagrah at Vaikom and urging me to stop it. The writer tells me that I have been misled by my informants. I have endeavoured to study both the sides impartially and I have come to the conclusion that the Satyagrahis have in the whole been scrupulously correct in their conduct and that they have been sustaining the struggle under trying circumstances. I am sorry to say that I am therefore unable to satisfy the orthodox friends and advise withdrawal of Satyagrah.

A God-send

Even the floods though they have been merciless to Malabar in general seem to have favoured the suppressed countrymen. For I read the following in a letter to Mr. Rajgopalachari from the Satyagraha Camp at Vaikom.

"The question of temple entry and social equality has been solved in more than a dozen places by the

floods by the collecting of all people of all castes and creeds in the temples and houses which are otherwise forbidden. Even interdining between Nambudri and Pulaya has been effected by the fury of the Gods. The floods in the State have completely isolated Vaikom."

Common misery is the most adhesive cement yet known to the world. It is so cruel that it is no respecter of persons. It puts the prince and the peasant in the same watery grave.

Quiet Work

Again how is it possible to advise stoppage of a movement which shows so much grit as is described in the following from the same letter?

"In spite of the bad weather conditions, no effort is spared in the charkha work in the Ashram. Almost all the volunteers know to spin well and the charkhas are being sent to the barricades except during heavy showers. Half the number have learnt to card and I am making it compulsory that the spinners must use their own carded cotton. Tape-making is also going on. Ere long we will set up a loom."

I must respectfully refuse to believe that cultured young men doing such honest work in the faith that it purifies them and helps them in their struggle against passion and prejudice can possibly deceive the public or me. They have no interest in so doing. For their faith is in their work.

It melts stones.

But the president of the meeting in his letter says, 'You seem to think that Satyagraha when offered to a brother will gradually melt away the opposition of the latter and win him over to the side of the Satyagrahi. This is not our experience here.' I do not wonder that the hearts of the orthodox have not yet been touched by the sufferings of the Satyagrahis. They have not suffered long enough yet nor intensely enough. Even suffering cannot be manufactured. They must take whatever God may have in store for them. If He wants them to have to linger away in suffering, they must submit to it cheerfully. They dare not shirk the severest trial nor may they dare stage-play suffering. That was one of my reasons against the Sikh friends resisting arrests and inviting fire. My uniform experience is that true suffering melts the stoniest hearts. With my own eldest brother, it took fully thirteen years. I do not reproduce all the letters I receive from English friends. But some of them are humble recognitions of the evil done (true enough in ignorance) by the English rulers. What are these recognitions if they are not in conscious response to suffering? Nothing can shake me from the conviction that, gives a good cause, suffering for its sake advances it as nothing else has ever done. To the orthodox Hindus I need not point out the sovereign efficacy of *tapasya*. And Satyagraha is nothing but *tapasya* for Truth.

A Disturbing Item

There is however in the president's letter a disturbing item. I must give it in his own words as follows:

"I bring to your notice an incident that took place at Chenganur under the auspices of the adherents of the Congress party on 6th July 1924. This was a Savarna meeting announced to be held at the place. A representative of our committee was also invited to attend. By the machinations of a mischievous clique, the meeting was subjected to a set of resolutions which were quite contrary to the propositions adopted for

presentation at the meeting. Our representative and several other Savarna members immediately left the hall and called up another meeting composed of very respectable caste-Hindus at the residence of the Vanjipezhey chief, the premier land-lord of Chenganur. Leave this alone, however gruesome and treacherous the tactics be. What we painfully deplore is that an organised attempt was made to vilify and hurt him and to lay hands on him if possible. He had to come away from the place without giving scent of his departure. This incident I refer to you just to bring to your notice the manner in which Congress propagandism is pursued in Travancore now."

I ask the conductors of the campaign to send me an explanation which I shall gladly print. They will not, I trust, hesitate to admit the error if any has been committed.

Reporters Beware!

Tha A. P. reporter in Ahmedabad lost me (temporarily I hope) all the reputation for humanity that I had built up through painful toil. For he reported me as saying that the only message I could send to afflicted Malabar was that those who were rendered naked and hungry and home-less should spin. If Mr. Painter may receive Rs 15000 for damage to his reputation, I think I should receive at least Rs 1,50,000 for damage done to mine. And if I could receive that sum, I should retrieve some-what my lost reputation and make over the sum without deduction to the Malabar sufferers. But unlike Mr. Painter, I acquit both the reporter and the agency from all blame. The local reporter tells me he was not present at the meeting. The people who attended the meeting heard little but the listeners thought I had said something about spinning. What could be more natural for me than that I should ask the Malabar sufferers to spin for food, clothing and lodging? Was not the great Acharya Ray doing the same thing? The poor reporter forgot that Dr. Ray was doing it after the people had settled down. However the awful slip is a lesson for the reporters and the public. The reporters hold the reputation of public men in the hollow of their hands. It is not a light thing to misreport public men's speeches and acts. The public have to be equally careful about believing every report as gospel truth. So far as I am concerned, I must continue to warn the public and all concerned against believing what may be reported of me unless it is certified by me as correct. I am in no hurry to have every word of mine reported. The reporters would therefore do me a favour, if they would not report me at all when they cannot get their notes confirmed by me.

I am obliged to say all this because I have many painful memories of misreporting. In 1896 I published in India a pamphlet covering 30 pages or more on British Indians in South Africa. A five-line summary was cabled by Reuter to Natal. It was wholly contrary to the gist of my pamphlet. This very incorrect report inflamed the Natal colonists. I was nearly lynched to death by an infuriated crowd on my return to Natal. Lawyer friends pressed me to bring a suit for damages. But I was a non-resister even then. I refused to sue. I lost nothing by not suing. When the colonists perceived that I was not a 'bad sort,' and that they had cruelly misjudged me, they regretted the error. I therefore in the end lost nothing by self-restraint. But I have no desire to court another such experience even though it may bring me added glory. I want to put in more work, if God so wills it. I must therefore ask the reporters to spare me yet a while.

Help to Malabar

I have not written the fore-going lines merely to put reporters and the public on their guard. Under the best of circumstances such mistakes will occur. I am satisfied that there was no wilful neglect either in Ahmedabad or at the head-quarters. But I wish to utilise the occasion for getting more money for the sufferers. I invite all those who were indignant over my supposed callousness to send me as much as they can towards helping the sufferers. I have invited the readers of *Navajivan*, not merely to give me out of their savings, but even out of their necessities, to share their clothes and food with the sufferers. The response has been quick and generous. The students of the Maha-Vidyalaya have after the style of Shraddhanandji's pupils of the Gurukol during the South African campaign, been doing manual work at labourer's wages on the very premises that are being built for them. The possibilities of such effort are immense.

Boys and girls even under 12 have given up milk for a number of days, the savings to be devoted to the relief fund. This means in some cases 3 annas per day. Adults are denying themselves one meal per day.

Boys and girls are giving up their clothes retaining for themselves the very minimum. A girl has given up her silver anklets. A boy has given up his valued gold ear-rings. A sister has sent in her four heavy gold bangles, another her heavy gold necklace. These are not exhaustive but typical instances. A little girl brought out all the coppers she had stolen. The National College students and others have given me heaps of yarn they have already spun. Others propose to spin for a certain period daily on behalf of the sufferers.

These to me are more precious than the donations in the next column, generous as they are in several cases.

May these offerings, but especially the little offerings and self-denials of the little ones, give comfort to the homeless, hungry and naked poor, women and children of the afflicted areas. I invite the readers of *Young India* who have not paid elsewhere to the fund to send their quota. Telegrams before me tell me that clothing will be just as welcome as money. The poorest must identify themselves with their country-men in Malabar by some act of self-denial.

Clothing

With reference to clothing being received in abundance, I wish to inform readers that no distinction is being made as to hand-spun or other clothing. Those who have still got mill or foreign clothes may send these. Inquiry has been made in Bombay as to where clothing should be delivered. I suggest arrangements being made with the Provincial Congress Committee. Pending such arrangements delivery may be made at the *Navajivan* depot in the Princess Street, Bombay. Donors will however please note the following instructions:

1. Dirty clothes should be washed and folded.
2. Torn clothes should be mended and folded.
3. All clothing should be well packed and tied in parcels with list of clothing and name of donor attached.

These will not be acknowledged separately in these columns. But donors will do well not to deliver anything without a receipt being obtained at the office of delivery. I would warn donors from paying or giving any article to anyone without taking a full receipt and knowing the collectors.

Whilst it flatters my pride to receive monies and jewellery and clothing at the *Navajivan* and *Young India* offices, I would ask the readers not to worry where they make

their donations. They may pay where-ever they like. It is enough so long as they pay. In a calamity of such magnitude as that through which the South is passing, there should be no distinction between cooperators and non-cooperators. As for the funds being sent to me, I am conferring with Mr. Vallabhbhai as to the best method of distribution. I am in correspondence with Mr. Rajagopalschari regarding the disposal, but if those who have been sending me wires will kindly send their suggestions I shall be grateful for them.

M. K. G.

Malabar Relief Fund**Amounts Received**

	Rs.
Mr. A. M.	1000
,, A.	200
,, Sanmukhlal Gordhandas	5
,, Nar-imdas	25
,, Balakhidas	25
,, R. Sutaria	20
,, K. Himatnal	20
Mrs. Gomati Bai	200
Mr. K. M.	175
.. M. Muljibhai	100
.. D. G. B.	150
.. Kashibhai	100
.. P. Gordhandas	100
Handspun yarn from College students	81-9-0
Yarn from others	8-8-0
Mr. E. Dhirajram	50
.. F. Kuberdas	50
Bai Samarat	15
Mr. J. B. Advani	250
.. P. Hirachand	101
.. Kachrathai	61
.. C. Deepchand	25
.. Paidhanbhai	50
.. V. Megandal	50
.. N. Sivalal	20
.. C. Dahyabhai	5
.. C. B. Parekh	21
.. J. Fatechand	2
Champabai	5
Mr. Valsibhai	200
.. Jeshingbhai	200
A friend	250
A. B.	7000
Mr. G. V. Mevlanker	100
.. Chunilal D. Parikh	110
.. Auandrai Patel	25
.. H. G. Nilkanth	15
.. Premchand Bhurabhai	15
.. Balubhai Zaveri	25
.. Talakehund Amarchand	10
Clerks Gujarat Vidyapith	15
Mr. Ambalal Mohanlal	3
Anonymous	3
..	3
..	3
..	3
..	51
..	51
..	25
..	25
..	15
Total	4990-14-6

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Young India

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Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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No. 34

Notes

The First Returns

How I wish the reader could share my delight, as I analyse the first returns of yarn in terms of the A. I. C. C. resolution on spinning. As yet I have before me only the Gujarat returns, Ahmedabad being the head quarters of the A. I. K. B. The representatives bound to send their quota number 408. Of these only 160 have sent in their quota, i. e. only 42 p. c. against 58 p. c. default. It is said that the others have not been able to send in their quota owing to their being novices. The excuse is not valid, because Messrs. Abbas Tyabji and Vallabhbhai Patel are novices but have been able to send over 5000 yards. The reason of determined application. I hope, therefore, that the next month will see a full response. But the number of non-representatives more than makes up for the defaulters. For in all 672 persons have sent in their returns in Gujarat, i. e., 503 non-representatives have responded. This is truly encouraging. A little more organising should show much better results. In fact if this sacrificial spinning movement spreads, it will show startling results from month to month. Of these nobody has sent less than 3000 yards. Many have sent in 5000 yards. One has sent 43000 yards. This means a lot of work. The yarn is also perfectly even and well-twisted. Let not the reader imagine that he is a professional spinner. His practice does not extend to a long period. Another has sent in 12000 yards. He has spun 21000, but has retained 12000 for his own use. A third has also sent in 11000, though he has spun in all 27000 yards. Both these are busy Congress representatives occupying very responsible positions. They could not send in such large amounts without putting in at least three hours' labour every day. They do not believe that the other work entrusted to them has suffered. They have put in this labour, because they are early risers and render an account of every minute at their disposal. One young man has spun 46000 yards, though he has sent in only the required minimum. He cannot afford to send more. Let me add also that there are many who have spun much more than 3000 yards, but who are spinning for their own personal use and hence cannot afford to send in more than the minimum. Taking the districts, Kheda tops the list and Panchmahals comes last.

The Ali Brothers' quota

The Big Brother made a mighty effort but succeeded in sending only one tola of indifferently-spun yarn. If there was no fear of the reader accusing me of partiality towards the Brothers, I would say that this is not a bad

record for one who is constitutionally ill-fitted for continuous spinning and who is always on the move. Maulana Shaukat Ali has however given me the assurance that he is going to send the full quantity for the next month. Maulana Mahomed Ali has done better. I must let him speak for himself.

"I send with Shaukat the poor attempt of the President of the Congress at spinning. The history of my spinning is this. Never had I spun a yard of yarn in all my life, but after Ahmedabad I was determined to commence it the moment I settled down at Delhi. Continuous travelling was followed by illness, but on the 2nd August I sat down at long last to spin. Two skeins of thick, uneven, horrible yarn are the result of the work done on the 2nd and 3rd. But some of it was spun by my wife who acted as my tutor and afterwards also by Arif Husni who also taught me a little. On the 4th I spun the third skein but forgot to count the yards spun. I think it was about 110 yards. On the 5th, 6th & 7th I did about 300 yards and then had to go to Raipur to see mother, and I greatly regret that the charkha was left behind in my hurried and worried departure. On my return I did another 150 yards or so, but have been kept busy by the Hindu-Muslim negotiations, mother's illness and my own foot on which one carbuncle has not yet healed and another has made its appearance. The last (4th skein) is 462 yards and represents about 4 days work. I promise you that God willing I will not only spin 2000 yards by the 15th September, but will also make up the deficiency for August. Will you, in the meantime, accept the will for the deed?"

This is remarkable for one who is ailing and also travelling. But I know that a President has to be exact and scrupulous about his own work before he can expect any from his followers. The Ali Brothers however represent not only the Congress but the Mussalmans also. The cry everywhere is that the Mussalmans are practically not responding to the call at all. It will require a tremendous effort to awaken them to a sense of their duty. And if the Mussalmans come up to the Hindu level in spinning, their work will react upon the Hindus. Boycott of foreign cloth will then become an accomplished fact and with it will be achieved the economic salvation of the masses. With that salvation will come self-confidence. Self-confidence must lead to Swaraj.

Principal Gidwani

It is reported that Principal Gidwani has lost 30 lbs in weight in the Nadha jail and that Mrs. Gidwani in spite

of repeated requests has not received any reply as to when she can visit her husband. This is callous indifference. The administrator may at least issue regular bulletins regarding Principal Gidwani's health and let the public know the real state of his health. Why Mrs. Gidwani should be prevented from seeing her husband as often as she likes is also difficult to understand. My sympathies go out to her. I know however that she is the brave wife of a brave husband. The only advice I can tender to the lady is to be 'careful for nothing' and feel that God will take better care of her husband than any human agency. She and we should realise that as satyagrahis and non-cooperators we must expect treatment such as is being meted out to her and her husband. If Acharya Gidwani will change his 'creed', he can now procure his discharge. He has but to apologise for his brave and human conduct in crossing the Nabha border and he will be set free. But he will do no such thing. It is the article of a satyagrahi's faith to prefer imprisonment to degrading liberty.

Wanton Desecration

If the communiqué of the District Magistrate of Moradabad is to be relied upon, the news contained in it is serious and disquieting. Two temples are reported to have been desecrated and the Hindus assaulted seriously. No cause for this wanton desecration has been assigned. A similar incident is reported to have taken place at Amethi in the Lucknow district. Here the Hindus are supposed to have blown matchs in defiance, it is said, of a magisterial order. If they did, it was for the magistrate to punish the offenders, not for the Mussalmans to enter the temple in a large body and commit assault and desecrate temples. There is no doubt that these cases have an organisation at their back. It represents a deliberate attempt to create dissensions and prevent Hindu-Moslim unity. What the organisation can hope to gain by such acts is difficult to understand. It cannot enhance the dignity of Islam, it cannot popularise it. If it is material gain that is sought, it is not possible to achieve it. And if the organisers seek to gain Government favour by these methods, they will soon find themselves undeserved.

Natal Indians

It is a pathetic tale from the Natal Indians protesting against the passing of the ordinance disfranchising Natal Indians from voting at municipal elections. This fight commenced in 1891. It was finally decided in favour of the Indian settlers. The then Natal Government admitted that it would be most unfair to deprive the Indian taxpayer of the municipal franchise. The Indian settler submitted to the virtual deprivation of the political franchise. But no party promises or undertakings bind governments when they wish to change policies or principles. We have seen this illustrated often enough in the history of Indians in South Africa. Almost every assurance given by them has been violated on due occasion. Our bewildered countrymen make a pathetic appeal to the nation for help. Little do they know that we are powerless to give them real assistance. Sympathy they have. Newspaper articles they will have, but I fear that beyond that they are likely to get very little. If the Government of India move, for very shame, to protect them against impending spoliation, it can do so with effect. I say 'hopefully' for the ordinance requires the sanction of the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa. He has once refused to sanction such an ordinance.

If he exercises his prerogative, he can save the Indians the insult that the ordinance implies. Every letter received by me from South Africa during Mrs. Naidu's stay there showed the high hopes our people built on the brilliant mission of Mrs. Naidu. But the South African Europeans can be courteous and yet carry out their determination, though it may be, as this is, totally unjust. They have learnt under General Smuts the art of being sweetly unjust. The ultimate remedy lies with our countrymen themselves.

Keaya Decision

The Colonial Secretary's announcement about the Kenya Indians is an artful performance. It reads perfectly innocent. But it has practically taken away everything that our countrymen of Keaya were fighting for. Mr. Thomas has shelved the immigration measure. It means very little. There was no urgency about it. And with the unfavourable decision on the other points, the immigration will be automatically checked. The Indians claimed to retain the right to own land in the Highlands. They claimed equal general franchise. They wanted fair fight and no favour. The announcement takes away the right of owning land in the healthiest part of Kenya. It seeks to give communal franchise which in effect means no effective political power for our countrymen. The struggle has been going on for several years. All Indians, moderates and others, united last year. They proclaimed even a boycott of British goods. But the import of British goods remained unaffected and the Kenya Indians have gained little for the agitation. We have not the power, or more accurately we do not know how to use the power we have. Let the reader understand the distinction between Kenya and Natal. Natal has Dominion status. Kenya has not. The decision in Natal is an act of the local legislature. There is therefore still hope of relief. In Kenya the decision now is that of the Imperial Government. Therefore it is practically final.

H. K. G.

Yarn Returns

The Secretary, All India Khadi Board, sends the following.

Name of province.	Number of Representatives.	Members who have sent their quota.	Non-Member Spinners.
1. Andhra	1164	237	101
2. Assam	194	1	...
3. Ajmer	37	6	9
4. Bombay	225	50	17
5. Burma	36	1	1
6. Behar	1074	157	28
7. Bengal	1066	365	42
8. Berar	...	...	...
9. C. P. Marathi	340	43	23
10. O. P. Hindustani	1322	59	6
11. Delhi	...	4	...
12. Gujarat	408	189	502
13. Karnatak	...	2	...
14. Kerala	52	1	...
15. Maharashtra	674	46	...
16. Panjab	159	14	...
17. Sind	238	35	8
18. Tamil Nad	...	65	...
19. United Provinces	942	114	20
20. Utkal	412	24	5
Totals		1501	757

These figures, in many cases incomplete, are taken out of the latest advices the Khadi Board has received from the provinces. More yarn parcels are expected in the course of the next few days. There are no yarn returns for Berar, Delhi, Assam and Karnatak. Tamil Nad, Berar, Delhi, and Karnatak have not yet sent in their registers.

African Labour in Kenya

(By C. F. Andrews)

The weekly edition of the *Hindu* has reached me on my journey to the Far East. In one of its issues I find that for the second time in my life an honour, which I greatly value, has been conferred on me by the Governor of a colony. For the Governor of Kenya Colony has now singled me out, just as the Governor of Fiji did five years ago, for special condemnation in his inaugural speech before his own Legislative Council. In Fiji, it was the cause of Indian labour which I was pleading; in Kenya, it was the cause of African labour. In both cases, the evil to be fought against was the capitalist interest, which had got a strangle-hold upon the Government itself and could make the Government do whatever it had determined. In Fiji, the Government has been obliged to bow down to the wealthy and powerful Colonial Sugar Refining Company. In Kenya, each Governor in turn has been obliged to submit to whatever the European Convention of Associations, representing the capitalist interests in the Kenya Highlands, decided.

In Fiji, the Government remitted entirely an export tax of 5 shillings per ton upon sugar, which put into the pockets of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company nearly £ 58,000, per annum. At the very same time, the Government imposed a Poll-tax of 1 £ per head, more than 90 per cent of which would have to be paid by the Indians, and especially by the poorer Indian labourers. This Poll-tax, which was expected to bring in £ 21,000 a year, was levied in order to compensate for the reduction of revenue caused by the remission of the customs duty made to the Colonial Sugar Refining Company.

In Kenya the figures are no less startling. The African natives were being taxed, in direct taxation, £ 500,000, and in indirect taxation £ 260,000; and only the meagre sum of £ 28,000 was being spent in return upon their education and medical aid. Even this sum was an advance of nearly four times compared with what was spent upon them only 5 years ago. The reasons for this incidence of taxation upon the African were twofold. On the one hand, by taxing heavily the ignorant and illiterate native, the European himself was saved from extra taxation. He was taxed very lightly indeed. On the other hand, the native, by means of the heavy taxation, was forced out to labour for the European in order to obtain the money to pay the tax. I have already quoted in *Young India* the actual words of a leading article of the *E. A. Standard* which publicly proposed to Government that the Poll-tax should be collected just before the busy labour season on the European estates in order that the African natives might be induced to come out of the 'reserves' and work for them.

My earlier public condemnation by the Governor of Fiji was of a serious character; because, after the Governor had opened his speech by abusing me, he went on to propose the very things that I had recommended and to urge that they should be carried out! It is not clear from the newspaper report what my special condemnation was in Kenya. His Excellency the Governor referred to a book which I had written. It is probable that he was alluding to a recent publication in India and England, called *Christ and Labour*. In this book the evils

of economic imperialism are exposed and I have quoted in full Mr. Gandhi's indictment, which he read out at his trial in the year 1922, at Ahmedabad. In illustration of the moral evils connected with such a system, I have referred at some length to Kenya and have given the medical evidence of Dr. Norman Leys who was for over seventeen years a government medical officer in Kenya and Nyasaland and knew what was happening in those countries as few Englishmen have known it.

Dr. Norman Leys' statement, as a doctor, revealed the complete breakdown, in the domestic life of the African, caused by this estate labour. The old tribal morality ceased to function. A life of immorality, which he described by the phrase, "They are paid by the month, and they marry by the month," had become common on the estates. The women were passed on from one man to another. Venereal disease had spread, births became few. Writing in 1919, Dr. Norman Leys warned the Kenya Government that the results of all this would inevitably be shown in a decrease of native population. His words have proved prophetically true. For the Census of 1921 made the startling disclosure of a decline in the native population by 21 per cent. Usually, when tribal wars cease, there is a rapid increase in African populations; but here in Kenya was an actual decrease from 3,000,000 to 2,483,000 in a single decade!

The other important fact, which I published in my book, was the attempt on the part of the Government of Kenya, in conjunction with the white settlers, to introduce forced labour shortly after the war by means of Labour Circular No. 1 of October 23, 1919. Here I was dealing with an indisputable fact. For the circular made it an obligation for the district officers to 'influence' the leading chiefs to supply labour for private firms. Anyone who knows Africa at all knows well, that for the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner, to 'influence' a leading chief is tantamount to a command to that chief, which he dare not disobey.

It was this notorious circular no. 1 which raised later an outcry in England. At last, Mr. Winston Churchill, the Secretary of State, had to withdraw it. But if the Kenya Government is to be clearly appreciated in India, it is necessary to follow carefully the actual history of this circular. For it will show what I have already stated, namely, that they are dictated to by the European settlers. The convention of associations in Kenya, which is the great representative body of the white settlers, and includes practically their whole number—not at Nairobi, before Mr. Winston Churchill's letter to the Governor of Kenya ordering him to withdraw the circular was published. Fearing this, the convention protested vehemently against any action being taken to rob the settlers of their privilege of using the district officers as recruiters of African labour for their private estates.

The convention passed the following resolution on February 12, 1920:— "That this convention views with cordial approval the Labour Circular No. 1 of October 23, 1919, in so far as it definitely establishes the principle, that the labour requirements of private individuals are the legitimate and proper concern of the native administration, and earnestly hopes that no attempt will be made to relieve district officers of the duty of exercising every

possible lawful influence upon the chiefs and elders..... rendering all possible lawful assistance in the endeavour to meet such requirements." (The italics are mine)

It is instructive to note, what the white settlers in Kenya consider to be the proper duties of district commissioners. One of the supporters of the circular, no. 1 resolution spoke as follows:—

"It is most gratifying to see the spirit of co-operation shown in the Government Circular No. 1 on Labour, and to notice that, in its tone, the Kenya Government and the settlers are no longer in opposite camps."

Later on in the proceedings, His Excellency the Governor made his own speech before the convention of associations. He is reported in the newspapers as follows:

"The Government has not the slightest intention of weakening the labour circular in any particular whatever; the only consideration is to find out how it can be strengthened." (The italics again are mine)

It was only a short time after this that the axe fell, and the Labour Circular No. 1 had to be withdrawn. It is not difficult to understand the feelings of the Kenya Government, which was obliged, by pressure from England, to withdraw it.

It is interesting in the light of these facts to read the new statements of the Government and the settlers which have been issued from time to time after the publication of the white paper proclaiming that they are the true friends of the African natives, and that it is vitally necessary to protect them against the Indian exploiters. The brutal frankness of the earlier statements about forced labour are much to be preferred to this later hypocritical cant.

masses all the world over. I do not know what to believe. All I can say is that my movement is not atheistic. It is not a denial of God. It has been undertaken in His name and is being continued with constant prayer. It is undoubtedly a mass movement but it seeks to touch the masses through their hearts, their better nature. It is a process of discipline and hence it is that it has filled even some of the best of my co-workers with despair.

I am proud of the alliance between the Mussalmans and myself. Islam is not a denial of God. It is a passionate avowal of one supreme deity. Not even its worst detractors have accused Islam of atheism. If therefore Bolshevism is atheism, there can be no common ground between it and Islam. They must in that case come to death-grip. It will be an embrace of opponents, not of friends. I have retained the American letter phraseology. But let me inform my American readers and others that I am under no delusion. My pretension is very humble. The alliance there is between the Ali Brothers and myself i. e. between a few valued Musselman friends and myself. I would love to call it an alliance between Mussalmans and Hindus—not myself. But that seems to have been a day-dream. In truth therefore one may say, there is an alliance between some Mussalmans including the Ali brothers, and some Hindus including myself. How far it carries us, the future will show. There is no vagueness about the alliance. It is the most natural thing in the world. It is tragic that it excites wonder and even apprehension. What can be more natural than that Hindus and Mussalmans born and bred in India having the same adversities, the same hopes, should be permanent friends, brothers born of the same mother—India? The surprise is that we should fight, not that we should unite. And why should the combination be a menace to the world? The greatest menace to the world to-day is the growing, exploiting, irresponsible imperialism which through the enslavement of India, is threatening the independent existence and expansion of the weaker races of the world. That imperialism is a negation of God. It does ungodly acts in the name of God. It covers its inhumanities, Dyerisms and O'Dwyerisms under cover of humanity, justice and righteousness. And the pity of it is that the majority of Englishmen do not know that their name is being exploited. The great pity of it is that sober, God-fearing Englishmen are beguiled into the belief that all is well when all is ill with India, that all is well with the African races when they are being exploited and degraded in their name. If the defeat of Germany and the central powers ended the German peril, the victory of the Allies has brought into being a peril no less deadly for the peace of the world. I wish therefore that the so-called alliance between Mussalmans and Hindus will become a permanent reality based on a frank recognition of enlightened self-interest. It will then transmute the iron of sordid imperialism into the gold of humanitarianism. The Hindu-Muslim alliance is intended to be a blessing to India and to the world, for it is conceived in a spirit of peace and good-will to all. It has adopted non-violence and truth as the indispensable means for achieving Swaraj in India. Its symbol—the charkha—the spinning wheel is a symbol of simplicity, self-reliance, self-control, voluntary co-operation among millions. If such an alliance proves a menace to the world, then there is no God or God is asleep.

Young India

21-8-24

Bolshevism or Discipline?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Two American friends have written to me a passionately-worded letter saying that in the name of religion I am probably introducing in India Bolshevism which knows no God or morality and is frankly atheistic. They say that the alliance between Mussalmans and myself is an unholy alliance and a menace to the world, for, they argue, Mussalmans are to-day aiming at supremacy in the East with the help of Bolshevik Russia. I have heard this charge hurled against me before now, but I have hitherto taken no notice of it. But it seems to me, it is time for me to consider it when it is brought by responsible foreign friends in all good faith. In the first place I must confess that I do not know the meaning of Bolshevism. I know that there are two opposite parties, one painting it in the blackest colours, the other hailing it as deliverance for the down-trodden

Waste of Energy?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A friend has invited my attention to an article in the *Welfare* of May last which is an examination by Mr. M. N. Roy of Acharya Ray's address at the opening of the khaddar exhibition at Coconada. The copy has been lying among my papers for fully two months. I am sorry that I have not been able to read the article before now. Having read it I feel that Mr. Roy's refutation of Dr. Ray's contentions has been often refuted in these pages. But as readers have short memories, it is perhaps as well for me to restate the arguments in a connected form. Dr. Ray's critic considers that all the effort made on behalf of the charkha is 'a waste of energy.' The central point in Dr. Ray's argument is that the charkha has a message specially for the peasant in that it enables him to utilise his idle hours. The critic contends that the peasant has not any idle hours to utilise. What leisure he has he needs. If he is idle for four months, it is because he has over-worked himself for eight months and that if he is made to work the four months at the wheel, his efficiency for eight months' work will deteriorate from year to year. In other words according to the critic the nation has no leisure for the charkha.

It appears to me that the critic has little if any experience of the peasantry of India. Nor has he been able to picture to himself the way the charkha would work, and indeed is working to-day. The peasantry does not need to slave at the charkha. It affords a pleasant variety and recreation after hard toil. As a permanent institution it is presented to the women of India. They will spin during odd moments. If the majority of the toilers were to give on an average half an hour per day they would spin enough yarn for themselves and to spare for the rest. Such worker would add to his or her income at least Rs. 1-11-0 per year— not a bad addition to the income of a starving person. It is admitted that there are enough hand-looms and weavers to-day in India to weave all the cloth we may require. The only question is therefore that of hand-spinning. If the peasantry would take to it, the problem could be solved without any great outlay of capital, of India becoming self-supporting for her cloth. This would mean at least sixty million rupees circulating among the millions of spinners and thousands of carders and weavers of India working in their own cottages and to that extent raising the earning capacity of the peasantry.

It is the experience all the world over that peasants need a subsidiary occupation to supplement their earnings or occupy their leisure hours. It must not be forgotten that not very long ago India's women spun during spare hours all the yarn it required. Revival of spinning has demonstrated the truth of the statement in a most striking manner. It is an error to suppose that the movement has failed. The workers have indeed partly failed. But wherever they have done their work well, it has continued. It is true that it has not yet acquired stability. This is because of incomplete organisation and also because the spinners are not yet sure of being steadily employed. I invite Mr. Roy to study the conditions in the Punjab, Karnatak, Andhra, parts of Tamil Nadu and

he will find out for himself what possibilities spinning has.

India is a land of famines. Is it better that men and women should break stones, or card and spin? Through chronic famine conditions, the people of Orissa have been reduced to beggary. It is the most difficult thing now even to make them work. They are slowly dying out. Revival of spinning is their only hope.

Mr. Roy lays stress upon improved agriculture. This is necessary. But spinning is not to replace the contemplated improvement. On the contrary it will herald it. This improvement has tremendous difficulties in its way. We have to surmount the unwillingness of the Government, the want of capital and the obstinate refusal of the peasant to take to new methods. What is claimed for spinning is that;

- (1) it supplies the readiest occupation to those who have leisure and are in want of a few coppers;
- (2) it is known to the thousands;
- (3) it is easily learnt;
- (4) it requires practically no outlay of capital;
- (5) the wheel can be easily and cheaply made. Most of us do not yet know that spinning can be done even with a piece of tile and a splinter;
- (6) the people have no repugnance to it;
- (7) it affords immediate relief in times of famine and scarcity;
- (8) it alone can stop the drain of wealth which goes outside India in the purchase of foreign cloth;
- (9) it automatically distributes the millions thus saved among the deserving poor;
- (10) even the smallest success means so much immediate gain to the people;
- (11) it is the most potent instrument of securing co-operation among the people.

The difficulties in the way are want of faith among the middle classes which alone can supply the required number of workers. The greater difficulty still is the disinclination of the people to take to khaddar in the place of the fine-looking mill-made cloth. The dearness of khaddar during the transition stage is an additional difficulty. If the people respond to the spinning resolution in sufficient numbers, khaddar can be made to compete with mill-made cloth. There is no doubt that the movement does require for its success a little sacrifice on the part of the people. Even this direct sacrifice will not be necessary if we had our own Government mindful of the wants of the peasants and determined to protect them against foreign competition. Voluntary sacrifice for a time by the middle class can do what the Government would do if it was national.

There is no question of waste of energy. Have the thousands of our sisters, to whom Dr. Ray was previously giving doles of charity and is now giving honourable employment and making them partly or wholly self-supporting, wasted their energy? They have no other occupation save that of begging or starving. Is it waste of energy for young men to be going to the villages, studying their wants, feeling for them and helping them onward? Is it waste of energy for thousands of well-to-do young men and women to think of the poor half-fed millions and for their sakes to set apart half an hour religiously to

spinning on their behalf? If one man or woman spins for a few pice, when he or she has no other occupation, it is so much gain; if one man or woman spins as a sacrifice, it is also so much gain. If there is one activity in which it is all gain and no loss, it is hand-spinning.

Under Conscience's Cover.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent says in effect, "Do you know what you have done by continually keeping on conscience. I find youngsters and grown-up people talking utter nonsense under cover of conscience. What is more, youngsters have become impudent and grown-up people unscrupulous; can you not prevent this mischief? If you cannot please withdraw the word from us and stop the drivel that is being said in the name of that sacred but much abused word. Pray tell us who has a conscience? Do all have it? Do cats have a conscience when they hunt to death poor mice?" I have not given the correspondent's question in his own words. I have endeavoured to paraphrase it. In doing so I hope I have done no injustice to him.

I must confess that the charge is not without substance. But he has presented only the dark side. Every virtue has been known to be abused by the wicked. But we do not on that account do away with virtue. We can but erect safe-guards against abuse. When people cease to think for themselves and have everything regulated for them, it becomes necessary at times to assert the right of individuals to act in defiance of public opinion or law which is another name for public opinion. When individuals so act, they claim to have acted in obedience to their conscience. I entirely agree with the correspondent that youngsters as a rule must not pretend to have conscience. It is a quality or state acquired by laborious training. Wilfulness is not conscience. A child has no conscience. The correspondent's cat does not go for the mouse in obedience to the call of conscience. It does so in obedience to its nature. Conscience is the ripe fruit of strictest discipline. Irresponsible youngsters therefore who have never obeyed anything or anybody save their animal instinct have no conscience, nor therefore have all grown-up people. The savages for instance have to all intents and purposes no conscience. Conscience can reside only in a delicately-toned breast. There is no such thing therefore as mass conscience as distinguished from the conscience of individuals. It is safe therefore to say that when a man makes everything a matter of conscience, he is a stranger to it. It is a truthful saying that conscience makes cowards of us all. A conscientious man hesitates to assert himself, he is always bumble, never boisterous, always conspiring, always ready to listen, ever willing, even anxious, to admit mistakes.

The correspondent is needlessly agitated. What does it matter that fifty thousand people say they act or refrain for conscience's sake? The world has no difficulty in distinguishing between conscience and an arrogant or ignorant assumption of it. Such men would have acted in similar circumstances exactly as they would under cover of conscience. The introduction of conscience into our public life is welcome even if it has taught a few of us to stand up for human dignity and rights in the face of the heaviest odds. These acts will live for ever, whereas those done under shams are like soap-bubbles enjoying a momentary existence.

Difficulties in the way

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Here is what a worker in the south writes about the Panchamas.

"I am just returning from a Panchama gathering. It was all very nice and encouraging. But as we returned from the Panchama quarter, we passed through the main village. There was an ominous-looking party of villagers, all ryots, non-Brahman peasants, gathered under the village banyan tree. They stood up when we stopped to greet them. A conversation ensued which dispelled my fond visions. It was a khaddar producing village. It was obvious khaddar work was going to stop, for they don't like this untouchability business. We could not get a bullock cart to negotiate the country road. We somehow reached our car in the main road late in the night and after a few tyre-punctures and halts reached home at midnight, sad and not very sleepy. This is nothing. Only in the south this untouchability business is too big and all of us with all our resources can be at it for years. We run it now as a subordinate part of Congress work. It won't do!"

Of course it won't do. Untouchability is a terrible reality. If they had a tongue, we should not be able to sleep for the noise the untouchables would make about the treatment meted out to them in the name of religion.

We have only played at it. We have neither sacrificed ease nor time, much less money at all commensurate with the work required, whereas we Hindus will have to pour our blood like water in order to achieve the end. Let us reformers at once admit that we are on this question in a hopeless minority. I verily believe that the adoption of the reform by the Congress has given it a tremendous momentum. But it has only touched the fringe of the problem. We have not seriously tackled it. We wanted excitement of a sort. The work of untouchability can bring no such excitement. It requires silent, self-sacrificing work. On the one hand we have to break down the wall of prejudice, not by violence but by patient effort that only love can evoke. The moment we lose temper with the orthodox, we lose ground and make our own and the panchamas' position worse than before. We have to reason with them, we must put up with their taunts, their insults, yes, even their kicks without retaliation. We will then have produced an atmosphere that will enable truth to reveal itself to the orthodox people.

We must know our own mind. We must not have many minds on this question. Let us understand that this is not a question of inter-dining nor of inter-marriage. Nor is it a question of abolition of *varna-dharma* mistranslated caste. It is a question purely and simply of removing untouchability, of abolishing the unwarranted fifth division. We have a school of reform that aims at a total abolition of the *carna-dharma*. This is not the place to examine the merits of the reform. The movement against untouchability restricts itself to removing the sinful superstition that mere touch of a person, because he is born in a particular group, is a pollution to be atoned for. The more the movement progresses in extent and intensity, the more urgent it becomes to understand and scrupulously to abide by its limitations. Thus whilst we challenge orthodoxy, we must assure it at the same

time that we mean no more than we say. It must be enabled to understand the full scope of the movement. Letters I receive weekly show that the minimum has not always been kept steadily in view. The orthodox people have become naturally alarmed. It makes the reformer's task far more difficult than it need be.

On the other hand we must be equally patient with the Panchama brother. He does not always appreciate our effort. He often distrusts us. I know untouchable parents who resent their children being taught the degradation and unhealthiness of eating the remains of cooked food from the dishes of the touchables. Some resent even cleanliness itself. They cling to their habits with almost as much tenacity as the orthodox to their belief in pollution.

A reformer of the average type, therefore, when he realises the immensity of the work before him, is likely to despair, if not actually to begin to think that the untouchables deserve the treatment they receive, as if they are to blame for the circumstances in which they find themselves.

It is perhaps now clear why I say that we might have to pour out our blood like water before the curse is removed and Hinduism becomes purified.

The Students and Malabar

A very interesting function last week was the presentation to Mr. Gandhi of a purse of Rs. 1229 by Principal Kirpalani on behalf of the students of the Gujarat Vidyalaya. He was specially requested to visit the Vidyalaya and to address the students on the occasion.

Principal Kirpalani opened the proceeding with a touching little welcome speech. 'We are grateful at your coming but we have nothing to welcome you with' said he. Adopting the fine little poem in *Gitanjali* he said,

"We were fast asleep, and did not know that the king was coming. Some one did say 'The king will come.' But we said, 'No one can come.' A knocking at the door was heard, and some one warned us that it was the king's messenger. But we heard him not. We said, it was the wind that was blowing. Another loud knock was heard. Some one suggested, 'It is the rumbling of the chariot wheels.' No, we contended, it was the rumbling of the clouds. We left aside our clockhaas, hoping to take them up when the king came, but had never the slightest idea that the king would surprise the drowsy sleepers of the night so soon." With poignant, self-reproachful sarcasm he said: 'You have come too soon, Bapu. We have not had time enough to get our wheels ready and set them in motion. We have not even had time, come of us, to change our mill-made clothing. You have come sooner than we bargained for. How shall we welcome you, who is come upon us like the poets' king of the dark night? We have not the things that would delight your heart. We have just a few rupees, a little yarn we have spun during the last few days to give you and a tattered mat to seat you on.'

The purse presented, Mr. Gandhi addressed a few words to the students. A brief summary of the speech will not be without interest to the readers of *Young India*.

The king, said Mr. Gandhi, had only to thank himself,

if they were not ready to receive him as they would. He promised to be away for six years, and he had returned four years too soon. How could they be ready to receive him before his time? But he was sure that they had done all that they could do, and he was deeply thankful for it.

He had a letter from a professor of the Vidyalaya from which he learnt that a hot controversy was raging in their debating halls as to whether one should spin for Gandhi, or for the country. He had been asked to settle the question for them, and he would try to do it as best as he could.

There were different ways of looking at the thing, and to him, both were right. What is Gandhi? He may be the hero of a day, and a thing done for him must cease, as soon as he ceases to hold the popular mind. At best Gandhi was a thing or entity of a temporary nature, as compared to the country which was of a permanent nature. He was therefore wiser who did a thing out of allegiance to the country in preference to Gandhi. On the other hand he could understand a thing being done for the love of Gandhi. But there were different ways of doing things for the sake of Gandhi. One may share Gandhi's faith in the charkha, and yet may be too busy to spin. It may be that Gandhi's name will help him to shake off his lethargy and for the love of him he may begin plying the wheel. That to him was a legitimate use of Gandhi's name. But that was the limit beyond which one could not be permitted to go.

On the contrary one may have absolutely no faith in the charkha, and yet he may reconcile himself to working it for Gandhi's sake. This last in his opinion, was hardly proper or being true to oneself and the thing he wants more than any thing else to-day is being true to oneself, freedom from camouflaged, freedom from hypocrisy.

There was another way of looking at the problem. There is a thing like doing something for the sake of a principle or a religious vow. In that connection he would say that attachment or love for one's dear ones may help a man to a very great extent. Mr. Gandhi said, giving his own instance, that but for the love he bore to his father he might not have come to pledge himself to truth. It became an instinct with him to speak the truth, not because he realised the significance of truthfulness then, but because he felt that he must do so for the love of his father. But for his intense love for his mother similarly, he would not have escaped meat eating and an unchaste life. Vows he regarded as aids to one's attempt to secure freedom from slavery or one's own lusts.

Coming to the programme before the country, Mr. Gandhi said there were many ways in which they could help the programme viz. the triple programme of khaddar, Hindu Muslim unity and untouchability. Regarding khaddar he would say no more than he had already said. How were they going to help the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity? 'Have you met' he asked, 'Mussalman boys or Parsi boys outside your college? Have you asked them why they do not come to your college? Have you reasoned with them regarding the necessity to use khaddar. If you have and have failed, I do not mind. But if you have made no effort in the direction, I should have to say that you have done nothing for the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity? Speaking on the removal of untouchability he referred to

an incident that happened a few days ago on the new Vidyapith grounds. There were some 'untouchable' labourers working along with the touchables when the building work was going on. The former had to suffer a lot of hardships as the latter would not allow them the use of the well meant for all of them. "What was your duty then?" he asked the students, "If you had enough moral and physical strength in you, you could have proceeded to the spot and asked the 'touchables' to leave you and the 'untouchables' alone. You could have told them you did not want their services on their conditions. If you could not do this, you could have done the next best thing viz. drawing water for them yourself or doing a thing still next best; viz. providing facilities for them to get all the water they needed. Less than this you ought not to be satisfied with."

He next addressed himself to drawing the students' attention to the Malabar catastrophe. It was too big, too terrible to contemplate. He had already appealed to the people of Gujarat to help in the relief of the thousands that the floods had rendered homeless and starving and naked. It may be utterly impossible for them to rehabilitate them, but they may help at least in providing them food and clothing whilst they were without them. And there were ways and ways in which they could help. 'Those of you that can afford to give money can do so. But all of you can curtail your food bills, all of you can abstain from other necessities, whilst the distress lasted, each one of you can spin a few hours each day, convert the yarn into money and send it to Malabar, each one of you can out of college hours work on the Vidyapith grounds and help in the construction of the buildings you will stay in, earn wages like the ordinary day-labourer working there, and send them on to Malabar.'

After Mr. Gandhi had finished, the students and professors presented him with yarn (which was at least 5 tolas each) they had spun especially for the occasion. This yarn has been purchased by the Ashram and the proceeds credited to the Malabar fund. It may be mentioned in passing that the effect of Mr. Gandhi's appeal about Malabar was immediate. All the students next Sunday went forward and offered themselves to the engineer in charge as day-labourers. There was work enough for them. It was a sight to see them carrying baskets of brick and building material, all bathed in perspiration, merrily singing and vying with one another. They earned, we were informed, Rs. 45 that day for Malabar. The experiment has caught, and it is expected that it will be repeated every Sunday, and students from other institutions may also join. 'Sweet are the uses of adversity' which draws out the best in us.

M. D.

Negroes' Sympathy

I gladly publish and gratefully acknowledge the following cable from New York.

"The Negroes of the world through us send you greetings for fight for the freedom of your people and country. We are with you. Fourth annual international convention Negro peoples of the world. MARIUS GARNEY, CHAIRMAN."

Theirs is perhaps a task more difficult than ours. But they have some very fine workers among them. Many students of history consider that the future is with them. They have fine physique. They have a glorious imagination. They are as simple as they are brave.

Mons. Finot has shown by his scientific researches that there is in them no inherent inferiority as is commonly supposed to be the case. All they need is opportunity. I know that if they have caught the spirit of the Indian movement, their progress must be rapid.

M. K. G.

Malabar Relief Fund

Amounts Received.

At Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati

1. Pyar Ali Muraj	Rs. 500
2. Purushottamdas Narandas Kineriwala	500
3. I. I. Mushruwala	325
4. Tara Ben (Sale proceeds of gold bangles and necklace given)	252-0-3
5. C. B. Nanavati	150
6. Dr. Tribhuvandas Dharamchand	200
7. Santa Ben	200
8. Durga Ben (Sale proceeds of gold neck less given)	183 12
9. Jetbalal Ramji	101
10. Narandas Muhidas	101
11. G. Raghunad Mal	101
12. Lallu Bhai Anuichand	100
13. Raghuvir Naransingh	100
14. Dr. Rajaballi Vishram	100
15. Jamnaben Gandhi	100
16. Manilal Indraji	100
Smaller sums	1374 0 8

Total

4487 12 6

The Ahmedabad New Cotton Mills Company Limited have sent two bales each weighing 300 lbs. containing dhoties, chaddars and pieces.

Messrs Girdharlal Amritlal and Bonchodlal Amritlal have also sent a bale of cloth weighing 300 lbs.

Received at the Gujarat P. C. C.

Through Mahadev Desai	Rs. 250
Mistri Hirji Jairam	125
A Gentleman	101
Smaller sums	287
Previously acknowledged in Navajivan	321

Total 1084

Fresh receipts at the Navajivan & Young India Office.

Through Dr. Chendulal	Rs. 283 8
Tukaram Narsingh Rev	140
Lallubhai Govardhandas	101
Nagindas Phulchand Jansipor	101
Nageridas Phulchand Maldah	101
Smaller sums	799 18 6

Total 1478 5 6

Received at the Navajivan Branch, Bombay.

Mr. Babu	Rs. 101
A Gentleman	100
Mody Bros	100
Smaller sums	150 8

Total 451 8

Grand total 7409 10 0

Besides the above heaps of clothes and wearing apparel have been received at all the four centres. They are being sorted and washed and will shortly be despatched to Malabar.

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Notes

Lord Lytton's Explanation

Lord Lytton's letter to the Poet in my opinion aggravates the insult His Excellency seeks to explain away. I hardly think that the fine grammatical distinction made by him in any way mends matters. No one I am sure thought that His Excellency had the women of India in general in his mind when he uttered the indiscreet words. The complaint is that he uttered the charge at all. When a responsible person makes any charge, there is always a double presumption. The one is that he has entirely satisfied himself about it and that he can prove it to the world. The other is that the evil which is the subject matter of the charge is fairly general. Apart from the police testimony is His Excellency in a position to prove the charge to the satisfaction of the public, say to the satisfaction of the Poet? Does he not know that the police are thoroughly distrusted by the public? Does he not know that they are so far as the public is concerned as a rule in the defendant's box? Again assuming that the charge is true of some women and some men, is he in a position to prove that the evil is so general as to call for a public condemnation. Will a responsible Indian be justified in saying that some English civilians are guilty say of corruption and immorality because to his knowledge a few rare cases have been so found? Will he not be indignantly called upon to name the parties and take them to a court of law and also to apologise to the civilians for turning what was a charge against particular individuals into a charge against a body? Will he be permitted to take shelter under the adjective 'some'? Is Lord Lytton never intended to say more than that Indians contain among them degraded specimens of humanity as every other nation, where was the occasion for his complaint in a serious speech when he knew that every word of his speech would be scanned here and have due weight abroad. I cannot therefore help respectfully suggesting that if he did not mean to cast any aspersion on Indian womanhood and Indian manhood, he should unreservedly withdraw and apologise for the charge. He will thereby add to his dignity and even prestige. If on the other hand he has proofs of the kind I have suggested, he should bravely sustain the charge and place the proofs before the public. A lame explanation is no explanation. It adds injury to insult.

A Badge of Subservience

Every Indian publicist knows that when a duty was placed on cotton goods imported, an excise cotton duty was placed on Indian production solely in the interest of Lancashire and it still remains in spite of protests and in

spite even of promises that it would be reconsidered. This duty is a continuing reminder to us of the subordination of India's interests to England's. Some friends who only know my strong, indeed passionate, preference for handspun to the exclusion of millspun cannot understand my advocacy of preference for Indian millspun. A little reflection must however show the consistency between the two policies. Foreign cloth must be totally banished from the Indian market, if India is to become an economically free nation, if her peasantry is to be freed from chronic pauperism, if that peasantry is to find honourable employment during times of famine and such other visitations. Protection of her staple industry is her birth-right. I would therefore protect the Indian mills against foreign competition even though for the time being it may result in mauling the poor people. Such mauling can take place only if the mill owners be so unpatriotic as to raise prices owing to the monopoly they may secure. I have therefore no hesitation in advocating the repeal of cotton excise duties and imposition of a prohibitive import duty.

Similarly and consistently I would protect hand-spun khaddar against the home mills. And I know that if only foreign competition is avoided khaddar will be protected without difficulty. Foreign cloth will be banished when public opinion becomes effectively powerful. The same power will insure the protection of khaddar against mills. But my strong belief is that khaddar will come to its own without any unseemly war with the mills. But, whilst khaddar has only a limited number of votaries, they the votaries must necessarily preach khaddar in preference to and to the exclusion of yarn and cloth manufactured even in our mills. To give the option is to kill khaddar.

Mill Khadi

But says the impatient patriot, 'Surely you can have no corner for the mills in your heart when the mill-owners do not hesitate even to palm off fraudulent imitations of khadi on the gullible public.' I know this imitation khadi. I have purposely kept the precious samples in front of me in order to warn me of my duty not to be angry against the mill-owners in question in spite of their unpatriotic conduct. I know that they could have conducted their trade without entering into competition with khadi. They could at least have refrained from miscalling their coarse cloth 'khadi' when they well knew that 'khadi' was a word used to signify handspun cotton cloth. But two wrongs cannot make one right. My satyagrahi spirit tells me that I may not retaliate. I may not imitate their unpatriotic conduct. I know that if lovers of khadi remain true to their faith, hand-spun khadi will thrive against all

Non-co-operators must, therefore, irrespective of what khadi mills are, wittingly or unwittingly doing to injure, continue to advocate not only the repeal of cotton excise duty, but advocate also full protection of that great industry.

Indians Overseas

I offer no apology for printing several contributions at a time from Mr. Andrews. They have all been received during the week. They give an indication of his burning love for India and his impatience of every wrong. These contributions give at a glance an idea of the uphill work that lies in front of us in connection with these countrymen of ours scattered in various parts of the world. The Natal ordinance that was forcing up its career even whilst Mrs. Naidu was in South Africa shows that we have to follow up her valuable work. The betrayal both of the Africans and the Indians in Kenya makes the wrong almost too prodigious for poor India to deal with. The hideous immorality of the system under which our countrymen emigrate to Burma shows the necessity of eternal vigilance. In the palmy days of my third class travelling, I was an eyewitness of what was then possible in the deck passenger traffic between Calcutta and Burma. I then described the conditions of deck passengers as inhuman. I understood then that it was much worse between Madras and Rangoon. The cause was the insatiable greed of the steamship company that permitted the filth and the degradation that went on with its knowledge and connivance. It is difficult to distribute the blame, whether the Government that permits the company to conduct its service in utter neglect of the health and moral well-being of deck passengers or the company that perpetrates the wrong or the passengers who for the sake of earning a living abroad are content to wallow in dirt both physical and moral are the greatest sinners. Mr. Andrews says in a private letter that he hopes to see before long a decided improvement in the condition of the deck passenger traffic. Let us hope that this good Englishman's hope will be fulfilled.

Please note

The secretary, A. I. K. B., sends the following for the benefit of all concerned:

"(1) Most of the members who sent in their yarn have not given their register numbers. This may probably be due to the fact that the Provincial Khadi Boards have not been able to intimate each member of his register number.

(2) Added to the above is the difficulty of finding out the members' names in registers where no alphabetical index is provided. Few provinces have carried out the instruction in the matter of the index asked for. Where members give no register numbers the absence of an alphabetical index makes it well-nigh impossible to proceed with the sorting.

(3) Members and non-members have directly sent their yarn to this office contrary to instructions. They should be told in future to send their contributions to the provinces whether members or non-members.

(4) The length of the yarn in most cases is unmeasured. The provincial secretary before despatching the parcel should see that every yarn contribution is properly labelled and described."

Implicit obedience to instructions alone can make the

organisation of spinning effective and successful. I hope therefore that next month there will be complete adherence to the instructions issued by the A. I. K. B. from time to time.

M. K. G.

The Durban Town Council

I have just received a letter from Mr. A. Christopher which he wrote before starting for England and it contains news, which, if it has not already reached India, will come as a shock—if any thing any longer can be a shock in India that comes from South Africa. I will quote the following passage:

"Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has come and gone. She has won the hearts of all, and I cannot hope to describe in this short letter how full and well she worked for us in this country, sparing neither time nor herself. I hope to make a contribution to the Indian papers giving a short account of her visit to South Africa but all this depends on my time, which presently is fully taken up with preparations for my impending departure within the next few weeks for England where I intend to qualify for a profession."

Owing to the dissolution of Parliament, the Class Areas Bill, which was only in the second reading stage, is dead; but there is no reason that the bill may not be brought in again upon Parliament re-assembling after the elections. It would have, of course, to be introduced as a new measure; but within the last few weeks an Extended Powers Ordinance for Durban Borough was passed by the Natal Provincial Council and in it Section 11 reads as follows:—"The Town Council of Durban may prohibit the use by Europeans for dwelling purposes of places or premises similarly used by Asiatics or Natives."

The effect of this section is of course segregation, and also under it an Indian married to a European may be separated from him or her.

The Congress gave evidence against this section before the Select Committee and has since made representations to the Union Government.

It is such a situation as this that brings home to me the futility of petitions and protests and prayers. There appears only one final remedy and that is to renew the struggle in South Africa which was ended for the time being with such expressions of mutual good will by the Sonnis-Gandhi Settlement of July 1914. But long before this note reaches India Sarojini Devi herself will have landed in Bombay and will have told us at first-hand what the situation really is. May God bless her for the noble work she has done!

C. F. A.

Tamil Nadu in Malaya

I have never felt so much the need of understanding and speaking Tamil as I have during the past month, while travelling up and down among the labourers on the estates in this 'Tamil Nadu' which covers the eastern plains at the foot of the mountains of Malaya. Everywhere the Tamil villager is making his home. Slowly but surely colonisation is taking place and all the well-known marks of the Tamil civilisation are being repeated, without (thank God!) the sad addition of untouchability. For the untouchable out here is a free man,

In many places, the distinction between caste people and those who used to be called pariahs has broken down and human relations have been established.

But I am like a deaf and dumb man, as I go among them,—whenever I find myself without an interpreter. It has become quite clear to me that if unity is to come in India, very many from the North will have to show their enthusiasm for a United India by learning Tamil, just as many from the south will have to learn Hindustani. There can be no doubt, that the genius of the southern people of India lie hidden in their language. Who can tell, whether the revival of Tamil literature, and the new love for the Tamil speech, will not bring about one of the greatest revivals in the whole history of Asia? I have only just begun to learn what priceless treasures lie enshrined within that wonderful and beautiful human speech!

C. F. A.

What is an Ideal City?

The following rendering of Mr. Gandhi's speech in reply to the address of the Ahmedabad Municipality is given here as being of general interest:

Whilst I thank you for the beautiful address you have presented to me, I am painfully conscious of the fact that as a citizen of Ahmedabad I am utterly underserving of it. In saying so I am not using the language of false or undue modesty. A citizen to deserve an address from the Municipality of his city should have special citizen-service to his credit. And I have none. I do not think it was at all necessary for you to vote this address for the services you have had in mind. But I know that I owe the address to the fact of many of you being my co-workers in another field and to the proverbial generosity of the nation to which you and I are proud to belong.

When in response to the invitation of some friends I fixed my abode in this city some years ago I thought I should contribute my share in the service of this city, and be worthy of calling myself its citizen. I had not then the privilege of knowing many of you, but I shared my dreams and visions with Dr. Hariprasad whom I often met. I used to tell him of the citizen service I had done in South Africa—service which I am thankful was true service inasmuch as it was silent and of which most of you knew nothing—and I concerted measures for improving the sanitation and health of the city. We had intended to form a committee of servants who would visit every nook and corner of the city in order to give the citizens object lessons in cleaning closets and streets and in general conservancy by doing the work ourselves. We had also intended to plan and suggest measures for the expansion of the city by opening suburbs and inviting citizens to go and settle there rather than live in congested areas. Such things we knew could not be satisfactorily done by fresh taxation. We therefore thought of going with the beggar's bowl to the rich citizens and ask them to donate land in the heart of the city for opening little gardens for the children to play in. We had intended too to think out schemes so as to afford the fullest facility for the education of every child of Ahmedabad. It was also our intention to ensure a supply of pure and cheap milk by municipalising all the city dairies. Mr.

Jivanlal Desai even suggested that I should enter the Municipality myself and endeavour to carry out the plans above adumbrated. But the fates willed it otherwise. A huge hurricane blew over the country in the shape of the Rowlatt Bills taking us all within its sweep. It took some lives both innocent and guilty. I had to do penance for my Himalayan miscalculation. The hurricane still persists though in another shape. We are all trying, however inadequately, to stop it. And I at least feel I have not the leisure to work out my schemes. But why should I pretend that I would have succeeded in carrying them out had I entered the Municipality? Why may I assume that none of your previous presidents or none of you thought or are thinking the same things as I? How dare I say that no efforts have been made in this direction? I may only say that my heart weeps to see the misery, the squalour, and the dirt in the streets of Ahmedabad as I pass through them. How can starvation and dirt be allowed to exist in a city of such riches and rich traditions?

But I may not pretend that I should have been able to remove all this, had I entered the Municipality. Possibly humiliation would have been in store for me in that field as it has been in others. It was perhaps well that Providence ordered things otherwise. As it is, however, even to-day I stand in the humiliating position of having no citizen-service to my credit, and yet stealing an address I do not deserve. I pray that the Almighty may have consideration for my good intentions and forgive my failings, I ask you also to forgive me, and request you to have in mind the dream of an ideal city I have revealed to you. I thank you once again.

South India Flood Relief

Received at Satyagrahashram	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Previously acknowledged	8,363 1 9
Received during week ending			
26-8-24	5,657 4 3
Total		14,020	6 0

(This amount includes Rs. 100 received from Begum Mahomed Ali, and Rs. 300 from the students of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya.)

Received at the Gujarat P. C. C.

Previously acknowledged	...	...	1,084	0	0
Received during week ending 27-8-24.			2,226	3	0
Total		3,310	3	0	

Received at the Navajivan and Young India Office

Previously acknowledged	...	...	1,476	5	6
Received during week ending 26-8-24.			2,994	5	8
Total		4,470	10	9	

Received at the Navajivan Branch, Bombay

Previously acknowledged	...	...	451	8	0
Received during week ending 21-8-24.			405	4	0
Total		856	12	0	

Grand Total ... 22,657 15 9

Young India

28-8-24

Gulbarga Gone Mad

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I hinted last week that there was evidently an organisation at the back of the mania for desecrating Hindu temples. Gulbarga is the latest instance in point. Whatever the Hindu provocation, if there was any, the Mussalman outburst has an ominous look about it. The desecration of temples cannot be justified in any circumstance whatsoever. Maulana Shaukat Ali when he heard of Shambhar and Amethi desecrations exclaimed in a fit of temper that the Mussalmans should not be surprised if the Hindus retaliate and some day find that their mosques have been desecrated. The Hindus may feel flattered or pleased over the Maulana's indignant exclamation. But I do not and I advise the Hindus not to be. Let them understand that I feel, perhaps more keenly than most of them, every fanatic outburst on the part of Mussalmans. I am fully aware of my responsibility in the matter. I know that many Hindus feel that I am responsible for many of these outbursts. For, they argue, I contributed the largest share to the awakening of the Mussalman masses. I appreciate the charge. Though I do not repent of my contribution, I feel the force of the objection. Therefore, if for no other reason, for this at least of greater responsibility, I must feel, more keenly than most Hindus can, these desecrations. I am both an idolater and an iconoclast in what I conceive to be the true senses of the terms. I value the spirit behind idol worship. It plays a most important part in the uplift of the human race. And I would like to possess the ability to defend with my life the thousands of holy temples which sanctify this land of ours. My alliance with the Mussalmans presupposes their perfect tolerance for my idols and my temples. I am an iconoclast in the sense that I break down the subtle form of idolatry in the shape of fanaticism that refuses to see any virtue in any other form of worshipping the Deity save one's own. This form of idolatry is more deadly for being more fine and evasive than the tangible and gross form of worship that identifies the Deity with a little bit of a stone or a golden image.

True Hindu-Muslim unity requires Mussalmans to tolerate, not as a virtue of necessity, not as a policy, but as part of their religion, the religion of others so long as they, the latter, believe it to be true. Even so is it expected of Hindus to extend the same tolerance as a matter of faith and religion to the religions of others, no matter how repugnant they may appear to their, the Hindus', sense of religion. The Hindus must therefore reject the idea of retaliation. The law of retaliation we have been trying since the day of Adam and we know from experience that it has hopelessly failed. We are groaning under its poisonous effect. Above all the Hindus may not break mosques against temples. That way lies slavery and worse. Even though a thousand temples may be reduced to bits, I would not touch a

single mosque and expect thus to prove the superiority of my faith to the so-called faith of fanatics. I would love to hear of priests dying at their posts in defence of their temples and their idols. Let them learn to suffer and to die in the defence of their temples even as God allows Himself to be insulted and broken up in the insult and damage done to the idols in which being omnipresent, He undoubtedly resides. Hindus will not defend their religion or their temples by seeking to destroy mosques and thus proving themselves as fanatical as the fanatics who have been desecrating temples.

To the unknown Mussalmans who are undoubtedly behind these desecrations I submit: "Remember that Islam is being judged by your conduct. I have not found a single Mussalman defending these outbursts not even under provocation. There seems to me to have been little if any provocation offered by the Hindus. But let us assume that it was otherwise, that Hindus played music near mosques to exasperate Mussalmans, that they even removed a stone from a minaret. Yet I venture to say that Mussalmans ought not to have desecrated Hindu temples. Even retaliation has its limits. Hindus prize their temples above their lives. It is possible to contemplate with some degree of equanimity injury to life but not to temples. Religion is more than life. Remember that his own religion is the truest to every man even if it stand low in the scales of philosophic comparison. But presumption is against such Hindu provocation. The desecration in Multan was an unprovoked act. I have been trying to find proof for the allegations about Hindu desecration in the places referred to in my article on Hindu-Muslim tension. I have failed to receive any proof in support of them. You will not enhance the reputation of Islam by the acts reported about Amethi, Shambhar, and Gulbarga. If you will permit me to say so, I feel about the honour of Islam as much as I feel about my own religion. This I do because I desire to live in perfect, open and hearty friendship with Mussalmans. I cannot help saying that these desecrations are cutting a deep wound in my heart."

To the Hindus and Mussalmans of Delhi, I say: "Yours is a golden opportunity, if you desire amity between the two communities. In the light of what seems to have happened at Amethi, Shambhar, and Gulbarga, it is doubly your duty to solve the question. You have had the rare good fortune of having amongst you two Mussalmans Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari who have hitherto enjoyed the confidence of both the communities. You have therefore noble traditions behind you. You can turn your quarrels to good account by closing the ranks and establishing a heart-friendship that will not break under any strain whatsoever. I have placed my services at your disposal. If you will have me to act as a mediator between you, I am prepared to bury myself in Delhi and in collaboration with any others whom you may appoint endeavour to find out the true facts. An authentic story of the events of July last and the circumstances that led to them is a necessary preliminary to a lasting solution. I ask you to come to a decision quickly. The Hindu-Muslim question is the question on a proper solution of which hangs the destiny of India in the immediate future. Delhi can solve the question, for the others are likely to follow what Delhi might do."

A Study in Figures

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Here is what may be regarded as the final list of yarn returns for the month ending 15th inst. The list is made up from returns up to 25th instant. All the yarn hereafter received must be carried to the second month's account.

Name of province	Number of representatives	Member spinners	Non-member spinners	Total spinners
Andhra	1653	302	127	429
Assam	250	34	2	36
Ajmer	57	9	6	15
Bombay	212	64	21	85
Burma	36	1	1	2
Bihar	1074	174	34	208
Bengal	1549	101	43	144
Berar	255	1	...	1
C. P. Marathi	912	44	23	67
C. P. Hindi	1321	66	5	71
Delhi	135	6	6	12
Gujarat	408	177	668	845
*Karnatak	163	23	18	41
Kerala	53	2	...	2
Maharashtra	674	137	25	162
*Punjab	255	23	...	23
*Sindh	262	36	12	48
*Tamil Nadu	826	79	11	90
United Provinces	1581	136	27	162
Utkal	413	32	5	37
Grand total	11302	1746	1034	2780

* Registers are incomplete.

The percentage of members complying with the resolution is only 14 per cent of the names on the register. The non-members to send their yarn are over 67 per cent of the spinning members. Apologies for poor returns have been received from almost all the provinces. They expect to show much better results next month. It is no wonder that Gujarat stands easily first on the list. It has the best organisation and facilities for learning and practising the art of spinning. Berar stands lowest on the list. I was hoping to be able to congratulate Berar and its spirit of obedience in spite of its disbelief in the efficacy of spinning. I invite the Berar Congress Committee to play the game. And are there no non-members in Berar who believe in spinning? It is worthy of note that Bengal stands next to Gujarat and bids fair to outdo the latter as it ought. Bengal was the home of the finest spinners the world has ever produced. Bengal felt the full force of the cruel hand of the East India Company. Nothing therefore can be more appropriate than that Bengal should lead the way in giving India the largest number of volunteer spinners. The secret of Bengal being next to Gujarat is again its organisation created by Dr. Ray. The workers are willing if the leaders will lead. I hope next week to give an analysis of the quality of yarn received. Suffice it to say for the present that if the response continues we are likely to solve the problem of getting fine counts capable of being woven without difficulty. This has been one of the greatest difficulties in the way of khaddar propaganda.

Two Sides

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The spinning resolution is proving a remarkable study in the mentality of Congressmen. It required a resolution of the A. I. C. C. to make Congressmen understand that for handspinning to be universal, it was the duty of at least Congress representatives not only to learn but to practise spinning. They have now begun to see the force of it. Till now in spite of an earlier resolution of the A. I. C. C. that all such Congressmen should at least learn the art, the majority had not even touched the wheel.

No wonder that spinning has not made enough progress for bringing about an effective boycott of foreign cloth. Now however men who had thought they would never be able to spin have not only begun to do so but have also begun to like it. Here is an extract from a letter:

"I was late in sitting to work. Some more days were taken up in collecting material. Then for a few days more I kept quarrelling with my tools, thus showing the kind of workman that I am. When the wheel became amenable to reason, the shivers revolted. The silly things refused to yield thread but seemed to have no objection to let out the whole of themselves at a bound. It appeared to me that it was much easier to spin fine speculative thread from a chair of philosophy than to turn out real live yarn from a spinning wheel. If I had realised that the mischievous Mahatma had this trouble in store for us, I would have thought a hundred times before non-cooperating with my comfortable chair at the college at his call in 1921. I had thought then that as a leader I would have the privilege of descanting upon spinning from a hundred platforms and not have to practise it. I have been rudely disillusioned. Well, I accept the inevitable as retreat now is out of the question. I send you the result of my labours, poor as it is. The conditions laid down have not in a single point been fulfilled. But I can assure you my heart has not failed and I yet hope to show very creditable results."

I can multiply such instances of late though zealous response.

But the reader should know the other side also. Here is a free translation of the only letter of its kind received from the president of a subordinate Congress Committee. He says:—

"I regard as improper this resolution of the A. I. C. C. Today it is the spinning wheel or the resignation. Tomorrow it may be 'cook your own meal or resign' or it may be 'shave your heads clean or resign.' I distrust the philosophy of the charkha. I distrust its advantages. In short I distrust it just as much as Mahatma Gandhi trusts it. It is his hobby. I am not going to submit to the resolution nor am I going to resign. Let the committee expel me."

To belong to an institution is no joke. To be its president is a serious thing. This gentleman has been probably giving his vote in favour of the wheel every time votes have been taken. But now that it has reached the testing stage, he proclaims his disbelief from the housetop. Better late than never. I therefore congratulate him on the courage of his convictions, but I am afraid I cannot put up his disobedience as an example worthy of imitation. No organisation can be run with success if its members, especially its officers, refuse to carry out its policy and hold on to it in spite of opposition to it. For winning Swaraj one requires iron discipline. Let this friend and

those who think with him realise that we are engaged in the very difficult and delicate task of wresting authority from an organisation whose members are able, industrious, intelligent, brave and above all trained in habits of exact discipline. Assuming that we desire a bloodless victory, I respectfully suggest to the friend that even though the charkha may be useless for the purpose intended, its value is inestimable as a measure of discipline. I suggest to him that as a measure of discipline it would not be a worthless idea, even that of requiring every one to cook for himself, or to shave himself clean. Such tests, ridiculous though they may otherwise appear to be, have a value all their own for they give the measure of obedience evoked. All protest before the passing of such measures is legitimate and sometimes obligatory. After the passing there can be no room for reasoning. Willing and complete obedience or resignation is an absolute duty on the part of members.

Wheelless Spinning

Ever since the passing of the A. I. C. C. resolution about spinning, workers have been exercising themselves as to whether there is no simpler and easily portable contrivance for spinning. For many of them have to be on the move a considerable part of their time, and if they are seriously to put into effect the decision to devote all their spare time to the *charkha*, they would think themselves blessed if they could hit upon a contrivance which would yield them yarn and which they could carry about without the least inconvenience where ever they went. Such a contrivance there is and it is no other than the spindle without the wheel. The wheel was evidently invented to obtain greater speed. Nomad shepherds still go about with the spindle spinning their wool even whilst they are walking, and orthodox Brahmins and Parsi priests still insist on having their sacred thread—*uparitam* and *karti* made out of the spindle-spun yarn. The orthodox *takli* spindle consists of a two-piece—sized disk of wood or slate to the centre of which is fixed a straight polished splinter of about 9 inches, with a little notch at the top to hold the thread from slipping off. The splinter serves as the pin, and the disk along with the splinter makes of it a revolving bobbin. Present-day enthusiasts have improved upon this by substituting a copper or iron disk instead of the wood or slate one, and a straight iron wire instead of the splinter. This one costs a few coppers, the orthodox one costs nothing at all. You hold the liver in the left hand, fix on the end of the initial thread to it, keep it about a foot from the notched end, and go on spinning the spindle by occasional gentle jerks with your right hand finger and thumb. The idea is that it should continually revolve. Take hold of the thread in the middle and go on pulling it with the right index finger and the thumb, giving it a gentle twist all the while. The process is so eminently simple that any villager will demonstrate it and teach it within half an hour, or an hour at the most. After about a couple of days' practice you will find a strong, beautifully even thread running out of the liver, even as a jet of milk from the udder of a grateful cow.

Now the uses of this are great. The process is slow but it has the joys and advantages of all slow and steady processes. Once you have resolved to give all your spare time to spinning, you can no more afford to be without this spindle than you can without walking, even though you have a cycle or a carriage. For even as you can not

move about in your house on a cycle or carriage, and must walk, you may not carry about your *charkha* in railway trains or bullock-carts, but you have often to waste your time in them, unless you have armed yourself with this simple tool. In railway trains and on the platform there is no surer instrument of propaganda. You may go on spinning on the spindle and talking away to your friends and fellow-passengers. If you are tired of sitting in one posture, you may stand up and ply the *takli*. In fact you can work it better standing. If you feel like stretching your legs after a day's sedentary toil, you can walk about to the accompaniment of the willing spindle. No doubt it spins slowly, not yielding more yarn than 70 or 75 yards an hour, but it is as sure and steady as the tortoise in the story. It is mute and gives you no music like the *charkha*; but neither is it noisy like an unwilling *charkha*. Ever ready and ever willing, unlike the *charkha* so often 'uncertain, coy and hard to please,' it is an eloquent exemplar of the sage maxim, 'constant dropping wears away stones.' The little that you get out of it is a precious addition to your stock of yarn, wrested out of the time that might otherwise have escaped you. I know friends who have dhotis made out of yarn spun on the *takli*, all during odd leisure moments snatched out of laborious toil, and though I would not ask anyone to take my suggestion literally, I think the busiest worker amongst us may be sure of rendering his quota of yarn with the *takli* and without any great effort. I may assure him that I gave some of my spare moments to the *takli* last month and have now with me 1000 yards of beautifully even and well-twisted yarn of about 16 counts. Spinning on the *takli* is a most pleasant and useful pastime. Good children will cling to it lovingly after they have learnt it, while naughty ones who cannot possibly reconcile themselves to go through the trying process of getting the wheel ready and keeping it in proper trim, will clutch at this simple device, which helps them to dispense with the wheel string, a straight spindle, the spindle-plugs and the oilcan. They need have nothing more than good slivers. For schoolmasters who are hard put to it to find room in their schools for *charkhas*, there is no better substitute, while even for the invalid and the ailing this would be a 'ministering angel', saving them from the inconvenient necessity of putting themselves on the list of the exempted.

M. D.

South India Flood Relief

The response to the appeal on behalf of the afflicted people of the South continues to be satisfactory both in cash and in cloth which is daily accumulating. But the most satisfactory feature of the response is the way in which the poor people are coming forward to help. Untouchables have come forward with their liberal help. I have before me a touching letter in which a whole family of them has sent the monies saved out of their special self-denial. The teachers and the boys of the Proprietary High School have sent Rs. 720. The Mahavidyalaya has collected Rs. 500 of which Rs. 200 they have spent in buying khaddar for the naked. I am sure that the knowledge of such donations will bring true comfort to our distressed countrymen. I hope the workers will remember that nature has made no distinction between Mussalman and Hindu, Christian and Jew and that they too will make no such distinction. We may not mind all the denominations giving relief through their respective organisations, but it will be unbearable if they confine relief only to their own flock.

M. K. G.

Kenya and Kilimanjaro

(By O. F. Andrews)

Kenya and Kilimanjaro are the two highest mountains in the whole of Africa. The name of Kenya, as is well known, has been given to the colony which surrounds that mountain. The white settlers have reserved to themselves the Kenya Highlands. They are now coveting the Kilimanjaro Highlands as well.

It has been said, by an ancient Indian writer, that greed is limitless. The story, which I am going to tell, is an almost incredible illustration of the truth of that saying. For, not content with possessing exclusively the Kenya Highlands, the white settlers have been looking across the border into Tanganyika. Tanganyika is a 'mandate' under the League of Nations. The Kilimanjaro Highlands are in Tanganyika. Therefore, the attempt is to be made to transfer the Kilimanjaro Highlands from Tanganyika, and place the mandate itself under the control of the white settlers in Kenya, so as to round off the whole area and make it a completely white possession. As this new Highland area is 44,000 square miles, and the area in the Kenya 'white Highlands' is only 32,000 square miles, it will be seen at once what an object of desire this larger area has become.

The iniquity goes much deeper. For it is not merely *land* that is coveted, but also a fresh supply of African *labour*, which may be entirely under the white settlers' control. During the 10 years, from 1911 to 1921, a terrible thing happened in Kenya. The native population declined from 3,000,000 to 2,483,000—that is to say, it decreased by 21 per cent. Partly on this account, the white settlers have been continually faced with a shortage of African labour for their plantations. They have it is true, all kinds of methods for making these African natives come out and serve on their estates. At one time, they had even legislation compelling them to do so. But, with a rapidly declining population, it has been found more and more difficult to keep the rate of wages low, and yet at the same time to get sufficient labour for their excessively large plantations in Kenya itself.

Over 1,000,000 Africans live in Tanganyika, on this new Kilimanjaro area. Behind the whole of the white settlers' deeply laid plot, there is always present the eager desire to reinforce their estate labour from these fresh supplies, and so to keep down the rate of wages to the lowest possible point. When I was in Kenya, in 1919, 1920 and 1921, I heard often about this very scheme; but I did not then take it seriously. It seemed to me quite inconceivable, that a matter of such importance, which had been already settled by an international treaty, should be unsettled again merely to meet the insatiable demands of a handful of white settlers. But I have become wiser since then. For I have seen equally flagrant breaches of faith happening elsewhere.

The plot has been devised in this manner. First of all a wide publicity campaign has been carried on both in Tanganyika and in Kenya. Europeans, who make a profession of being able to 'understand the native', have been sent over the border into the Kilimanjaro area. All kinds of evidence have been prepared, in order to show that the Tanganyika natives desire nothing so much as to come under the protection of the white settlers. Then,

when the time at last arrived to act, a full meeting of the European convention of associations was called at Nairobi, and a resolution in favour of annexation was passed as follows:—

"That the European convention of associations notes with great satisfaction, that the residents of the Arusha, Moshi, Tanga and Usambara districts of Tanganyika territory propose that the area concerned, should be brought under the administration of Kenya. It gives such a proposal its whole-hearted support, particularly in view of the fact that,

(a) it would provide compensation to Kenya Colony for the loss of Jubaland.

(b) it would restore homogeneity to the Masai and Kisii tribes.

(c) it would result in a more economic outlay of railway development.

(d) it would bring those areas, which are largely Highland, under an administration calculated to encourage their material development."

It needs to be explained, that Jubaland is a waterless tract to the north of the Kenya Highlands, which has recently been handed over to Italy as a part of her war booty. England had compensated herself so fully in other directions, that it was necessary to disgorge something.

The debate on this resolution, which thus puts forward the annexation of the Kilimanjaro area, is indeed worthy of careful study. There was some hesitation about bringing in the question of compensation for Jubaland at all. The disguise was too thin. Nevertheless Lord Delamere supported the resolution as it stood. Major Hemsted, however, wanted this part of the resolution cut out. He stated that he had collected 'a certain amount of information,' and it shewed to him that the natives, as well as Europeans, were favourable to the scheme of annexation. Their claim, therefore, could stand on its own merits, and did not need the weak argument of compensation for Jubaland.

It appears that, at the meeting itself, a telegram arrived from the Europeans in the Tanga district. This is a coastal area, which has a very important harbour called Tanga. The telegram advised annexation of Tanga also.

It was therefore unanimously decided, at the last moment, while the convention was in session, to include Tanga in the resolution along with the other districts. The proportion of Indians to Europeans in the Tanga district can hardly be less than ten to one and the proportion of African natives can hardly be less than a hundred to one. But, very significantly, nothing whatever is said about their opinion concerning annexation. All that is stated is, that the "residents of the Tanga District" desired to be brought under the area of the Kenya administration. The residents mentioned are clearly the tiny group of Europeans. In this way, on the strength of this prepared telegram, without any further enquiry, a whole new district was added to the original demand of the white settlers. Indians and Africans alike count for nothing. For the only persons who really count at all with the convention are Europeans.

But the limit of shamelessness is reached in the discussion by Lord Delamere himself, when he proposes what steps should be taken to bring about the coveted annexation of the Kilimanjaro Highlands. I give, at

this point, the words of the *East African Standard* the leading European paper.

"It was emphasised particularly by Lord Delamere, that it would be much sounder to take 'two bites' in dealing with the problem. They should first suggest that the B. mandate, which already existed for these areas, should be transferred to Kenya. Then, this should gradually be improved into a C. class mandate. Then, finally full and complete incorporation would come about automatically."

I have ventured for the sake of emphasis, to print this whole paragraph in italics. It will be seen, from such a quotation, what these modern free-booters think of the whole mandatory system. For them, it is merely a convenient camouflage, whereby the open nakedness of direct plunder may be cleverly concealed. Thoughtful people have known this all along, but it is very rarely that we are told the truth in such an entirely naked manner.

It is unnecessary to go any deeper into the mire of this amazing record of modern European imperialist mentality. One thing, to me, is absolutely convincing. Indians must keep themselves free from every taint of such hateful forms of exploitation. The insulting offer, contained in the 'White Paper', that Indians should be compensated by a grant of alienated land in the Kenya lowlands, in return for the forfeiture of their legal rights of purchasing land in the Kenya Highlands, is an offer of this same shameless character. It is really a bargain proposed to India to share in the imperial plunder; and it should be rejected with all the scorn it deserves.

Indian Labour in Burma

(By C. F. Andrews)

Burma has become to me the greatest problem of all; and I confess at once that I have come nowhere near to solving it.

There is, first of all, the labour problem. Capitalism is here exploiting the poor with all its ruthless brutality and its lack of consideration for human moral relations. Hundreds of thousands of villagers are recruited from India, year by year, by means of maistris, or contractors, who advance them sums of money that become a perpetual debt thereafter. The villager thus sells himself ignorantly into what may often be a life-long slavery. The money is taken during some time of acute distress; the bond is sealed with a thumb impression, and the fatal voyage across the sea is taken. The villager becomes one of a gang, who are almost completely at the maistris's mercy. If an effort to get free is made, the labourer is summoned, under a 'Workmen's breach of contract Act' which still goes on treating the poor ignorant villager's last struggle for freedom as an offence against the law. This breach, for the poor man, is punishable as a criminal offence; while the rich man may default any time and be liable only to damages in a civil suit. There is one law for the rich and another law for the poor. Over 1200 prosecutions under this iniquitous 'Workmen's breach of contract Act' took place in a single year in Burma. The villager, exhausted by his last struggle to get free, submits and sinks into the rank of serfs and helots.

The moral conditions of the labourer are no less pitiable than the civil conditions. The proportion of women to men is so small that it is far less than that which shocked me so much in Fiji. I have often wondered whether a

Bihari friend of mine was not right after all, and whether (if I had only known what things were being done in the name of industrial labour in India, under my very eyes, but which I was blind enough not to see) I might never have thought it worth while to go out to Fiji at all. For here, in Burma, the proportion of women, which goes over on the ships, is less than one to five. Gangs of dock labourers employ a single woman to cook their food for them, and use the same woman for purposes of prostitution. These things are told me openly, shamelessly; they are published in pamphlets and newspapers and are not contradicted. They are not contradicted, because they are true.

The ships themselves are regulated by an obsolete 'Merchants' shipping Act' of 1887, which was passed in the days of sailing ships. It is quite out of date today for the great modern steamer traffic. Captains of the B. I. S. N. Co. have themselves confessed to me that the overcrowding under the Act is excessive. I have seen it with my own eyes on one unforgettable voyage from Penang to Madras. Yet I am ashamed to say, I have never travelled across the Bay of Bengal as a deck passenger. It is a thing that I ought to have done long ago, after my eyes were opened; but weakly I shrank from the ordeal. One thing is certain. These inhuman steamer conditions ought not to be allowed to go on a single day longer. In Malaya the planters all agreed with me that the voyage conditions were inhuman. But they said: 'What are we to do? The Government of India shipping Act allows these conditions.' I said to them: 'Make your own shipping regulations: and the first of them will be to divide the number of deck passengers allowed on every ship by two.' 'But', they said, 'what of the expense?' 'Obtain the expense,' I answered, 'by making various reductions in other things—such as the cessation of all recruiting. Sacrifice also some of your dividends and reserves. Money obtained by inhuman conditions is hateful in the sight of God.'

Why, why we ask ourselves, should the villagers of India come over at all under such pitiable circumstances? So long as there are no village industries of any kind in India itself, and floods and pestilence and famine sweep the land, there is no possibility of dissuading them from going over, however hard the conditions may be. A starving man, with his family perishing before his eyes, must get away somewhere to obtain food. Again, so long as there is oppression and practical serfdom in India itself, and so long as the stigma of untouchability, (which is no less inhuman than the colour bar in Africa) remains ruthlessly in force, men cannot be prevented from trying to escape, when even a shadow of a hope of freedom is held out before them. It may be, that the poor villager is jumping out of the frying pan into the fire; but at least he refuses to remain in the frying pan, while it gets hotter and hotter. He prefers a quick death to a slow dying agony.

So the torture of these overcrowded ships, and these workmen's brothels, and these maistris' criminal prosecutions, and this slavery of debt, will go tragically on and on until the educated people of India are in earnest about undertaking seriously the problem of village poverty and village oppression in India itself. For it is this and this alone which drives men and women out into such places of torment.

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Mahatma Gandhi's Fast

(By Sj. Rijnders Peacock)

Recent events culminating in constant fighting between Mussalmans and Hindus have cast a gloom all over the country and compelled Mahatma Gandhi to observe a fast of 21 days as a penance for his own and his erring countrymen's sins and as a prayer to the Almighty to lift this nightmare of communal bitterness and anger from off this land. Those who have followed the "march of events during the last five years are not altogether without a ray of hope even in this almost impenetrable darkness. The part which England had in settling the terms of peace with Turkey

roused the Mosalmans against it to a white heat. The atrocities which came with martial law in the Punjab brought shame and humiliation and resentment to the hearts of all Indians alike. Both these sources of discontent and bitterness against the Government were, when combined, enough to rouse the whole country.

Mahatma Gandhi, with the vision of a seer, saw the gathering storm and conceived the method of non-violent non-cooperation which was intended to fight against both the Government and mob

outburst at the same time. There was an extraordinary upheaval in India and among more than among the Mussalmans who felt that their religion was being attacked. It made the whole country, and particularly the Mussalmans, more sensitive and jealous than ever regarding their religious rights. It was the genius of Mahatma Gandhi which harnessed and directed in channels, beneficial to the country, the forces of intense excitement which had been generated. Then came the time when most of the leaders, who had exercised great sway over the feelings and passions of the masses, had been put out of the way by a relentless policy of repression. The forces, which, when well regulated, had almost brought India

to the verge of a peaceful and bloodless revolution, were now to work their havoc. When the leaders came out of jail, one after another, they found the situation getting out of their hands, and the differences that arose in the Congress ranks kept them all engaged in settling their accounts with one another to the neglect of this vital danger. The result was that by the time Mahatma Gandhi was released and while he was still in a state of serious illness, mob riots had already begun in different parts of the country and the two religious communities had become terribly estranged.

CHANGE OF HEART

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hitherto it has been a struggle and a yearning for a change of heart among Englishmen who compose the Government of India. That change has still to come. But the struggle must for the moment be transferred to a change of heart among the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Before they dare think of freedom they must be brave enough to trust one another, to tolerate one another's religion, even prejudices and superstitions and to trust one another. This requires faith in God. And faith in oneself is faith in God. If we have that faith we shall cease to fear another.

29th September, 1924.

to God that the prayers in the hearts of his countrymen may create a sense of earnest and devoted workers pledged to restore brotherly relations between Hindus and Mussalmans! Would to God that it may give us courage to stick to the right, to cling to the truth, and to urge our erring countrymen, in no uncertain terms, that they should refrain from mutual recrimination and embrace one another in love! Would to God that it may create in us a sense of recognition of the rights of others and of appreciation of the feelings and sentiments of others, on which alone true tolerance can be based! May this *tapasya* bear fruit and may it lead to peace and good-will among all the people of this country!

The Aboriginal Tribes

(By C. F. Andrews)

I have been very deeply moved indeed by reading the statement made by Mr. A. V. Thakkar, that devoted friend and servant of the poor, concerning the condition of the aboriginal tribes, especially in Rajputana and Gujarat. In the whole population of India, they number fully five per cent; and they are, as their name denotes, the original dwellers on the soil. Their claims, therefore, upon those who have built up the Aryan civilisation in India, are of the strongest possible character.

Yet to-day, far more rapidly and incessantly than ever before, a process of attrition is going on. Silently, ruthlessly, relentlessly, they are being driven from the soil into misery, destitution and death. Famine takes its toll from them far more than from other people. The money lender finds them an easy prey and keeps them in his debt. Drink has become their greatest curse of all and they suffer as its victims.

For a long time, I had been watching the same process going on among the Santals in Bengal, who are our next-door neighbours at Shantiniketan. It had become apparent to me, that so long as they remained undisturbed on the land, in areas that were not too near to the towns, living their own simple life, in comparative solitude, they remained for the most part uncontaminated by the evils I have mentioned. This was the experience of Willie Pearson, when he lived among us at the Ashram. He often talked over the subject with me and told me what he had learnt. Hardly a day passed without his walking out into the country to visit the Santal villages, and he was known and loved among them. When the sad news came about his death, there was universal weeping, and they said: "Our father has been taken away from us". It was from him that I learnt at first hand very many things about them. He taught me also to realise the very perilous position they stand as though in the modern world. Mr. A. V. Thakkar's statement will corroborate all that my friend, Willie Pearson,

In the first place, with literate people all round, they are incapable to read and write, and this is fully known. In this connection, Mr. Thakkar's words are most remarkable, when he says, "than the most depressed Bhandaris, than the most depressed than the weaving Dhedas, and than the wholly populated by aborigines, to his great surprise, that the literacy is either 13,000 or next to zero. Mr. Gokhale, when he pressed his bill for primary vernacular education in the Viceroy's Council, that for any one to remain in modern conditions all his life without being able to read and write his mother tongue was like blindness, deafness or dumbness. What a tragedy, therefore, this illiteracy means! We go on to learn from Mr. Thakkar's account that their idea of the Creator is of the most debased description and that the Tiger God is still worshipped; that human sacrifices to this Monster have only in recent times been finally abolished; that marriage, as a religious bond, is practically unknown; that filthy customs of eating carrion flesh not seldom exist.

Then Mr. Thakkar goes on to make this indictment, which comes out of a heart of love that is racked with an agony of pain. "Such," he says, "are a large number, lost and dead, of our fellow-countrymen, for whom

neither the public, nor the Hindu nor the Mussalman religious heads, nor the British Government have raised a little finger! The writer knows only two indigenous missions,—the Brahmo Mission in the Assam Hills, and the Bhil Seva Mandal in Panch Mahals."

I feel that I must go on still further to tell something of the story of the latter institution, and its poverty-stricken state. When I was at the Bhil Seva Mandal with Mr. Thakkar, it was a misery to me to find that his work of pure love and devotion was being very seriously crippled indeed for want of funds. His final appeal is made in the following words, which need repeating till they gain a true response:—

"Will not", he asks, "the noble and disinterested work among the aborigines, which is being done by the foreigner, kindle a spark of brotherliness in us for our own nationals, and set us to work for their social, economic, mental and spiritual uplift? Shall we look askance at their poverty, at their degraded condition, and be steeped in our own material interests, without giving even a distant thought to their needs?"

Mr. Thakkar has a right to speak in this manner, because he has first practised for many years before speaking at all. His words are forced from him by years of suffering silently endured.

There is one factor, which it is necessary to make clear, concerning the kind of service most needed among the aboriginal tribes. They have only taken to agriculture in very recent times, just in proportion as the forest areas, where they used to wander, have been gradually diminished. They are, as yet, for the most part, poor cultivators; and during the hot weather months they need, more than anyone else, subsidiary occupations; otherwise they starve. But they do not take very kindly at first to hand-spinning and hand-weaving. This has been our own experience at Shantiniketan, where we have tried for many years to encourage these arts among them. It is, I believe, also the experience of Mr. Thakkar. Therefore it is only through the education of children that the joy of working at these village arts and crafts can be revived. But this means the patient, long-suffering and often disappointing work of living daily with them and teaching the young. Infinite tenderness and sympathy with their child-natures will be needed. The forest habits cannot easily be forgotten. The 'call of the wild', the 'message of the forest' which is in the blood, will irresistibly come back, if the pressure of the discipline of the manual craft school is too severe. Therefore, in order to be effective, such work means a life-long service; not merely a passing visit, or a stay of a few months. It needs also an inexhaustible capacity for reverence. Willie Pearson had this in a singular degree. There was something in him of the same child-character, and something also of the whisper of the forest in his heart. He understood these wild children of nature. He did not drill them like a martinet. Because of this understanding, they paid him the greatest tribute of their affection, when they said of him, "He is like one of ourselves."

There can be no doubt in my own mind, that in hand-spinning and hand-weaving, when they take to these arts with joy and gladness, lies their one economic salvation, if they are to be saved at all from the lure of the factory and the plantation. But who can impart to them that joy and gladness, which will make them stick to the work and become permanent spinners and weavers?

Our Duty to them

(By M. K. Gandhi)

With an artist's pen Mr. Andrews in his article on the 'Aboriginal Tribes' has combined three things. He has supported the fervent appeal of Mr. A. V. Thakkar for funds for the Bhil Seva Mandal in the Panch Mahals. I heartily echo Mr. Andrews' sentiments. Mr. Thakkar needs no introduction from me. He had dedicated himself to the service of the motherland long before my return to India and becoming a famous man. His services in connection with the administration of famine relief organised by Gujarat for the help of the distressed in Orissa are still fresh in our memory. He has endeared himself to the untouchables of Gujarat by his single-minded devotion to their cause. But his restless nature has found a class of people in Gujarat more submerged and therefore more in need of a lifting hand than the untouchables themselves. He has therefore become the high priest of the simple Bhils of the Panchmahals. I hope that Mr. Thakkar's appeal will not fall upon deaf ears.

In speaking about the aboriginal tribes it was impossible for Mr. Andrews to omit the name of his friend, disciple and fellow-worker, Willie Pearson. He loses no opportunity of paying a well-deserved tribute to the memory of one of the noblest of Englishmen who dedicated his all to the service of India. When Mr. G. K. Le asked Mr. Andrews at a moment's notice to go to the rescue of the Satyagrahis of South Africa, Willie Pearson volunteered his services and accompanied Mr. Andrews to South Africa. For me it was love at first sight between these Englishmen and myself. Pearson's noble features with the frank, benign and bewitching expression in his eyes rise before me as I dictate these lines. I saw Pearson at work in South Africa and again at Shantiniketan. More selflessness and more devotion to duty it would be difficult to find. No honest toil was beneath Pearson's dignity. For him the lower the work was, the greater was the dignity. He was the first at Shantiniketan to volunteer his services for cleaning the drains of its kitchen and the scavengers' quarters. Pearson's work was no less heroic, because it was non-political in the conventional sense of the term. Let it be remembered, however, that whilst in Japan Pearson wrote his furious indictment against British exploitation and dominion which brought him trouble which he never intended. Whilst he was lying on his death-bed, he dictated a will in which he did not forget a boy in Shantiniketan whom he loved as dearly as his own son. On his death the Poet issued an appeal for 25,000 rupees to perpetuate his memory. The money was to be devoted to build a Pearson Hospital in Shantiniketan. When I was taking my convalescence at Juba, and Andrews had appointed himself as my guardian-angel, with a heart full of love and sorrow he told me that there was very poor response to the Poet's appeal. I soothed him by saying that after all Pearson was not much known to the Indian public, and that therefore we who knew him so well ought not to fret for want of their support or feel uncharitable towards them. I told him too that, when I found a natural occasion, I would take up the Poet's appeal and try to enlist the support of the public for the memorial. Mr. Andrews has given me the opportunity. I now invite the readers of *Young India* to contribute their mite. Over three thousand rupees have been collected. Twenty one thousand rupees is nothing for the generous public to find.

The third thing Mr. Andrews has brought in is the spinning-wheel, probably for my sake. But I know that a time is coming when that simple wheel will no longer have to depend upon me for its existence. The highest in the land who feel for the poor will be bound to support it. There is only one thing which can be universally adopted in India and be yet paying so as to supplement the slender resources of the peasantry and even find enough to keep body and soul together for the starving millions. The wheel is the one thing which can replace the degrading doles from the rich people for the famine-stricken, and let them feel sure that they need not starve so long as they are prepared to spin.

21.9.24

The 'Unity' Conference at Delhi

The following resolution was carried unanimously at the 'Unity' Conference, being proposed by the chairman:—

This Conference places on record its deep grief and concern at the fast which Mahatma Gandhi has undertaken.

The Conference is emphatically of opinion that the utmost freedom of conscience and religion is essential, and condemns any desecration of places of worship, to whatsoever faith they may belong, and any persecution or punishment of any person for adopting or reverting to any faith; and further condemns any attempts by compulsion to convert people to one's faith or to secure or enforce one's own religious observances at the cost of the rights of others.

The members of the Conference assure Mahatma Gandhi and pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavours to enforce these principles and to condemn any deviation from them even under provocation.

This Conference further authorises the President to convey personally to Mahatma Gandhi the solemn assurance of this Conference to the above effect as also the united wishes of this Conference that Mahatma Gandhi should immediately break his fast in order to permit the Conference to have the benefit of his cooperation, advice and guidance in deciding upon the speediest means of effectively checking the evil which is fast over-spreading the country.

Sept. 26.1924 (Sd.) Motilal Nehru, Chairman.

The following reply was given from his bed-side in writing by Mahatma Gandhi:—

Dear Motilalji,

Moved by affection and pity the Conference, presided by you has passed the resolution just rightly passed the last night. I would ask you to excuse the trouble that if I could have complied with the wishes you would gladly have done so. But I have examined again and again myself and I find it is not possible for me to break all the fast. My religion teaches me that a promise made or a vow once taken for a worthy thing may not be broken. And you know my life has been regulated on that basis for now more than 10 years.

The causes of the fast are much deeper than I can explain in this note. For one thing I am expressing my faith through this fast. Non-cooperation was not conceived in hatred or ill-will towards a single Englishman. Its non-violent character was intended to conquer Englishmen by our love. Not only has it not resulted in that consequence, but the energy generated by it has brought about hatred and ill-will against one another amongst ourselves. It is the knowledge of this fact which has

weighed me down and imposed this irrevocable penance upon me.

The fast is therefore a matter between God and myself, and I would therefore not only ask you to forgive me for not breaking it but would ask you even to encourage me and pray for me that it may end successfully.

I have not taken up the fast to die, but I have taken it up to live a better and purer life for the service of the country. If, therefore, I reach a crisis (of which humanly speaking I see no possibility whatever) when the choice lies between death and food, I shall certainly break the fast. But Drs. Ansari and Abdur Rahim, who are looking after me with the greatest attention and care, will tell you that I am keeping wonderfully fresh.

I would therefore respectfully urge the meeting to transmute all personal affection of which the resolution is an index into solid, earnest and true work for unity for which the Conference has met.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi

27-9-24

Young India

2-10-24

Universal Spinning

(By U. F. Andrews)

When I asked Mahatma Gandhi, what he would like me to write about in *Young India*, more than anything else, to my surprise he answered in two words,—‘Universal Spinning.’ It was a surprise to me for this reason. I had thought, that he would certainly tell me to write about the Unity Conference itself, or else on the Hindu-Moslem problem. But he repeated the two words to me,—‘Universal Spinning.’

In the afternoon of the same day,—which was the seventh day of his fast,—I saw him sitting up in bed, in spite of extreme physical weakness, and spinning for half an hour. It would be difficult for me to describe what moving sight this sight has had upon me.

Yet I delayed, at this point, at once to make a sad confession. To the present, I have not done more than merely physical spinning to date. Somehow, it has been extremely difficult for me to get my mind past the ultimate barriers of

Since my own confessions may be those of many others also, I had better state them very frankly. First of all, I confess to an intense reaction against compulsion of any kind whatever; and there may sometimes be a moral compulsion, which may easily become a tyranny, equal to that of physical force. Now I have had a lurking fear that, if pressed to an extreme, the cult of the ‘charka’ might become a moral compulsion of that very kind. I have felt a shyness in wearing khaddar for the same reason. There has been bound up with this a very great anxiety, lest a kind of religious sanction might be given to an outward observance, and lest the cult of the ‘charka’ might lead to a fatal externalism in religion itself. Therefore, the shrinking back has, at times, been

very real indeed. Mingled with this has been a sluggishness in my own nature, which now seems to revolt against beginning anything new. Though I do not care to think that I am growing old, yet the fact is plainly evident, that I am long past middle age; and this pressure upon me, of the new daily occupation of the spinning wheel does not grip me as it might have done more than twenty years ago. It is clear to me, however, that this ‘resistance’ might be overcome; it should not enter into account as an important factor. It is obviously a weakness to be conquered.

Intellectually, I have my doubts, not about spinning itself, but with regard to that one word ‘Universal.’ As to spinning and weaving being necessary for India, there can be with me no open question. India, with her present population, cannot prosper without recovering these lost arts in the midst of her village population. That economic argument is quite unanswerable. They must be restored to India, if Indian poverty is to disappear. But must everyone, therefore, learn to spin? Is every faculty in India, even for a time, to be concentrated on that one object? Is there not such a thing, in each organic life, as a division of labour? I can understand the principle that every Indian child should be taught at school to spin: for as I ~~think~~ it is with me no open question, economically, the ~~women~~ arts must be recovered, if India is to prosper. When, therefore, the word ‘Universal’ is applied to the elementary schools,—personally, I should not hesitate for a single moment. But it is obvious, that ‘Universal’ means, with him, nothing less than spinning by every man, woman and child,—old and young alike.

These, then, are some of the main arguments which have weighed heavily with me, and I have tried to answer them one by one and have in part succeeded. For, after they have all been faced, I can feel the greater weight of the countercurrent of personality. By following the personal inspiration of a great leader, such as Mahatma Gandhi, who appears only once in a century with such driving power in a nation’s history, miracles may be accomplished. By concentration on this one thing, under his guidance, the necessary moral discipline may be generated to overcome that inertia, which more than anything else keeps India back from freedom. I can see also how the rich and poor may be brought together through this common moral discipline of spinning and how luxuries may be abandoned when khaddar is worn. I can understand, how this common moral discipline may lead to a healing of religious divisions between Hindus and Mussalmans, and of social divisions between the caste-born people and the out-caste. I can accept the fact, that when spinning and weaving arts re-established in the villages the economic foundation of the national life of India will at last be soundly laid.

However strange to me, therefore, the method of ‘Universal spinning,’ under the personal inspiration of one leader, who is trusted by all alike, I can truly and humbly say, that I have reached some glimmering of its great meaning.

I am aware, that there is very little of the ‘magic of the spinning-wheel’ in all that I have written. But that magic cannot be sung, until I have myself learnt to spin.

Two Notable Statements

[Last week there was published in *Young India* Mahatma Gandhi's own statement about what happened when the decision to fast for twenty one days was taken. Two statements have been given to the Press by the Ali brothers, which throw light upon the decision itself and also explain further its meaning. They are much too valuable to pass out of recollection amid the ordinary news of the day and I am publishing them afresh. I would add, before doing so, that I have been profoundly impressed by the teaching of Islam which the former statement in its concluding portion contains. This great passage in the Quran had never been explained to me before, and I am thankful to know it. C. F. A.]

Maulana Mahomed Ali's Statement

I had argued and argued passionately and entreatingly, but I had argued in vain. And it was 3 o'clock in the morning before I left Mahatmaji that night. I had, however, succeeded in this, that the vow of fasting, which seemed to me irrevocable in all circumstances, was made revocable on one condition, and that condition was that my big brother, for whom I had vicariously pleaded as my last resort, was coming on the urgent telegraphic invitation of the Mahatma himself, and if he could convince him that the fast was wrong, the vow would not be deemed irrevocable, and the fast could be broken. Such was his confidence, as he told me, in Shaukat's "robust commonsense and his God-fearing nature."

The big brother has come, and he has seen; but he has not yet conquered. For so far no one has placed in his big hands the only weapon that can be effective in a struggle such as this. My own belief is that if either community made up its mind to offer a complete surrender and say that whatever the other community may do to it, it would not retaliate, peace would be restored and the gainer in the end would be not so much the community to whom the surrender was made, but the one that has made the surrender.

As a Mussalman, I pray that God will give my community the strength to make the surrender, as my brother and I have personally done long ago. For the benefit of my co-religionists I recite the parable of non-violence which Allah preached to the entire brotherhood of man through the Quran as through the Bible.

He says: "Recite unto them the tale of the two sons of Adam with truth. When they both offered an offering, it was accepted from one of them and was not accepted from the other.

" The one said: I will most certainly slay thee. The other said: Allah only accepts from those that guard against evil.

" Thou wilt stretch forth thy hand towards me to slay me, but I am not one to stretch forth my hand towards thee to slay thee; surely I fear Allah, the Lord of the Worlds.

" Surely I wish that thou shouldst bear the sin committed against me and thine own sin. So thou wouldest be of the companions of the fire and those that are the unjust."

" Then his mind facilitated unto him the slaying of his brother, so he slew him; then he became one of the losers.

" Then Allah sent a crow digging up the earth so that he might show him how he should cover the dead body of his brother. He said: Woe unto me! Do I lack the strength that I should be like this crow and cover the dead body of my brother? So he became of those that regret.

" For this reason did we prescribe to the children of Israel that whoever slays a soul, unless it be for manslaughter or for mischief in the land, it is as though he slew all men; and certainly our apostles came unto them with clear arguments, but even after that many of them act extravagantly in the land."

This is the story, not of the two sons of a certain person called Adam, but the parable of mankind. Cain revelling in his strength, as he believed it to be, slew his brother Abel, but it was not Cain, the slayer, that was really strong, but Abel who had the courage to die without stretching forth his hand against his kith and kin. And it was Cain that was the loser. The end proved it to the hilt. The murderer, riding in his strength, did not for long gloat over the work that his hand had wrought. He desired to hide at once the dead body of his brother and his own shame therein. It was then that he confessed that he was not really strong, but "lacked strength," to such an extent that from a man, the noblest of God's creation, he should become the imitator of the contemptible crow. "So he became of those that regret." Real strength lies in self-restraint and in withholding one's hand even against the aggressor, and every life saved through forgiveness is not one life saved, but the life of all mankind.

Christ taught the same lesson as Moses had in reality taught before him, but they heeded him not. The Last of the Prophets had to teach that lesson all over again; and can it be a matter of pride to the Mussalmans, if "even after that, many of them act extravagantly"? I am proud of Islam, as I am proud of nothing else; and it is because of that pride that I wish the Mussalman to imitate Abel and not Cain. His must be the surrender to-day if he seeks to convert mankind to the Prophet's own way of life. And he it must be, who should say to his brother, even if the latter is the aggressor, "If thou wilt stretch forth thy hand against me to slay me, I am not one to stretch forth my hand towards thee to slay thee." This should be, not for fear of his brother, stronger in numbers and greater in wealth and knowledge, but for fear of Allah, the Lord of the Worlds.

All this I have said as a Mussalman to Mussalmans. But I cannot divest myself of the consciousness of the President of the Nation's Congress, and as such I am a trustee not only for Mussalmans, but also for Hindus and Sikhs and Christians and Parsis and Jews and for every one that calls himself a son of India. In my capacity as a National Trustee I make the same appeal to my Hindu brothers as I have made to the Muslims and I eagerly await the response of both.

[Maulana Shaukat Ali has given to the press a briefer statement, which was shown to Mahatma Gandhi before its publication. The words, that he quotes from the conversation, have therefore been verified by Mahatmaji himself.]

Maulana Shaukat Ali's Statement

On receipt of Mahatmaji's urgent wire, I left Bombay by the next train. My brother informed me on my arrival that Mahatmaji had at last consented, that "if

Shankat Ali could convince me that I was in error I would break my fast."

I had a long and frank talk with Mahatma. He has not convinced me fully, nor have I yet succeeded in convincing him; but I do not despair. However, unless the Mussalmans and Hindus of India unitedly promise me their fullest support in suppressing these Hindu Muslim quarrels, I cannot find it in my heart to press my point with him any further. Mahatma told me that there was a time when God had put effect in his words and both Hindus and Mussalmans had listened to him and carried out his wishes cheerfully. "I find" he added, "that my words have lost their power, which to me means there is something wrong with me, and God has deserted me. I am fasting and praying that God may come back to me and restore effect to my words. As a Hindu, I know that when in trouble one has to practice *tapasya*; and while in jail I learned enough about the life of the Prophet too. Whenever he was in difficulties, he used to fast and pray. Until God gives me His grace, I mean to fast and suffer and pray hard."

After hearing this, my only hope was that the response all over the country to his appeal would be instantaneous; and if the Mussalmans and the Hindus of Delhi come forward and settle their quarrels, I think I shall be in a strong position to go to him and add my own prayers to the prayers of the rest of India that he will break his fast.

Notes

Our Duty

There is one thing above all others that this sudden crisis has brought home to us. We have all of us to turn away from our own self-seeking to God. As Mahatma Gandhi has told us in memorable words which will become historic:—

"It seems as if God had been dethroned; and we have to reinstate Him in our hearts."

That is where the wrong lies and we must ourselves do penance for it, each in our own way, before the wrong can be righted. Those lower passions of ours, which have brought us into so great misery, have been acting in a terrible manner to the detriment of our higher nature, where God alone should be enthroned and enthroned. We have been too eager to live and to believe every evil report and to spread the evil further by repeating it. We have not rejoiced only in Christ. 'Love beareth all things, hopeth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth.' Where has been that love? We have seen it embodied in Mahatma Gandhi, and it has put us all to shame; but we have not yet embodied it in our own lives.

There are two things, at the present time, which we cannot do, if we would be true to that higher nature which God has bestowed upon us. We cannot keep enmity in our hearts and we cannot retaliate. There are, at the same time, two things which we ought to do and can do, if we will. We ought to show active love to one another and to confess openly if we have done wrong.

I believe with all my heart that these are the marks by which God's children can be recognised in the world today, not only in India but also in China and in Europe. This is the meaning of Christ's words when He says: "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God."

Let us recognise that the problem which we face goes far deeper and further than India itself. The internecine strife which has depopulated Europe and this new and terrible strife which is driving China into ruin are truly of the same character as the fratricidal struggle which has just begun in our own midst. Europe and China have each in turn taken up the sword and have found the sword turned backward against them. Fatal, ruinously, the truth has been learnt afresh which declares that "They who take the sword shall perish with the sword." But in India we have been given by God a unique opportunity of learning a higher lesson. It is impossible for me to put that lesson more clearly than through the story which Maulana Maomed Ali has told from the Quran, which is reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

A Christian's Blessing

An Indian Christian from the Punjab named Mr. S. A. Waiz has sent me the following letter which I gladly publish:—

"However I may differ with him in his political views, his methods of carrying on the present agitation, with a view to the final consummation of the attainment of Swaraj, I must say, that in his sincerity, saintliness of character, his love for his country, his frank admissions of his own faults, I know of none in the world to-day, who surpasses Mahatma. There are some who jeer at his present action; there are others, who have repeatedly said that by sheer self-imposed martyrdom, he expects to become at once an apotheosis of patriotism in India. Could there be anything more unkind, more unreasonable, more cruel?

Who also in India to-day can be a link between Hindus, Muslims and Christians,—furthermore, between Indians and the English? There in Delhi under the roof of a Muslim, and at the feet of a Hindu, meet Christians, Mussalmans and Hindus together in prayer for unity in India.

Mahatma Gandhi has on more than one occasion declared that he is not a Christian. But the tenets of Christianity have never before been interpreted in so simple and intelligible a manner by any Western Missionary in India as by Mahatma's present action. I have been a Christian all my life, but I must confess that the fundamental truth of Christianity I never understood before. When I had read the news of Mahatma's fast for penance and prayer, tears came out of my eyes, and for the first time in my life I realised the meaning of the Cross. A Hindu has drawn me closer to Christ. May God bless him! I have never had the good fortune of meeting him, but this is my frank, unbiased and fearless opinion of him.

May my Lord be with him in this great trial! May he spare him for the guidance of millions of people in the country at this most critical juncture."

True Swadeshi

I had received, before I left Shantiniketan, the following concise statement from Borodada concerning the True Swadeshi. He had suggested that it might be published in *Young India* and I gladly carry out his suggestion.

"These amongst us, who call ourselves 'Swadeshi,' cannot show better that we are truly Swadeshi, and not so in name only, than by living a life of purity, simplicity and benevolence towards all mankind, such as is in perfect conformity, not only with the teachings of our own Mahatmas today in our own country, but those of the Mahatmas of all ages and all countries, thus preparing the

way for the advent of that superior civilization, which the present day world needs so much, namely, 'Humanitarian Civilization'."

The following telegram was received from Borodada on September 26 h. Andrews, C/o Mohamed Ali, Delhi.

"Fear and hope struggling for Mahatma in my mind. Wire news about his health. Borodada"

This telegram appears to me to express, in the briefest possible compass, the feelings of the people of India at the present moment. Among the poorest and most illiterate, as among the most learned and the greatest in the land, the thought of Mahatma's penance has been uppermost in the mind. Fears are mingled with hopes and hopes are mingled with fears. But as Borodada has written in a letter, which he has sent to Mahatma Gandhi, "Our faith is in God alone." It is out of such times of intense feeling that the mind and the heart are set free from habits of convention and new pathways of moral enterprise are discovered.

Swami Shraddhanand's Statement

I gladly reprint, for wider circulation, Swami Shraddhanand's moving appeal:—

"In order to restore peace to Mahatma Gandhi's mind it is essential that all sensational headlines should be stopped. Let there be no comment made upon these unfortunate quarrels of the Hindus and Mussalmans. Mahatma has started his 21 days' fast. He will take only water. To appease the fury of this fire Mahatma has kept his sacred person before the Indians for sacrifice. Let everybody do his utmost to stop it. There is no occasion of giving details, and neither I have got full light myself on it. But suddenly an idea has flashed through my mind that the Hindu-Muslim papers should give up writing commentaries on each other. I believe that Hindus would stop writing anything about the Mussalmans after reading my message. I hope that they will abstain from making comments, even in defence, at least for these twenty-one days. Nothing can be decided so far. Telegrams have been sent to 125 national leaders who will meet in a Conference to devise means to assuage Mahatma's sorrow. Mahatma is fasting and praying and let us join his prayer every morning."

Kenya Indians and Nomination

We cannot wonder if the Kenya Indians, after the final rebuff of the Colonies Committee in London, have been obliged to acquiesce in a partial solution of their present difficulties by refusing the 'White Paper' communal electorate proposal, but agreeing to a nomination (by the Governor) of Indian representatives to the Council without election. This compromise unfortunately in no way helps the main position; it brings the claim for equality no nearer; indeed, in practice it is tantamount to defeat. To the white settlers, its only effect will be to put the Indian community on the same level with the African natives, who have now themselves been given some form of nomination. Thus the white settler will have obtained what he originally claimed, namely, that the Indians should have no franchise at all,—not even a communal one,—and should be regarded as one of the 'coloured' men, who are to be always treated entirely differently from the 'white' men. I can well remember one of the arrogant speeches of Major Gregan in which he states that on no account must the Indians be allowed any electing powers, though as an act of favour they may be permitted to have some nominated members.

The Opium Evil

The following has been signed by Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore:—

"The undersigned, viewing the growing addiction to narcotic drugs to be a deadly menace to individuals and to nations, and also an insidious, rapidly spreading poisoning of the human race, which can be overcome only by cooperation among nations, respectfully petition the International Opium Conference assembling in Nov. 1924, to adopt measures adequate for total extirpation of the plants from which these drugs originate, except as found necessary for medicine and science in the judgment of the best medical opinion of the world."

The following has been passed unanimously by the Samsad of Vishvabharati, Shantiniketan:—

"That in the interests of international fellowship and good-will, the Samsad of Vishvabharati recommend that the cultivation of the opium yielding poppy be limited to the medical and scientific needs of the world's population, and rationed in such a way that no surplus is left over for opium addiction."

The Bombay Christian Council has passed the following resolutions:—

"1. This Council, believing that India is suffering incalculable harm from the widely prevalent practice of dosing infants with opium and that this pernicious habit is proved by Indian social workers to be remediable, deeply sympathises with the desire of educated Indian citizens that the use of Indian opium should be strictly confined to medical and scientific needs."

"2. The Council urgently requests the Government of India to instruct its representatives at the League of Nations Conference in November next to support the formulating of such an international policy regarding the opium traffic as shall limit the production and consumption of opium and its products to such quantities as are sufficient for medical and scientific purposes."

We trust that resolutions will be passed of a similar character before the World Conference on Opium begins at Geneva next November.

C. F. A.

Unbusinesslike Habits:

We have received a lengthy report from the All India Khaddar Board on the yarn returns for the month of August. We are unable to publish the full report in the present issue as the report could not be received in time. We are informed too, that the final provincial figures have not yet been ascertained owing to the unbusinesslike procedure of many Provinces. The Khaddar Board have been put to enormous inconvenience in settling the figures of many Provinces, notably the United Provinces, Behar and Gujarat. The method of compiling details of spinning in most Provinces is extremely defective and hence the delay in the issuing of the final report. We are asked to mention that in refreshing contrast to all the other Provinces is Bengal which has shown skill in the method of arrangement of figures.

To avoid difficulties in the future and ensure uniformity of method we are told that printed forms have been despatched to the various Provinces to be filled with proper particulars, every time occasion arises to send parcels of yarn to the All India Khaddar Board.

General Herzog's Indian Policy

(By C. F. Andrews)

We have now obtained by mail some definite news about the Indian policy of the new South African Government. It will be remembered that this new administration is based on a pact between General Herzog and Colonel Creswell. The former is a Republican Nationalist; the latter is a Labour Imperialist.

Some hopes had been raised, that the Labour Party would show signs of not opposing the Indian claim for fair treatment. It is surprising, therefore, to find Mr. Reyburn, the labour member for the Umbilo Division of Durban, proposing an amendment to a resolution put forward by Mr. Marwick, (the leader of the Anti-Asiatic movement in Natal) which would go further in a certain direction even than Mr. Marwick's own resolution, and would be far more menacing to Indians than anything that has yet been proposed. Mr. Marwick's motion was drastic enough, but it left the power of legislation in the hands of the Union Assembly. *Mr. Reyburn proposed to take the power of legislation out of the hands of the Union Assembly and to hand it over to the provincial councils.* This would leave the Indians in Natal entirely at the mercy of the Natal Provincial Council. From the very first, the Indian Community in South Africa has fought against any such 'provincialising' of the Indian question. For they have learnt, by a bitter experience, that their just cause is doomed, when it is judged by such a provincial tribunal. To me, it is a matter of very sad significance that such an amendment, giving away at the outset the whole Indian position, should have been brought forward by a Labour member for Durban. For on two different visits to South Africa, I had found more sympathy from the leading Labour members in Natal than from any one else; and I was especially struck by the high character of Mr. Boydell, who holds another seat in Durban and is Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party. This news about Mr. Reyburn's amendment means either that Mr. Boydell and Colonel Creswell have been won over completely to the anti-Asiatic side, or else that they are unable to check the members of their own party. I can remember distinctly in 1920, Mr. Boydell, in his Committee Room, asking me "give the Labour Party time"; he said that in the end they would see to it, that fair treatment was done to the Indians in Natal. But this new Labour proposal represents the worst possible policy from the Indian point of view.

The attitude of General Herzog himself can be seen by the one definite statement which the new Cabinet have made. They have accepted the general principle of anti-Asiatic legislation and are evidently prepared to go as far as possible in segregation; but they are relying more on repatriation than on any other weapon. They have therefore announced, that they are ready to increase the bonus given to those Indians, who may agree to be repatriated, from £5 to £20. In addition to this, such persons will receive their full passage from their homes in Natal to their homes in India. In itself, there could be little objection to such a raising of the bonus; but the alarming news is added, that 'recruiting officers' are to be employed by the Government to 'stimulate assisted emigration.' We had bitter experience of such recruiting in Natal in 1920; and again and again we had to protest against the

methods used and the mis-statements made. It appears that we are once more to be faced with all the possibilities of intensive and often fraudulent recruiting very ignorant and illiterate people, in order to drive them back to India.

This method of raising the bonus seems to point to a prolonged campaign to expel the Indians from Natal altogether. The Class Areas Bill itself had this end also in view. As far as I can gather, from (i) Mr. Marwick's resolution, (ii) Mr. Reyburn's amendment, and (iii) Dr. Melan's answer on behalf of the Government, the new legislation against the Indians, especially in Natal, when it does come before the Assembly, will be even more drastic than the Bill which the late Government were pressing through when they resigned. Personally I can see no sign at all of any 'change of heart.' It would be of great interest to know what Sarojini Devi, who has just come from South Africa, considers these new resolutions and policies to denote.

The sad news of the death of Mr. P. K. Naidu has reached me while I have been writing this article. His loss in South Africa will be incalculable at such a time as this. I hope to write further about him in the next issue.

South India Flood Relief

Received at Satyagrahashram	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Previously acknowledged	...	30,154	11 0
Received during week ending 29-9-24	...	1,468	1 0
Total ..			31,622 12 0

[This amount includes Rs. 300 received from the Students of the Bethune College, Calcutta, through the Principal.]

Received at the Gujarat P. C. G.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Previously acknowledged	...	12,771	0 2
Received during week ending 28-9-24	...	1,656	0 9
Total ..			14,427 0 11

Received at the Navajivan and Young India Office	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Previously acknowledged	...	13,214	14 6
Received during week ending 30-9-24	...	1,396	13 9
Total ..			14,611 12 3

Received at the Navajivan Branch Bombay	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Previously acknowledged	...	8,739	4 0
Received during week ending 28-9-24	...	187	8 0
Total ..			8,876 9 0

Received during Gandhiji's Tour	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Previously acknowledged	...	10,316	12 3

Grand Total .. 79,854 14 5

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Notes on the Agreement

How to Work

In these notes I propose to take up the agreement between the Swaraj party and myself where I have left it in the leading article. If our recommendation is accepted by the forthcoming meeting, it means revolutionising the Congress organisation and turning the members from being merely vote-registering machines once or twice a year into day-to-day workers and contributing materially to the chief national activity. It will make the Congress a huge manufacturing and receiving and distributing depot. The work cannot be organised without method, industry, punctuality, patriotism, self-sacrifice and strictest honesty and the required skill. Though anybody can become a Congress member by paying four annas till the Congress accepts the proposal, if the forthcoming meeting approves of the proposal every province must begin to organise as if the franchise was accepted by the Congress. That is to say, propaganda must be carried on among the existing members advising them of the proposed change and providing them with the necessary facility for learning spinning and procuring the wheel &c. The question will have to be considered as to how the yarn is to be collected and how disposed of. Without any Congress resolution, save the one applicable to members of Congress executives, and by simple exhortation through these columns we have today over seven thousand men and women spinning voluntarily. Their number is on the increase. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that when and if the Congress accepts the franchise proposal we should be able to reach at least one hundred thousand in a few months. Assuming the average output of yarn to be 5 tolas of 20 counts per month per member it would mean 8125 maunds of yarn per month or 12300 dhatis or saris 45 inches in width and 6 yards in length. And when we remember that labour on the material upto spinning is to be free the dhatis must compete with any similar article on the market. If only the nation could concentrate all effort on this one national work, exclusion of foreign cloth can be achieved without the slightest difficulty and by means the most honourable and non-violent.

The Forthcoming Meeting

But all depends on the forthcoming meeting. It is to be a meeting not only of the A. I. C. C. but of representatives of all Provincial committees and Associations. I hope that there will be a generous response on the part of these representatives to Maulana Mahomed Ali's invitation. The joint meeting will have to decide not only the question of healing the breach in the Congress itself but also of inducing other distinguished leaders to join the

Congress. The meeting has also to frame an effective policy in answer to the Bengal repression. Whatever our differences as to the method of reaching our goal, there are no two opinions about the desirability of ending the exercise of arbitrary powers.

There is no freedom for India so long as one man, no matter how highly placed he may be, holds in the hollow of his hands the life, property and honour of millions of human beings. It is an artificial, unnatural and uncivilised institution. The end of it is an essential preliminary to Swaraj.

Our Helplessness

This is apparent. We seem to have lost all power beyond passing resolutions. But if we could all unite on the constructive programme, it will by itself be a step towards regaining self-confidence and power of action. It must be clear to everyone that if Hindus and Mosalmans regain their senses, if Hindus treat untouchables as their brothers and if we have so popularised spinning and khaddar as to be within easy reach of exclusion of foreign cloth, we should not need to do any more to command attention to our will. What is more we should need neither secret societies for the promotion of violence nor open non-violent disobedience. Such a desirable consummation can be effected only by united, determined and ceaseless pursuit of the constructive programme. That, therefore, is my method of effective reply to the volcanic eruption of repression or the chronic and helpless subordination of a whole nation.

Other Things?

Mr. Andrews drew my attention even during my fast to a note in the *Modern Review* expressing surprise at the omission from the constructive programme of the movement for abstinence from intoxicating drinks and drugs. Other friends drew attention much earlier to the omission of reference to national schools. I may inform these friends that the constructive programme that forms part of the agreement contains only those items without which Swaraj appears to me to be an impossibility. Unaided and unaffiliated national schools are there and they must be maintained. They help us to carry the programme through. A drink and drugs reform is silently but surely going on. It can not be given up. One sees no excitement about it because we have done away with picketing as it led to violence. Nor for that matter are we going to give up the idea of promoting private arbitrations. Only, none of these things is absolutely essential for achieving Swaraj in the sense in which the three items included in the agreement are. Nor is there

any difference of opinion among national workers on these as there is on the three items. In mentioning national schools and private arbitration in the same breath as the drink and drugs reform, I do not wish to be understood to give the same value to them. The drink and drugs reform is a problem of the highest national importance. If by any honest means we could be wholly free today from the drink and the opium evils, I should adopt and advise them now. But we have no such heroic remedy. Apart from picketing we are powerless to deal with the evil, root and branch, till we have an effective voice in the government of the country. Happily, bad as the evil is, it is not a national vice. It is confined to a small though unfortunately growing minority. Hence there would be no opposition to liquor or opium prohibition, if we had the power. It is the Government that comes in the way of the nation becoming free from the drink and the drug curse. Not that we shall ever make drinkers sober by legislation. But we can and ought to penalise the drunk and the drug habit and by closing all liquor and opium shops and dens make it as difficult as possible to indulge in it.

Is It Compulsion?

The reader ~~must~~ have read Mr. Stokes' passionate protest against hand-spinning being made compulsory for every Congress member. It is evident to me that his excessive regard for liberty of the individual has disabled him from distinguishing between voluntary acceptance and compulsion. Compulsion means submission of protestants to the thing they oppose under pain of being fined or imprisoned. They cannot escape the obligation or the penalty by remaining outside the corporation of which they find themselves members. But when a man joins a voluntary association such as the Congress he does so willingly and tacitly or explicitly undertakes to obey its rules. These rules generally include submission of the minority to the wishes of the majority. The voluntary nature of every act of every member is clear from the fact that he can secede whenever the majority pass a rule which is in conflict with his conscience. Mr. Stokes' reasoning is subversive of all corporate self-government. Every franchise has some condition attached to it. As a rule there is opposition from some to every form of restrictive franchise. May the opposers consider the restriction carried by the majority compulsory? Obviously not. For if they may, then there can never be any corporate activity.

When the new Congress creed was passed in 1920 there was a minority that opposed it on principle and therefore seceded when it was carried by a majority. Under the old creed many more were kept out because they could not conscientiously subscribe to it. In either case I hold that the majority had a right to pass the rules. Whether in the one case the restriction was wise and in the other relaxation was unwise is a matter of opinion. And so in the matter of the present proposal, to make hand-spinning part of the Congress franchise may be bad policy and may kill the very object that I have in view, but I submit that there is nothing inherently wrong in it, that it is not wrong in principle, that it is an unconscious misuse of language to call it compulsion. On merits I beg to say no misgivings. If hand-spinning is an effective method of making India self-supporting it must be made part of the franchise. It is the best way of expressing national will and determination.

Public Debts

A correspondent writes:

"You may be aware that a resolution, moved by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in the open Congress at Gaya in the year 1922, regarding the repudiation of public debts that might be incurred by the Government of India after 81-12-'22, was passed. It is needless to state that many responsible men in the public life of our country are eager to know your views on the resolution."

I am sorry to have to confess my ignorance of the resolution in question. But now that it has been brought to my notice, I have no hesitation in approving of it. I congratulate both Mr. Rajagopalachari and the Congress, upon the passage of that resolution. We may be, as we are, powerless today, but the world should know what we think of the wasteful and enormous expenditure of India's money. The late Lord Salisbury called it a process of bleeding. I should imagine that any Swaraj scheme would include an impartial inquiry into the commitments of the Government of India or the India Office and an insistence upon a readjustment of the financial transactions of the outgoing Government. I therefore regard the resolution as both necessary and honourable. It may excite ridicule today. But, when we come to our own, we should be able to point with pride to the fact of our having given due notice. For, in spite of all I have said about the limitations of the Congress, who can deny that it is the most representative of the nation? It is for us to make it so representative as to command respect and attention.

A National Loss

Many readers of *Young India* know Sjt. Dalbhadur Giri by name only. Some may not have even heard his name. Yet he was one of the bravest of national workers. As I am writing for *Young India* I have a wire from Kalimpong advising me of the death of this comparatively unknown patriot. I tender my condolence to his family. He was a cultured Gurkha and was doing good work among the Gurkhas in and near Darjeeling. During 1921 in common with the thousands, he was also imprisoned for his non-cooperation activities. He became seriously ill during his imprisonment. He was discharged only a few months ago. He leaves I understand a large family destitute of means of livelihood. An appeal was published on his behalf in the Bengali Press. I hope that the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee will find out all the facts about the late Sjt. Dalbhadur Giri's family and render such aid as may be necessary.

PK. G.

Dr. S. K. Sen and Mahatma Gandhi

I find that in spite of all that I tried to do to prevent any omission of names, Dr. S. K. Sen's invaluable services to Mahatma Gandhi have failed to receive the due recognition which they so truly deserved. He attended upon Mahatmaji with unceasing care in making his daily laboratory analysis. Often late in the night, after his full day's work was over, he would go on with his labour of love. Both Dr. Ansari and Dr. Abdur Rabman spoke of his painstaking and accurate labour to me with unbounded admiration. I should like to supply to the columns of *Young India*, the gap in the records of the Press.

C. P. A.

The Joint Statement

The following is the text of the statement issued in Calcutta on the 6th inst. over the signatures of Mr. Gandhi, Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru:—

Whereas, although Swaraj is the goal of all the parties in India, the country is divided into different groups seemingly working in opposite directions, and whereas such antagonistic activity retards the progress of the nation towards Swaraj, and whereas it is desirable to bring, so far as possible, all such parties within the Congress and on a common platform, and whereas the Congress itself is divided into two opposing sections, resulting in harm to the country's cause, and whereas it is desirable to reunite these parties for the purpose of furthering the common cause, and whereas a policy of repression has been commenced in Bengal by the Local Government with the sanction of the Governor General, and whereas in the opinion of the undersigned this repression is aimed in reality not at any party of violence but at the Swaraj party in Bengal and therefore at constitutional and orderly activity, and whereas therefore it has become a matter of immediate necessity to invite and secure the cooperation of all parties for putting forth the united strength of the nation against the policy of repression, we, the undersigned, strongly recommend the following for adoption by all parties and eventually by the Congress at Belgaum:—

The Congress should suspend the programme of non-cooperation as the national programme, except in so far as it relates to the refusal to use or wear cloth made out of Indigo.

The Congress should further resolve that different classes of work of the Congress may be done, as may be found necessary, by the different sections within the Congress and should resolve that the spread of handspinning, handweaving and all the antecedent progress and the spread of handspun and handwoven khaddar and the promotion of unity between different communities, especially between the Hindus and the Musalmans, and the removal of untouchability by the Hindus from amongst them should be carried on by all sections within the Congress, and the work in connection with the Central and Provincial Legislatures should be carried on by the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organisation and for such work the Swaraj party should make its own rules and raise and administer its own funds. In as much as experience has shown that without universal spinning India cannot become self supporting regarding her clothing requirements, and in as much as hand-spinning is the best and the most tangible method of establishing a visible and substantial bond between the masses and Congressmen and women and in order to popularise handspinning and its products the Congress should repeal Article VII of the Congress Constitution and should substitute the following therefor:—

"No one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or organization who is not of the age of 18 and who does not wear handspun and handwoven khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business; and does not make a contribution of 2000 yards of evenly spun yarn per month of his or her own spinning or in case of illness, unwillingness or any such cause a like quantity of yarn spun by any other person."

An Interview

The following interview on the question of the agreement arrived at between the leaders of the Swaraj party and Mr. Gandhi at Calcutta which a representative of the Associated Press of India, had with Mr. Gandhi on his return to Delhi on the 10th inst. is published:—

Asked as to why if the agreement signed by himself and Messrs. Das and Nehru was intended to be an invitation to Liberals and others to rejoin the Congress, they had not conferred with them before issuing the appeal, Mr. Gandhi replied:

Such a Conference was impossible before the Swarajists and No-changers could agree upon a joint course, because any appeal must be a joint appeal by the two wings of the Congress. As a matter of fact there has been no Conference even with the No-changers. It is true that I met the No-changers of Bengal and discussed the situation with them, as also I met, for instance, Mr. Satyanshud Bose and discussed the matter with him. But I did not even make an endeavour to secure their assent, for the simple reason that I had at my disposal no machinery whereby I could ascertain the wishes of the No-changers as a body and bind them formally. I, therefore, thought it best to give my own individual opinion and place it before the country for what it was worth. You will see that the agreement is a recommendation addressed to all parties within and without the Congress. The time for a Conference is now. The No-changers will express their opinion through the forthcoming All-India Congress Committee. Maulana Mahomed Ali as President of the Congress has invited to the Conference representatives of all parties including the European Association.

The recommendation made by the Swaraj party and myself will be submitted at the meeting for their sympathetic consideration. There is no finality about the agreement except for the Swaraj party and for myself personally. Everybody is free to appeal to our reason, and I am sure that neither the Swaraj party nor I will stand in the way of any other settlement that may bring all the parties together on a common platform and facilitate our progress towards the common goal and supply an effective answer to the Bengal Government's repressive policy on the one hand and satisfy the ambition of the misguided anarchists on the other, and thus wean them from their error. I appeal to all the leaders to accept Maulana Mahomed Ali's invitation and assist and guide the deliberations of the forthcoming Conference at Bombay.

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Manager, *Young India*.

Young India

13-11-24

The Agreement

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I thank God that He gave me strength to surrender to the Swarajists all that it was possible for me to surrender—much more than I or many friends had expected. I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the Swarajists for their accommodation. I know that many do not put the same emphasis that I do on the constructive part of the programme. With many the stiffening of the franchise was the bitterest pill and yet for the sake of unity and for the sake of the country they have yielded. All honour to them for so doing.

The agreement puts Swarajists on a par with the No-changers. It was inevitable if voting and all it means was to be avoided. Non-violence means utmost accommodation compatible with one's principles. Swarajists claim to be a growing body. That they have made an impression on the Government cannot be gainsaid. Opinions may differ as to its value but it is not possible to question the fact itself. They have shown determination, grit, discipline and cohesion and have not feared to carry their policy to the point of defiance. Once assume the desirability of entering Councils and it must be admitted that they have introduced a new spirit into the Indian Legislatures. That their very brilliance takes the nation's mind away from itself is to one like me regrettable, but so long as our ablest men continue to believe in Council entry, we must make the best of the Legislatures. Though an uncompromising No-changer, I must not only tolerate their attitude and work with them, but I must even strengthen them wherever I can.

If they will not decide matters of important differences by means of the vote, the No-changers can carry on Congress work only by mutual consent and forbearance unless not wishing to fight; they will retire from Congress control altogether. It is recognised that neither party can do without the other. Both occupy an important position in the country. The Congress was weakened by the secession of the Liberals and the Besantites. The cleavage was inevitable because they were opposed to non-cooperation on principle. We must avoid further cleavage if it is at all possible. We must not lightly set up as principle mere matters of opinion and engage in pitched battles over them.

If the non-cooperation programme is suspended, as I feel sure it must be, it follows as a natural corollary, that the Swaraj party should have no codium attached to its activity. It is beside the purpose to say or examine what would have happened if the Congressmen had never thought of the Councils. We have to take the situation as it stands today and suit ourselves to it or make it suit us, if that is possible.

Lastly, the Bengal situation demanded that No-changers gave the Swaraj Party the strongest support that it was in their power to give.

'But' said some of the No-changers and others to me, 'how can you subscribe to a document which says that the Government have really attacked the Swaraj Party and not the anarchists? Are you not

enraged to the Government?' This attitude pleased me and flattered me. It pleased me to notice in my questioners a sincere desire to do justice to a government they do not like. It flattered my pride in that my questioners expected from me exact judgment and fullest justice. I confessed to them that I had against the Government the greatest prejudice based on past experience, that the writings in the British and British owned Indian Press had prepared me for an attack on the Swaraj party, that it was the declared policy of the Government to lop off 'tall poppies' and that whilst it was possible that among the arrested there may be some with anarchical tendencies, it was nevertheless a fact, that the vast majority of them were Swarajists and that if it was a fact as the Government contended, that the anarchists were a large party, it was curious that the Government could find in the main only Swarajists to lay their hands upon. I told them further that if there was an extensive and active anarchical organisation, the fiercest spirits were likely to be outside the Swaraj party rather than inside it, that no arms, it is said, were found by the police during their night search. Nothing that my questioners told me in reply shocked my belief and I am inclined to think that if I did not bring my questioners round to my belief, I at least convinced them that I had good grounds for my opinion and that the burden lay upon the Government to show that they had no designs upon the Swaraj Party in Bengal.

But the proposed suspension does not affect the individual non-cooperators. They are not only entitled to hold to their views but would be very little worth if they gave up their personal non-cooperation. For instance, suspension of the non-cooperation programme cannot mean for me recall of my medals or resumption of practice or sending my children to Government schools. Thus whilst suspension will leave a convinced non-cooperator free to retain his non-cooperation, for those who took up non-cooperation only as a policy and in obedience to the Congress call, it makes it open if they like, to recall their non-cooperation without the slightest stigma attaching to their so doing. Further, if suspension is agreed upon it is not open to any Congressman as such to preach non-cooperation as part of the Congress policy or programme. On the other hand it is open to him if he so chooses to dissuade people from taking up non-cooperation during the period of suspension.

Then there is the spinning franchise. I wanted much more khaddar on all occasions and spinning 2000 yards per month by all Congressmen except in case of illness or like disability. This has been watered down to wearing khaddar on political occasions and Congress business and spinning by deputy even for unwillingness. But here again it was not possible for me to insist upto the breaking point. In the first place the Maharashtra party had constitutional difficulty in agreeing to spinning or wearing khaddar being part of the franchise at all, and in the second place the Swaraj party as a body does not attach the same importance either to the wearing of khaddar or to bandspinning. It does not consider them to be indispensables as I do either for the attainment of Swaraj or for the exclusion of foreign cloth. It was, therefore, from their standpoint a tremendous concession to their agreeing to make khaddar and bandspinning part of the franchise even in the modified form. I, therefore, gratefully acknowledge the concession they have made for the sake of unity. Let those who are

disposed to grumble at the modification remember that it is a great advance to rise from the nominal four anna franchise to a tangible and effective franchise that requires every Congressman to testify his belief in the desirability of making India self-supporting so far as her clothing requirements are concerned and that too by reviving the old Indian industry of handspinning and thus distributing wealth where it is most needed.

It has been urged that everybody will take advantage of the relaxation and the idea of spinning as sacrifice will break down and that the wearing of khaddar will be confined only to political occasions and Congress business. I should be sorry if such an untoward result were to follow the modification. Those who fear such disaster seem to forget that spinning by every Congressman was as yet a mere idea of one man. He has now resigned himself to a modification of his proposal. Surely, therefore, the embodiment in the franchise of the idea even in a modified form is a distinct gain and must increase the number of wearers of khaddar and voluntary spinners.

Moreover it must be remembered that it is one thing to embody reforms in recommendatory or even obligatory Resolutions; it is totally another thing to make them part of franchise. Any test for franchise should have no vagueness about it and should be easily capable of being carried out. For, inability to carry it out means disfranchisement. The wearing of khaddar on all occasions and for all purposes may not be possible even for the best of us.

In practice, however it will be found that the vast majority of us who can ill afford a variety of costumes will find it necessary to wear khaddar on all occasions, if we have to wear it on all Congress occasions. For an ardent Congressman every occasion is a Congress occasion and he and she would be an indifferent Congressman or Congresswoman who has no Congress work during consecutive twenty-four hours. We should have on our roll thousands of veterans or original members. They cannot have many uniforms nor can they have money to buy yarn spun by others. They must spin themselves and thus give at least half an hour's labour to the nation. And a Congress volunteer who does not spin himself will be hard put to it to convince the candidates for Congress membership of the necessity of spinning. Everything must, therefore, rest on an honest and loyal working of the proposal.

The agreement is what it professes to be—a strong recommendation. I have signed it in my individual capacity. Deshbhanda Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru have signed it for the Swaraj Party. It, therefore, is a recommendation by the Swaraj Party and myself to all Congressmen and others for consideration and adoption. I want it to be considered on merits. I would urge everyone to eliminate me from consideration. Unless the recommendation is accepted on merits it will be difficult either to achieve the political unity we want and should have or to secure the exclusion of foreign cloth which we must have and which is possible only by universal spinning and universal use of khaddar. If the proposal to suspend non-cooperation or to give the Swaraj Party adequate hearty recognition in the Congress or to make the wearing of khaddar and handspinning, whether personally or by deputy, part of the franchise do not commend themselves to the Congressmen and the others who are invited they should reject them and unhesitatingly press their own solution in the attention of the nation. Deeply cherished convictions cannot and must not be set aside from any consideration whatsoever.

Untouchability & Hindu-Muslim Problem

(By C. F. Andrews)

The more carefully and thoroughly I have studied the subject, the more convinced am I, that there is no possible solution for the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity, unless the whole question of 'untouchability' is taken in hand side by side with it.

Historically, there is positive and direct proof, that the evil treatment of those, who were made 'untouchables,' led to the downfall of the Hindu population. It formed a fatal weakness in the body politic, which, like a festering sore, increased all the other weaknesses at the same time. There could be no possible Hindu unity and strength, when millions of people were treated as worse than serfs and left outside the social life of the community altogether. This weakness made the Mosalman conquest from the North inevitable. But it did more than this. Sometimes, the conquest of one people by another, when they are very nearly of equal strength, leads to the settling down of the two races afterwards on practically equal terms. This was what happened between the Saxons and the Normans in English History. But in India, the fatal disease within the body of Hinduism, owing to the creed of 'untouchability,' made it exceedingly vulnerable and enfeebled. It could not recover strength. The centuries following the Muslim Invasion represent the Dark Ages in Indian History, corresponding with the Dark Ages in Europe.

Secondly, the presence of millions of 'untouchables,' banished from the fold of Hinduism, made it certain that they would very rapidly be absorbed by Islam and become its main supporters in India. Looking to the facts of history, there can be little doubt that vast numbers of those, who have been for many generations faithful Mosalmans, were originally Hindus. This is specially noticeable in East and North Bengal. Islam afforded them a true brotherhood of believers, which they could not find in Hinduism.

Thirdly, Hinduism today is standing politically on the defensive, fearing all the while that the numbers of Mosalmans may increase, while its own numbers decrease. This fear is one of the potent causes of Hindu-Muslim tension. Yet it is as clear as possible that the whole question of number depends upon the question of the removal or retention of 'untouchability'; for if the 'untouchables,' who number nearly 60 millions, remain excluded for all practical purposes, from sharing the benefits of the Hindu religion, then in the course of a few generations they will become lost to Hinduism altogether. The rising temper among them is one of revolt.

Furthermore, the immediate cause of Hindu-Muslim tension, in the present instance has been the fact that the 'untouchables' were being made a bone of contention between Hinduism and Islam. On the one hand, there were efforts made to bring back 'untouchables,' who had become Mosalmans into the fold of reformed Hinduism. On the other hand, there was an increasing effort to bring those who were outside the fold of Hinduism, but still regarded nominally as Hindus, into the Islamic community. The mutual rivalries of these two proselytising bodies began the tension between Hindus and Mosalmans in Northern India. Other factors were added later, but it was the 'untouchable' problem which caused the first outbreak of rivalry and jealousy leading to riot and bloodshed.

Last of all, it is surely self-evident, that if the whole of the untouchable community were brought into a full and living relationship with caste Hindus, welcomed as brethren sharing the same faith, the Hindu position in India would be far stronger today than it is under present conditions. It would be morally stronger, and as such would be able to get generously in coming to terms with Islam.

I have been chiefly dealing with the historical and practical issues, but the argument which goes deepest of all and is fundamental, is the humanitarian principle, which is common to all religions. No man on this earth has a right to treat his brother, whom God has made, as if he were unworthy even to be touched. Apart from all the practical questions involved, the spiritual revival of India as a Nation will only come, when, from one end of the land to the other, the whole country takes up the cause of those who are so sorely and cruelly oppressed.

Calcutta's Response

(By C. F. Andrews)

It was my good fortune to be present in Calcutta during Mahatma Gandhi's short visit to that city. The atmosphere was electrical. The attendance at public meetings was unusually large, and there was even great danger of accidents. Howrah responded with equal enthusiasm. The labourers in their countless numbers surged eagerly round Mahatmaji whom they regarded as their personal friend.

I was not personally present at the Corporation address, but I had the privilege of witnessing scenes of purest devotion at Mr. Daw's house, where Mahatmaji stayed. All day long there were crowds of simple, poor people, just as at Delhi, anxious to snatch only a moment's *Darshan*. These manifestations of simple love did not fail to deeply impress everyone who had the rare privilege of witnessing them.

In his reply to the corporation address Mahatma Gandhi went straight to the main issue, avoiding the usual unnecessary compliments. The city of Calcutta popularly called the city of palaces, he remarked, was nevertheless a city of slums. The slums revealed a sad state of affairs calling for immediate and proper attention on the part of the Corporation. As was to be expected, Mahatmaji did not omit to refer to the worst scandal connected with Calcutta, namely, the inhuman treatment of dairy cows. Milk is extracted by a peculiarly hideous form of cruelty involving horrible torture. The cows which are quickly incapacitated by this cruel process of drawing out the very last drop of milk are then sent to the slaughter house. The primary responsibility of the Corporation, Mahatmaji said, was to secure pure water, air milk and meat, and free education in the city. Mahatmaji next condemned in scathing terms the Bengal arrests, saying that his antagonism to anarchist activities was wellknown, but that he equally detested the extraordinary measures adopted by the Bengal Government. He described in deeply moving terms the high character and integrity of Subash Chandra Bose. It was incredible that a civilised Government should summarily arrest and detain without trial such a noted person.

In the midst of all the overpowering emotion and enthusiasm at Calcutta I did not fail to notice the extreme weakness and mental fatigue of the Mahatma. He was tired beyond words. I urgently feel after what I saw that it is absolutely necessary to sound a note of warning to

the public. A limit must be placed to the claims on Mahatmaji's energies. The Doctors in Delhi had given us the strictest warning. The strain at the present moment is unquestionably excessive. Between now and the Congress some interval for quiet thought and meditation is imperatively needed. And there could be no better place for this purpose than the Sabarmati Ashram.

Further Yarn Particulars

The following further report on the September yarn returns is issued by the Technical Department of the A. I. K. B.:

Andhra—There has been inexplicable delay in the despatch of yarn parcels. The final figures of the Province are therefore still not available.

The figures as they stand now are 1589 contributions in all of which 620 are 'below quota.'

The extraordinary contribution from Shrimati Kamalamani Guru turns out on examination to be much less in length and counts than previously announced. The actual result is 180 yards and 285 counts. The error in the previous report is due to want of accurate testing instruments at the Provincial headquarters.

Assam—The final total has risen, from 97 announced previously, to 238.

Bengal—All Parcels received in time. This province has proved to excel all the rest in the quality of yarn and accuracy of detail.

Delhi—By a curious accident yarn received at Provincial headquarters was not forwarded to us till very late. This accounts for the injustice done to Delhi in the previous report, which is regretted. The total number of contributors is 19. Two cousins of Mr. Asaf Ali, Secretary P. C. C. top the list:

Bibi Kishwar Saitar, 26000 Yds. 30 counts. (spun in the same month)

Bibi Kaiser Saitar, 72450 Yds. 15 counts (Spun in four months.)

Gujarat—The addition of one more contribution received direct brings the total to 1700.

U. P.—Hardly any particulars supplied. No progress.

The grand total now comes to 7741 for the month of September. The figures for the first month i. e. July was 2780 and the second month 6301.

When labelling yarn packets spinners are requested to add two more items to the usual particulars, namely, the name of the month for which the contribution is made and the average speed per hour of the spinner. The latter item would greatly help in determining the progress of spinning in the country. In matters such as these the example of the Gujarat Khanda Bhandar authorities is commended to the other provinces for adoption. The practice is to send printed post cards to each spinner in acknowledgement of yarn received. In the card the spinner is reminded of his register number and given in one sentence expert opinion on the quality of his yarn. One half of the post card is in the form a coupon which he is required to send with his next contribution of yarn after noting necessary particulars into it. On the reverse of the card are printed permanent instructions for the guidance of each individual spinner. These post cards are mostly distributed through private agency and the cost in Gujarat of acknowledging individual yarn returns does not come to over three rupees!

A Morning With Gandhiji

(By Mahadev Desai)

Among those who visited Dilkhush, during the weeks of penance and prayer, there was a young student from Santiniketan, named Ramachandran. He is one of the pupils of Mr. Andrews and he had no difficulty in persuading his teacher to permit him to stay at Delhi for some time. On the evening when Mr. Andrews left Delhi, he took Ramachandran upstairs and said to Gandhiji, 'I have not even introduced Ramachandran as yet to you. But he has been here all the while with us, helping us. He wants to ask you some questions and I shall be so glad if you could have a talk with him before he leaves tomorrow to go back to Santiniketan.' The 'tomorrow' was a silent Monday, and so Ramachandran stayed a day more. On Tuesday morning he had to take his train for Calcutta. Exactly at half past five, after the morning prayer, he was summoned. He had set down his questions,—the doubts and difficulties that tormented him. Yet he could not altogether trust himself at first to be able to ask all that he wanted to. But ultimately he mustered sufficient courage, and he found to his utter surprise that in a moment Bapu's gentle inquiries about him, his place, his studies, had left no room for hesitation or nervousness. It is impossible to reproduce all the conversation that Ramachandran was privileged to have that morning with Gandhiji. I can but present the barest summary.

'How is it,' proceeded Ramachandran, 'that many intelligent and eminent men, who love and admire you, hold that you consciously or unconsciously have ruled out of the scheme of national regeneration all considerations of Art?' 'I am sorry' replied Gandhiji, 'that in this matter I have been generally misunderstood. There are two aspects of things,—the outward and the inward. It is purely a matter of emphasis with me. The outward has no meaning except in so far as it helps the inward. All true Art is thus the expression of the soul. The outward forms have value only in so far as they are the expression of the inner spirit of man.'

Ramachandran hesitatingly suggested: 'The great artists themselves have declared, that Art is the translation of the urge and unrest in the soul of the artist into words, colours, shapes etc.' 'Yes' said Gandhiji, 'Art of that nature has the greatest possible appeal for me. But I know that many call themselves as artists, and are recognised as such, and yet in their works there is absolutely no trace of the soul's upward urge and unrest.'

'Have you any instance in mind?' 'Yes,' said Gandhiji, 'take Oscar Wilde. I can speak of him, as I was in England at the time that he was being much discussed and talked about.'

'I have been told', put in Ramachandran, 'that Oscar Wilde was one of the greatest literary artists of modern times.'

'Yes, that is just my trouble. Wilde saw the highest Art simply in outward forms and therefore succeeded in beautifying immorality. All true Art must help the soul to realise its inner self. In my own case, I find that I can do entirely without external forms in my soul's realisation. I can claim, therefore, that there is truly sufficient Art in my life, though you might not see what you call works of Art about me. My room may have

blank walls; and I may even dispense with the roof, so that I may gaze out upon the starry heavens overhead that stretch in an unending expanse of beauty. What conscious Art of man can give me the panoramic scenes that open out before me, when I look up to the sky, above with all its shining stars? This, however, does not mean that I refuse to accept the value of productions of Art, generally accepted as such, but only that I personally feel how inadequate these are compared with the eternal symbols of beauty in Nature. These productions of man's Art have their value only so far as they help the soul onward towards self-realisation.'

'But the artists claim to see and to find Truth through outward beauty' said Ramachandran. 'Is it possible to see and find Truth in that way?'

'I would reverse the order,' Gandhiji immediately answered, 'I see and find beauty in Truth or through Truth. All Truths, not merely true ideas, but truthful faces, truthful pictures, or songs, are highly beautiful. People generally fail to see Beauty in Truth, the ordinary man runs away from it and becomes blind to the beauty in it. Whenever men begin to see Beauty in Truth, then true Art will arise.'

Ramachandran then asked, 'But cannot Beauty be separated from Truth, and Truth from Beauty?'

'I should want to know exactly what is Beauty' Gandhiji replied. 'If it is what people generally understand by that word, then they are wide apart. Is a woman with fair features necessarily beautiful?' 'Yes' replied Ramachandran without thinking.

'Even' asked Bapu, continuing his question, 'if she may be of an ugly character?'

Ramachandran hesitated. Then he said, 'But her face in that case cannot be beautiful. It will always be the index of the soul within. The true artist with the genius of perception will produce the right expression.'

'But here you are begging the whole question,' Gandhiji replied, 'You now admit that mere outward forms may not make a thing beautiful. To a true artist only that face is beautiful which, quite apart from its exterior, shines with the Truth within the soul. There is then, as I have said, no Beauty apart from Truth. On the other hand, Truth may manifest itself in forms which may not be outwardly beautiful at all. Socrates, we are told, was the most truthful man of his time and yet his features are said to have been the ugliest in Greece. To my mind he was beautiful, because all his life was a striving after Truth, and you may remember that his outward form did not prevent Phidias from appreciating the beauty of Truth in him, though as an artist he was accustomed to see Beauty in outward forms also!'

'But Bapuji', said Ramachandran eagerly, 'the most beautiful things have often been created by men whose own lives were not beautiful.'

'That' said Gandhiji, 'only means that Truth and Untruth often co-exist; good and evil are often found together. In an artist also not seldom the right perception of things and the wrong co-exist. Truly beautiful creations come when right perception is at work. If these moments are rare in life they are also rare in Art'.

All this set Ramachandran thinking hard. 'If only truthful or good things can be beautiful, how can things without a moral quality be beautiful?' he said, half to

himself and half aloud. Then he asked the question, 'Is there truth, Bapuji, in things that are neither moral nor immoral in themselves? For instance, 'Is there truth in a sun-set or a crescent moon that shines amid the stars at night?'

'Indeed', replied Gandhiji, 'these beauties are truthful, in as much as they make me think of the Creator at the back of them. How also could these be beautiful, but for the Truth that is in the centre of creation? When I admire the wonder of a sunset or the beauty of the moon my soul expands in worship of the Creator. I try to see Him and His mercies in all these creations. But even the sunsets and sunrises would be mere hindrances, if they did not help me to think of Him. Anything, which is a hindrance to the flight of the soul, is a delusion and a snare; even, like the body, which often does hinder you in the path of salvation.'

'I am grateful', exclaimed Ramachandran, 'to hear your views on Art, and I understand and accept them. Would it not be well for you to set them down for the benefit of the younger generation in order to guide them aright?'

'That' replied Gandhiji with a smile, 'I could never dream of doing, for the simple reason that it would be an impertinence on my part to hold forth on Art. I am not an art student, though these are my fundamental convictions. I do not speak or write about it, because I am conscious of my own limitations. That consciousness is my only strength. Whatever I might have been able to do in my life has proceeded more than anything else out of the realisation of my own limitations. My functions are different from the artist's and I should not go out of my way to assume his position.'

Ramachandran now turned to the next question. 'Are you against all machinery, Bapuji?'

'How can I be', he answered, smiling at Ramachandran's naive question, 'when I know that even this body is a most delicate piece of machinery? The spinning wheel itself is a machine; a little tooth-pick is a machine. What I object to, is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. The craze is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour,' till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind, but for all. I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few, but in the hands of all. Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. It is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might.'

"Then, Bapuji," said Ramachandran with eagerness, "you are fighting not against machinery as such, but against its abuses which are so much in evidence to day?"

"I would unhesitatingly say 'yes'; but I would add that scientific truths and discoveries should first of all cease to be the mere instruments of greed. The labourers will not be over-worked and machinery instead of becoming a hindrance will be a help. I am aiming, not at eradication of all machinery, but limitation."

Ramachandran said, 'When logically argued out, that would seem to imply that all complicated power-driven machinery should go.'

"It might have to go" admitted Gandhiji, 'but I must

make one thing clear. The supreme consideration is man. The machine should not tend to make atrophied the limbs of man. For instance, I would make intelligent exceptions. Take the case of the Singer Sewing Machine. It is one of the few useful things ever invented, and there is a romance about the device itself. Singer saw his wife labouring over the tedious process of sewing and seaming with her own hands, and simply out of his love for her he devised the sewing machine, in order to save her from unnecessary labour. He, however, saved not only her labour but also the labour of everyone who could purchase a sewing machine.'

'But, in that case,' said Ramachandran 'there would have to be a factory for making these Singer Sewing Machines, and it would have to contain power-driven machinery of ordinary type.'

'Yes' said Bapu smiling at Ramachandran's eager opposition. 'But I am socialist enough to say that such factories should be nationalised, or State-controlled. They ought only to be working under the most attractive and ideal conditions, not for profit, but for the benefit of humanity, love taking the place of greed as the motive. It is an alteration in the conditions of labour that I want. This mad rush for wealth must cease, and the labourer must be assured, not only of a living wage, but a daily task that is not a mere drudgery. The machine will, under these conditions, be as much a help to the man working it as to the State, or the man who owns it. The present mad rush will cease, and the labourer will work (as I have said) under attractive and ideal conditions. This is but one of the exceptions I have in mind. The sewing machine had love at its back. The individual is the one supreme consideration. The saving of labour of the individual should be the object, and honest humanitarian considerations, and not greed, the motive. Thus, for instance, I would welcome any day a machine to straighten crooked spindles. Not that blacksmiths will cease to make spindles; they will continue to provide the spindles; but when the spindle gets wrong every spinner will have a machine of his own to get it straight. Therefore, replace greed by love and everything will come right.'

Ramachandran was evidently not satisfied with this. He had understood Gandhiji to be against all machinery and he had felt that this was right too. So he wanted to go to the root of the matter. But it was getting late and he had many more questions to ask. 'Don't mind losing your train', said Gandhiji, smiling. 'I am prepared to satisfy you. You may ask any questions you like this morning, and it won't tire me now in the least'.

The young friend had by no means exhausted his list of questions. The assurance from Gandhiji that he would give him full liberty that morning put him entirely at ease and gathering courage once more he proceeded with the next question which dealt with the institution of marriage.

(To be continued)

South India Flood Relief

Rs. As. Ps.

Total previously acknowledged

... 92,876-13-9

Received during the week

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My Punjab Diary

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Not by Choice

It was not by choice but by necessity that I undertook to preside at the Punjab Provincial Conference. The Punjabis wanted an outsider to preside and if at all possible Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The Maulana Sahib however was unwilling. He said he would gladly attend but thought he would be more useful if he remained free. The Maulana's position was appreciated. Pandit Motilalji was then approached. He was good enough to say he would preside, if he was not prevented by any untoward event, and if Pandit Motilalji was prevented from presiding I was to fill in his place. Unfortunately the unexpected happened and Pandit Motilalji could not come. As the reasons given by him are of public importance, I set them forth in his own language.

'Let it up'

In his letter to Lalaji he says:—

"There has been serious misapprehension about my acceptance of the Presidentship of the Punjab Provincial Conference. Mahatmaji and I had agreed in Bombay that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the most suitable president, but that in case he could not be made to agree I was to take his place. I received news of the serious illness of my daughter-in-law and had to leave abruptly with an expert obstetrician. The Maulana Sahib came out of the meeting hall with me and I told him distinctly that my Punjab and Nagpur engagements were off and that he must preside at the Punjab Conference and fix some other date for Nagpur. I came away under the impression that he would consult Mahatmaji and fix upon some one else to preside if he himself was unwilling to do so. On arrival here we passed a most anxious day trying to save the new born baby, but the poor mite passed away. The daughter-in-law's condition was fairly good, but not entirely satisfactory as she had a temperature. In the course of these worries I got news from Calcutta of impending developments and was asked to be ready to leave at a moment's notice.

"As soon as Jawahar's wife was pronounced to be out of danger, I turned my attention to the communal situation in Allahabad and made up my mind to do what I could while waiting in Allahabad under orders from Calcutta. I found the situation to be as bad as it could be and was almost bombarded from

all sides with bitter complaints at my continued absence from my own city and province. I assured them that I would give ample compensation by working for them for a whole fortnight.

"I set about immediately to make good this assurance. During my previous flying visits I had been thoroughly disgusted with the so-called leading Hindus and Mussulmans and decided to work on this occasion from the bottom instead of at the top. I took up my old idea of organising a Hindu-Muslim Sangathan and giving it a start from Allahabad. The first step taken was to approach the University professors and students. We have a University Union here with a branch for social service. Both have a fairly large membership. At the meeting with the Professors it was decided to take steps to use the Social Service Branch as a nucleus for the Hindu-Muslim Sangathan. Accordingly two M. A. students, one Hindu and the other a Mussulman, both of proved impartiality in communal matters, are now engaged in registering members of the Sangathan from among the student class. Side by side with this every Muhallah is being similarly organised. From tomorrow I am to visit the Muhallahs personally and also speak to batches of students, who have been invited to Anand Bhawan at certain hours. After this preliminary work is done, I shall speak to the students generally and also address one or two public meetings. Time permitting I shall visit Lucknow and take similar steps there.

"You will see that the above programme includes solid work and wholly eliminates the showy part, which unfortunately has come to be the only part of our public work in these days. To tell you the honest truth I am completely fed up with Conferences which are passing shows of the moment and invariably result in nothing substantial. The Nagpur disputes are ripe for decision and letters received from Nagpur show urgent necessity for the arbitrators (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and myself) meeting and deciding the dispute before the Belgaum Congress. I have sent two wires to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad at Calcutta proposing the 15th but have received no reply from him.

"I have written at this length to you to give you an accurate idea of the work I have laid out for myself and I hope you will agree that a visit to the Punjab at this juncture would not be as profitable."

I share to the fullest extent Panditji's horror of conferences. Not that they are always useless. They were absolutely necessary at a certain stage in our career. But they have in their present form almost outgrown their usefulness. Even when they do no other harm, they mean waste of money and time. The public spirit awakened by them needs to be consolidated into efficient work which can best be done by small committees. These latter to be useful must be harmonious and ever responsive to and by their solidly active work in touch with the general public. Abandonment of conferences should never be due to public apathy, but it should be because the public is more usefully engaged. For instance it would be folly to call people who are engaged in khaddar production to pass resolutions on subjects on which the public is known to be in agreement. It would be equally unwise to call away those who are, say, engaged in organising relief in famine-stricken areas. Panditji himself was more usefully employed in organising peace brigades in Allahabad. And if he succeeds in forming genuine Hindu-Muslim Sangathans, he will have done service of a first class order to the country. His decision to work from the bottom, instead of through middlemen, must result in nothing but better relations between Hindu and Musalman masses.

My Real Business

The Conference was an incidental business for me. My real work lay among representative Hindus and Musalmans. I had therefore no hesitation in appealing to the audience at the Khilafat Conference at Amritsar to suspend its sitting for the morning following till the afternoon of that day to enable the leaders there present to attend the informal meeting of representatives on the morning of the 8th. To my great joy the whole audience adopted my suggestion for the waiting. And Maulana Zafarali Khan, the President, Dr. Kitchlew and others with much inconvenience to themselves came to Lahore for the meeting.

The Result

It is hardly necessary for me to inform the reader that the meeting was arranged for the sole purpose of considering the ways and means of easing the tension between Hindus and Musalmans and of establishing real peace between the two communities. Among Musalman outsiders, Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan, the Ali Brothers and Dr. Ansari were present, and among Hindu outsiders Panditji Madan Mohan Malaviya was present. The discussion centred in the political causes of the tension. For they seemed to be the predominant if not the only causes of tension between the educated classes in the Punjab. Lalaji told me with great sorrow that whereas formerly there were cordial social relations between educated Musalmans and educated Hindus, now there was growing estrangement. The meeting therefore discussed the advisability of revising the Lucknow Pact. The Punjab Musalmans hold that we have outgrown the Lucknow Pact, if it was not a blunder in the very inception. They claim that whilst the communal feelings run high and mutual distrust exists,-

1. There should be communal representation on a population basis at least under a common electorate or separate if necessary.

There seemed to me to be general agreement among

them that separate electorate should be resorted to only at the instance of minorities.

2. There should be no favoured treatment to any sect i. e. no sect should be represented above its numerical proportion.

3. The same formula should be applied to local bodies as to the legislative.

4. On all public services the different communities should be proportionately represented with due regard to efficiency. Wherever therefore any community is unrepresented, all future appointments, whether new or to fill up vacancies, should be so made as to regularise the proportionate representation. In other words there should be no class favouritism or class preference.

The Musalman friends present made it clear that they merely gave their individual opinions. They did not bind anybody but themselves and their opinion was subject to revision if any other community claimed special or favoured treatment.

5. Any solution must be an all India solution and must be by the consent of all India.

The Sikh friends contended that their special position and importance in the Punjab required special treatment i.e. excessive representation if there was any communal representation at all in the Punjab. They said that they would be quite satisfied if communal representation was entirely given up and even if not one Sikh found place in the Legislature or elsewhere.

The Hindu position seemed to be that there should be no communal representation at all, but that if there was to be any it should be under a joint electorate. The Hindu position was not crystallised. The Punjabi Hindus seemed to dread, at the back of the Musalman demand, a sinister design on the part of the Musalmans. In fact there is a vague fear in their minds that if the Musalmans gain a decisive majority in the administration of the Punjab, the proximity of the warlike Musalman tribes would constitute a most formidable menace to the Punjab in particular and to India in general.

Such is, as briefly and as accurately as is possible for me to put, the real position of the respective communities. In these circumstances, it was not possible to press the advance to an immediate solution. I am hoping that at Belgaum there would be a more formal gathering of representatives to consider the whole position and to find an acceptable and national solution of the thorny problem.

The Conference

There was nothing notable about the Conference save the fact that the delegates both at the Subjects Committee and at the Conference gave me the utmost assistance. Even those who disagreed with me extended the greatest forbearance. I single out this fact, because obedience to the authority of the chair is such an essential factor in the growth of a healthy public life. The greatest caution should no doubt be exercised in the choice of a chairman, but when one has been selected he must command implicit courtesy and obedience. The only way to deal with a refractory vacillating or partial chairman is to move, with becoming respect, a vote of no confidence and remove him from the chair. In well ordered society the honour is not to the

person but to the position. The fundamental distinction between personal rule and organised State is that in the latter the honour is rendered to the position which is a creation of the State i. e. the people; and thus the State goes on, no matter who is called to rule or preside. To put it in other words, every person in a well ordered State is fully conscious of both his responsibility and of his rights. The stability of a State depends upon the readiness of every citizen to subordinate his rights to those of the rest. He knows that the rights follow as a matter of course the performance of duty. The State is the sum-total of the sacrifice on its behalf of its members. But whilst I place on record my gratitude to the delegates for their courtesy and attention, I would like to mention that there is still at our meetings an unconscious lack of self-restraint. It is indispensable for meetings, public or private, that those who attend them do not all talk at once nor whisper to one another, but that they listen to what is being said. The whole value of meetings is lost if people are not attentive. The reader will recognise the seasonableness as well as the selfishness of these remarks. I want to prepare the ground for Belgaum. All those who attend the Congress and conferences at Belgaum, please note.

The Conference went through its work in seven hours on Sunday the 7th instant, 8 to 11 in the morning, and 4 to 8 in the evening. The Subjects Committee took six hours. The work was done expeditiously, because no time was lost waiting for anybody. The proceedings were started punctually at the appointed times so far as the Conference was concerned.

The Convocation

The previous day, i. e., the 6th was devoted to the meeting of the representatives, the inevitable but taxing procession, and the Convocation of the National University. Degrees were conferred upon the successful students, who recited the following oath in Hindusthani, which was administered by Lala Lajpat Rai in his capacity as Chancellor. 'I solemnly declare that I shall do nothing in my lifetime that would injure my religion or country.' Among the students who received their degrees was one girl and one Musalman. The ceremony was impressive, but I could not help feeling all the while I was awarding the diplomas that I was a square man in a round hole. My notions of education are so revolutionary and as must appear to my critics so crude. I can only think of national education in terms of Swaraj. Hence I would have given the collegiates devote their attention to perfecting themselves in the art of spinning and all it means. I would have them study the economics and implications of khaddar. They should know how long it takes to establish a mill and the capital required. They should know too the limitations on the possibility of an indefinite expansion of mills. They should know too the method of distribution of wealth through mills and that through hand spinning and hand weaving. They should know how hand spinning and the manufacture of Indian fabrics was destroyed. They should understand and be able to demonstrate the effect of the adoption of hand spinning in the cottages of the millions of India's peasants. They should know how a full revival of this cottage industry will weave into an undivided whole the sundered Hindu and Musalman hearts. But these ideas are either behind the time or in

advance of it. It does not much matter whether they are behind or ahead of the time. This I know that some day or other the whole of educated India will adopt them.

A Martial Law Prisoner

The reader will recall the names of Messrs. Ratanchand and Bugga Chaudhry, the two martial law prisoners who were sentenced to be hanged and on whose behalf Pandit Motilalji took an appeal to the Privy Council. The reader will remember further that though the appeal was dismissed, the death sentences were commuted to life sentences. Now Mr. Bugga Chaudhry has been brought back from the Andamans to the Multan gaol whereas Mr. Ratanchand, I understand, is still kept in the Andamans. I had a visit from Mr. Bugga's mother-in-law. She informed me that Mr. Bugga has been long suffering from hernia and piles and for the last three months has been suffering from fever. During the palmy days of non-cooperation, I used to tell the relatives of these prisoners that they would be soon released. I felt sorry this time not to be able to hold out any hope to the mother-in-law of the early release of her son-in-law although he is ailing and has already served five years of imprisonment. In analysing the evidence given at the trial of these two gentlemen, I had expressed my conviction that there was nothing in it warranting conviction for murder. The Privy Council, it will be remembered, did not go into the merits of the cases. Their lordships drew out the appeal on what may be called technical grounds.

A Warning

During the next few months every householder will have his choice. By refusing or neglecting to stock cotton for domestic use, he will indirectly and in many cases directly be a party to sending away most of the cotton grown in India out of the country and selling some of it to the mills. Or by stocking sufficient cotton he can promote hand-spinning and bring Swaraj nearer to the extent of each householder's solid work for hand-spinning. This choice comes every year to everyone in India and that during the cotton season. Congressmen can do double work. They may instruct every householder in the performance of the primary duty of stocking enough cotton. And seeing that all the house-holders are not yet alive to their duty, they may also stock sufficient cotton for the sake of the defaulters. This can be done either by begging or by buying. We have had many *Mohila* funds more or less successful. There is no reason why in all cotton-growing areas cotton should not be begged from door to door. Wherever such corporate collection is made, the collection should be treated exactly in the same way as we would treat cash collection. Receipts should be passed to donors and books of account should be kept. Stocking should be thoroughly effective. Special skill will be needed for classifying and conserving cotton. Now is the time for storing cotton or it may be never till the return of the next season.

M. K. O.

South India Flood Relief	Rs. As. Ps.
Total previously acknowledged	97,599-6-7
Received since 4-12-24	375-2-0
Grand Total	97,974-8-7

Young India

11-12-24

My Path

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is my good fortune and misfortune to receive attention in Europe and America at the present moment. It is my good fortune in that my message is being studied and understood in the West. It is my misfortune in that it is also being either unconsciously exaggerated or wilfully distorted. Every truth is self-acting and possesses inherent strength. I therefore remain unperturbed even when I find myself grossly misrepresented. A kind European friend has sent me a warning which shows, if the information given to him be true, that I am being either wilfully or accidentally misunderstood in Russia. Here is the message:

"The Russian representative at Berlin, Krestinsky, would be asked by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to give an official welcome Gandhi (?) and to 'profit by the situation to undertake Bolshevik propagandist activities among his followers.' Besides, Krestinsky would be given the task of inviting Gandhi to come to Russia. He is authorised to give a subsidy for the publication of propagandist literature among the oppressed peoples of Asia; and he is to found, for the purposes of the Oriental Club and Secretariat, a purse in the name of Gandhi, for students who are of his ideas (of the ideas of Gandhi or of those of Moscow?). Finally three Hindus would be enlisted in this work. All this is published in the Russian newspapers like the *Reut* of Oct. 18th."

The message gives the clue to the reports that I was likely to be invited to visit Germany and Russia. I need not say that I have received no such invitation at all, nor have I the slightest desire to visit these great countries. I am conscious of the fact that the truth for which I stand has not yet been fully accepted by India. It has not yet been fully vindicated. My work in India is still in the experimental stage. In such circumstances any foreign adventure on my part would be altogether premature. I should be fully satisfied if the experiment demonstrably succeeds in India.

My path is clear. Any attempt to use me for violent purposes is bound to fail. I have no secret methods. I know no diplomacy save that of truth. I have no weapon but non-violence. I may be unconsciously led astray for a while but not for all time. I have therefore well-defined limitations, within which alone I may be used. Attempts have been made before now to use me unlawfully more than once. They have failed each time so far as I am aware.

I am yet ignorant of what exactly Bolshevism is. I have not been able to study it. I do not know whether it is for the good of Russia in the long run. But I do know that in so far as it is based on violence and denial of God, it repels me. I do not believe in short-violent-ents to success. Those Bolshevik friends who are bestowing their attention on me should realise that however much I may sympathise with and admire worthy motives,

I am an uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the noblest of causes. There is therefore really no meeting ground between the school of violence and myself. But my creed of non-violence not only does not preclude me but compels me even to associate with anarchists and all those who believe in violence. But that association is always with the sole object of weaning them from what appears to me to be their error. For experience convinces me that permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence. Even if my belief is a fond delusion, it will be admitted that it is a fascinating delusion.

Hand-Spinning Day by Day

The last date in the current year for sending in contributions of yarn according to the Ahmedabad spinning resolution falls during the present week. Every province will be in a hurry to make this despatch in view of the ensuing Congress. But we are afraid it will be difficult for us to issue very soon a detailed report about the contributions of the last month. We are hard put to it to cope with the big bundles sent in by the various provinces. What a difference in four months! Gujarat, Tamilnad, Bengal and Andhra have been 'highly commended' from the first; but not being elated by this, these provinces have been steadily making progress and effecting improvements. Among these the advance of Tamilnad is indeed remarkable. Other provinces have also worked enthusiastically. Maharashtra, Bihar, Hindi and Marathi C. P., Bombay, Sindh, Utkal, Berars, U. P., Assam, Kerala, Burma and Delhi have also shown signs of diligence and discipline. Rajasthan has not advanced. The Punjab has increased its quantity, but as before it leaves much to be desired in other respects.

Selection and collection of cotton

Every province also shows progress in the selection of cotton. Only the U. P. is rather backward in this matter. But the season is now approaching, and it is time for spinners as well as local and provincial Congress organisations to secure the best quality of local cotton and to store it up against the requirements of the next year. The fluctuations in the price of cotton are indeed embarrassing. But the solution of this difficulty can only be found from experience of such collection. Provincial Khadi Boards can do much in this connection by obtaining the advice and the cooperation of cotton merchants in their respective jurisdictions.

Numerous as are the industries of the United States, it considers cotton growing as of vital importance. Detailed reports about the condition of the crops in every single cotton farm in the country reach the provincial body and through it the central bureau so regularly that they are able to forecast the quality and the quantity of the crops, to estimate the prices which are likely to rule and thus to control the world market. We in India can do this ourselves if we will. Every cultivator, every merchant, every Congress organisation which will store up cotton safe from the fluctuations of the market, will deserve well of his country, and this storing of cotton will be hardly less useful than the storing of corn in days of famine.

Hand Spinning at Adyar

Bhai Devadas Gandhi attained the speed of a hundred yards per hour on the *Takli* about a month ago and his work fairly qualified him to be a spinning master. He

has now been at Adyar for a week teaching Mrs. Besant to spin. He wires from Madras on the 9th, saying that his mission has been successful. Dr. Besant who had her sixth lesson that day has made great progress. Many others are evincing keen interest and actually spinning. Miss Emily Lutyens is trying hard to master the Takli. Dr. Besant has decided to depute one or two English lady workers for a month's training at Sabarmati. Shriyut Rajagopalachar has been with Bhai Devadas throughout. They have been to Shrimati Kamalamani Amma who is spinning as high as 385s. and arranged to have a photograph taken of her work.

The Congress Exhibition.

Shriyut Hanumantrao Kavjalgi, Secretary of the Exhibition Committee, writes to say that there will be two spinning competitions, one for a week and the other for an hour. Shriyut C. V. Rangam Chetty has announced the award of gold and silver medals at the hands of Gandhiji to the competitors who take a high rank. Those who are not recommended by Provincial Committees may also join the competition.

One fine feature of this Congress will be a spinning hall fitted up with two hundred wheels. People desirous of spinning will be admitted thereto whenever they like on the payment of a nominal fee, and the yarn thus spun will be presented to the Congress.

We wish excellent spinners like Shrimati Kamalamani attend the Congress and thus by force of personal example give an impetus to the act of spinning in our country.

Maganlal K. Gandhi.

What is Unity?

I have received the following note on Hindu-Muslim Unity from a silent worker and friend in Gujarat, who had been with me previously for some years in Santiniketan:—

"Unity can never be attained by lectures, or articles, nor can it be attained by the resolutions of conferences. There can never be solid unity by mere discussions.

Hindu-Muslim Unity is not the unity of the two religions of India alone, but the united action, life, of the whole Being. The Being is one, not two. If at

we want unity, there should not be the two natures in us, the evil and the good. Satan and God can not live together.

"I have just read Anvar's Poems. They are written by a Fakir of Gujarat. But the whole book is full of songs dedicated to Sri Krishna of Braja. They are just like those of Narsinh Mehta the Saint-Poet. Here lies the unity, like that of Kabir and Nanak. Mere pamphlets cannot have that effect.

"This is the churning period of humanity. We have to be very careful in the churning period. One has not so much to move out into active life, but rather to go to God, deep within. The energy of the lower being is limited. We want to have the All-powerful divine energy.

"Unity can be obtained, only through His mercy. Let us try to be such as to receive His mercy. Let us be free from egoism, even from golden egoism. Let us be one with Him. Let Him act through us, considering our bodies His own abode.

C. F. A.

Can Untouchability be defended?

(By C. F. Andrews)

I have received the following letter from Babu Kalishankar Chakravarti of Chittagong:—

"I have read your articles 'Indian Labour in Burma' and 'The Fast that God has chosen' published in 'Young India'. I have been expecting that some other worthier person should remove your wrong impression about our social customs. It is really a surprise to me that a pure, good soul like you, who has so long been working head and heart to help us is not yet acquainted with our social systems.

"You are perfectly right in saying—'So long as there are no village industries of any kind in India itself, and floods and pestilence and famine sweep the land, there is no possibility of dissuading them from going over, however hard the condition may be. A starving man, with his family perishing before his eyes, must get away somewhere to obtain food'. But in your assertion 'So long as there is oppression and practical servitude in India itself, and so long as the stigma of untouchability, (which is no less inhuman than the colour bar in Africa) remains ruthlessly in force, men cannot be prevented.' I can say that you have been labouring under a wrong impression. Where do you find oppression and practical servitude in India? Can you point out any person or body of persons engaging any class of labourers under such terrible bonds as are prevalent in English colonies or estates and corporations supported by the English statutes?

"More than 95 p. c. of the labourers who go to Burma from Bengal and Assam are Mahomedans. Can you say that they are suffering under oppression of untouchability in their motherland? Amongst Hindus who go to Burma or elsewhere very few, not even 5 p. c., are untouchables.

"You have stigmatised untouchability as no less inhuman than the colour bar in Africa. I do not know fully the condition of Panchamas in Southern India. The devilish system, that prohibits certain classes of Hindus there to walk on a road with other people, is not in vogue in Bengal and as far as I know in central and upper India. In the temples of Jagannath, Visvesvar, and Chandranath each and every Hindu can enter along with high caste Hindus without restriction and worship the Deities. At Jagannath-Kshetra even Brahmins cannot and do not object to take cooked food from the hands of Chandals and Panchamas, though at home the Brahmins and the high-caste Hindus do not allow lower caste people to enter their temple, kitchen or bedrooms, and observe certain rules regarding food and drink. It is essentially necessary to preserve the purity of the nation. Never was it intended to hate or oppress weak ones. If any body is depressed, suppressed, or hated now by others, it must be due to the new situation created, not by the religious heads of society but by others.

"Can you show that Brahmins, or other high-caste Hindus, made laws to deprive any low class people from their lands, or their profession, as Englishmen are doing in the colonies? In India, any one, be he a native or a foreigner, could earn money according to his power, enjoy life as well as other people. The door of India has been kept ever open. Any foreigner could enter into it and live

happily with others. To keep them all in their own bonds, walls of untouchability were necessary. Now under a cloak of philanthropy English people have set up an agitation against it, and our deluded people have swallowed the bait. The result is, our house is broken down to pieces, and we have been dragged to the verge of destruction.

"In Bengal, the Swarnavaiks and the Shahas are the richest people, but they are untouchables to high-caste Hindus. Can you say that they are oppressed or suppressed by others?

"In Chittagong, a famous musician was born in our village about 95 years ago. He held a very high position in society. Though it is 50 years ago since he died, his name is still enshrined in the hearts of the people, as Shyama Charan Babu. At that remote period, the title was synonymous with Maharaja and, it was conferred on him by the people. He formed a Jatra party with young men of the Dom class, the lowest in the Hindu Society. In the *majlis* of Brahmins and other high caste people, they would play their parts. Since then, the actors and singers are being recruited from high and low classes and they work together without objection.

"About 40 years ago a Dom named Nava Patar received English education and was appointed a clerk in the Chittagong Collectorate. Nobody objected to work with him. One Kichora Mehtar started a cloth shop. Even the Brahmins found no objection to purchase cloths from him.

"I cite these instances to show that the idea of depressing or suppressing any people, however low they may be, was never entertained by the Brahmins or other high caste people, the guilt of which is now being fastened on them. Rather, the highest of Brahmins as Sri Chaitanyadev, and the highest of Vaishyas, as Babu Shyama Charan, tried to raise them up. Yet there was no such outcry. Can Englishmen, and their Indian imitators, who have raised so much thorns against untouchability, boast to have done one tenth of what our leaders did quite unostentatiously fifty years ago for the low class people?

"The other day Mahatmaji has said that violent non-cooperation is vicious, but non-violent non-cooperation is good. Exactly the same is the case with untouchability. Vicious it is certainly when attended with hatred and oppression, but without them very good. It was designed to keep the people separate whose character, habit and intellect are not similar, and this kept the society in peace and contentment for thousands of years, and saved it from corruption and destruction.

"You may think that our Pauchamas or Doms are very miserable creatures. No doubt to a certain extent they are, and every encouragement and help should be given to them to rise. But do you think they are more miserable than those English men and women, at whose conduct the Bishop of London said the other day that they were obliged to shut their eyes when passing through places like Hyde Park and Charing Cross? The sooner you remove the restrictions of untouchability, the sooner you can expect to have these scenes enacted here.

"I must admit that, in the long course of social evolution, a great many abuses and excesses have crept in the society. These, like the system which prohibits certain classes of people to walk on a road, or to take

water from a public well, are certainly inhuman, and should be removed at once. But the attempt to remove the system of untouchability root and branch has been doing incalculable mischief, not only to Hindu society, but to humanity at large; the higher classes are being corrupted, the lower classes are spurred up with irreverence and hatred towards the higher ones; the peaceful and friendly relations and harmony between classes and masses have gone; the whole of society is seething with uneasiness and discontent.

"If you look into our social disruption, you will find that it is more calamitous and more heart-rending than the Hindu-Moslem tension and bureaucratic oppression."

I publish this letter gladly. It is obviously sincere; and it states a common difficulty in Bengal. Owing chiefly to the wide-spread influence of Sri Chaitanya Dev, Bengal scarcely knows what real 'Untouchability' is. Yet the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, relates in one of his memoirs, how he found a Panchama lying on the road, at the point of death, whom none of the caste villagers would touch, fearing to lose caste. This was in Bengal. How can one help poor people to rise, if one ought not to touch them? Sri Chaitanya Dev very easily solved that problem. He did touch them. He embraced them. The great temple of Jagannath Puri, has solved it. It embraces them, like a mother, also.

But real 'Untouchability' must be seen in the South to be understood. I have been in the very midst of 3000 'untouchables,' near to Kettayam, who had come to meet me. More wretched human beings I have rarely seen on God's Earth. It broke my heart to see them. They were more wretched than the tea-garden coolies, who had come down to Chandpur. They were more degraded, as human beings, than those indentured labourers, whom I saw on the Natal plantations and in Fiji.

It is true, that Mahomedans from Chittagong go in large numbers to Burma. I was not thinking of those, when I wrote, but of the Telugu and Tamil labourers. In Malaya, a very large proportion of these come from the 'untouchable' classes. They go back again and again to Malaya, because there is no stigma of untouchability. These are facts. They can be proved.

Why I brought in the analogy of the colour bar in Africa was because I feel certain that the origin there is the same. The white Aryans in India long ago made 'untouchable' the darker races, just as the white Europeans are making 'untouchable' in Africa the darker races today.

Christ, Buddha, Chaitanya, Nanak, St. Francis of Assisi, and all the saints, embraced the 'untouchables' of their time, and opened wide to them the arms of their love. The Prophet Muhammad made the Negro slave his most devoted disciple. Let us follow their example.

[In my opinion Mr. Andrews is over-considerate to Babu Kalishanker Chakravarti. Whilst the condition of untouchables in the south is no doubt much worse than that of the untouchables in Bengal, it is bad enough in Bengal and admits of no defense. Namandras can better speak of the effect of untouchability than its defenders. Let us learn from the English rulers the simple fact that the oppressors are blind to the enormity of their own misdeeds. The untouchability of Hinduism is probably

worse than that of the modern imperialists. We have made it hereditary with a rigidity not yet observable about its Imperial edition. Will Babu Kalishankar please remember that the English Imperialists offer for their untouchability the same defence that he does for the Hindu untouchability. The safer course therefore is not to find out which is worse but to recognise the evil of our own system and endeavour to root it out.

[M. K. G.]

Art and National Development

(By C. F. Andrews)

One of the most interesting studies in human history is to trace the correspondence between the rise of a great Literature and Art and the dawn of a new national life. Music, which is akin to Literature and Art, has a similar function to perform. Some nations, it is true, are more highly gifted than others in aesthetic faculty; but even among less advanced people there are times when the joy of new creative life springs forth, like a fountain from the barren soil, and they become great in song under the stress of new inspiration.

The truth is surely this, that Art, Music and Literature, when they are wholly spontaneous and creative, carry with them the note of communal human joy. Therefore, when a new day of hope begins to rise on any people, they are likely to make their appearance. The enthusiasm of new ideals held in common by multitudes; the thrill of new life; the triumphant sense of a new destiny,—all these seek to find an utterance in beauty. The creative faculty in man is quickened. Literature and Art become the outward expression of the awakened spirit which animates the whole community.

We need not go to other peoples to trace out the truth of all this; for we have the most signal example of all in Indian History itself. In the earliest recorded days, when the Aryan people, in the prime of their youthful vigour, came through the northern mountain passes, they entered India singing their hymns of joy and victory to the bright shining over, whom they believed to be their protectors. The haunting appeal of these earliest hymns, which moves us even today, lies in the freshness and simplicity of their inspiration, and in the breath which they carry with them of the morning of the world. The *Vedas* are the youth-songs of the future Indian nation.

A later period came, and with it a new cycle of poetry of a different type. What this new movement was, we can only dimly conjecture; but it may be surmised that two supremely important events are portrayed. (i) In the *Mahabharata*, we seem to find a later migration of the Aryans and their struggle to the death with the earlier Aryan settlers; it is a tragic story, which reaches its moral height in the *Bhagavadgita*. (ii) In the *Ramayana*, we read of the victorious passage of the Aryans, under their heroic king and statesman, Ramachandra, towards the South. These two great epic poems have probably done more to cheer the hearts and keep up the courage and dignity of manhood and womanhood among millions of simple Indian people than any other Indian poetry. Even today, they form the staple of education for countless numbers of the village folk, who can neither read nor write, but can learn the *Ramayana* by heart and rejoice in the recitation of the *Bhagavadgita*.

One further period may be chosen,—the period of fusion and unity. The Moghul epoch in Indian History comes like a glad sunrise after a nightmare of bloodshed, anarchy and crime. With Akbar and his immediate successors, Hindus and Moslems began at last to settle down side by side in peace. A creative period in Art and Painting followed, of which the greatest architectural glory of the world, the *Taj Mahal* at Agra, is the crown. It is of supreme interest to understand, that this Art itself was a fusion; for undoubtedly Hindus participated in it along with the Moghuls and thus brought it to perfection.

The question remains to be considered, whether the national awakening in India of our own times gives as yet any promise of producing a great Literature and Art. The movement is too young, in many provinces of India, for us to expect to see immediate results. But no one, who has closely studied the modern history of Bengal, can doubt for a moment that a creative period has dawned there. It represents, both in literary and artistic genius, the full impulse of the soul of the people, not merely the brilliant eccentricity of any sectional group.

In other parts of India, the national movement is chiefly noticeable at present on account of a remarkable renaissance of literature in the mother languages themselves. To take one example only, the Tamil language in the South has had a revival, that might almost be called a resurrection. I understand that in Gujerat the same thing is happening today before our own.

On the other hand, there is one thing in the national programme which strangely enough has not been able hitherto to yield itself to different creative forms of beauty, namely 'khaddar.' It is true that the home-spun cloth has a perfection of its own far exceeding that made in the mills. It has, that is to say, high potential artistic qualities. Nevertheless, an absolute sameness of white, with hardly any variation at all, gives no relief to the artistic sense. When dust also and dirt-stains make even the white 'khaddar' itself unsightly, not only is there no artistic relief, but actual ugliness. Surely there is something lacking here, which those, who are most truly and rightly enthusiastic about 'khaddar,' should immediately help to supply. It is not a matter which can wait indefinitely without grievous loss. The vegetable dyes of ancient India might be brought back into daily use; this land of bright unclouded skies should not be robbed of those glorious primary colours, the scarlet, the gold and the blue, with all their many variations, which only the sunshine can make harmonious. In the dull grey northern climate, it is impossible to wear bright colours, like those that we wear in India, without disharmony; therefore neutral and subdued tints have to be employed instead. But in India, just as in sunny Italy and Greece, the sunshine itself invites colours of the brightest description; and a joy is added to life by their employment. Such a joy is no mean factor in refreshing the mind and spirit of a people.

[There is no danger of the colour sense being lost. That art is being taken care of by Masulipatam and other places. Tawdriness may and should disappear, as the nation develops the sense of proportion.

[M. K. G.]

Hymns of Mahatma's Fast

[I am able to find space this week for three more hymns, which were sung frequently during the Fast. The reference in the first is to the elephant being drawn down beneath the waters by the crocodile. As the tip of his trunk was sinking beneath the wave he called upon God for help and was saved. In the last hymn, the word 'bhakti' has been translated 'devotion to the Lord'. C. P. A.]

IV

is the Helper of the helpless and the Strength of the weak. He stood by the side of the saints in their hour of trial.

So long as the Lord of Elephants trusted in his own strength he was defeated.

The moment he forgot his own strength, and in his weakness called upon the Lord, God was at hand to help him,—even before the His name was half-uttered.

Draupadi, in her helplessness, called upon the Lord.

Duhshasana was worsted in his effort to unclothe her. For the Lord became her clothing.

Try, as one may, the power of asceticism, or physical or temporal might, a man is bound to fail.

Verily, the strength of the defeated, says Surdas, is the name of the Lord.

V

Lord, forbid it that I should cast my eyes on things that brings evil thoughts. Far better, that I were blind.

Lord forbid it that I should foul my lips with any words stained with filth. Far better, that they were sealed.

Lord, forbid it that I should bear any word of injury to another or listen to a word of contempt. Far better, that I were deaf.

Lord, forbid it that I should look with lust on those, who should be sisters to me. Far better, that I were dead.

Lord, let Tula Bee from all this world of sense, to find eternal peace in Thee.

VI

It is devotion to the Lord that makes the world worth living in.

Not to be found in paradise, the saints who went there covet to be born again on this earth that they may fulfil their devotion to the Lord.

God's men seek not freedom from birth and death: they ask to be born again and again, that they may serve and pray and praise and see the Lord face to face.

Blessed are the parents of him, who was born in Bhavnikhand,—the land of devotion to the Lord. He has sung the praise of God. He has justified his birth.

Blessed was Brindaban, blessed the play of the Gopis, who were fortunate to live there.

They achieved such union with the Lord, that all other achievements followed. Freedom from birth and death was at their bidding.

Only the blessed ones have tasted this devotion to the Lord. Shankar knows it, Shuka, the born ascetic, knows it. Happily, the Gopis of Braja know something of it,—so sings Narsaiyan, who has tasted it.

The National Flag

[The following letter has reached me, with the request to present it to Mahatma Gandhi before the Congress and in time for his reply. As the quickest way, I venture to publish it in Young India itself. C. P. A.]

Revered Mahatma,

We are grateful to you and other leaders for giving us that great symbol of self-respect, a national flag. Our Swaraj colours are now red, white and green. Various interpretations are given of these colours. One popularly accepted is that red represents Christianity, white Hinduism, and green Islam. It has also been suggested that red stands for Hinduism, and white for religions and cultures of India other than Hindu and Moslem.

We beg to approach you with a suggestion about the proper colour to represent Hindu or Indo-Aryan culture and religion. We suggest the ochre colour (*Gairika* *Geru* or *Gerua*). It is the colour of *satyasa*, of *tyaga*, of *ahimsa*, the highest ideal of our Indian civilization. It is the colour of most Hindu sects—Brahmanical, Buddhist, Sikkh, Shiva-ji's flag, the *Bhagwa Jhanda*, was the *Gairika Uttariya* of Sri Rama-dasa. Rabindranath in many a magnificent poem has sung of *Gairika Uttariya* of *Bharata*, who is the great *Tapas*, the great Asaetic. We suggest that in India's national flag, the *Gairika* of the Brahmacari and the Rishi, of the Bhikshu and of the Yati, of the Sadhu and the Bairagi, and also of the Indian Darwesh and Pir, be given its proper place.

Red is a colour we do not usually associate with Hinduism. In Bengal and elsewhere, red is used by certain Hindu sects, the Saktas specially. The red *Jah* flower and red sandal paste are sacred to Kali and red silk garments are worn in *Sakta* ritual. Red or saffron is the colour of war with Hindus. It does not strike the Hindu note of *ahimsa*.

White, again, is not specially associated with Hinduism. Further, red, white and green are already the national colours of some other countries, Italy and Portugal for instance.

Could we not have red, ochre and green for our "Hindustan-ka-tiranga Jhanda" the tri-colour banner of India? If the colours do not harmonise, we could have ochre, white and green—ochre for Hinduism, green for Islam, and white for other faiths and cultures of India. Or we can have a "Chau-ranga Jhanda"—red, white, ochre, and green?

We respectfully request you, revered Mahatma, and also other leaders of the country, to give your opinion on this suggestion of ours, and if you think fit, the matter may be brought before the coming Congress at Belgaum, for discussion and final acceptance. Opinion from Hindus and others who have brought about this question is respectfully invited.

Yours most respectfully,

Dwijendranath Tagore
Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya
Suniti Kumar Chatterji
Kalidas Nag
Nepal Chandra Ray
Bhim Rao Shastri
J. J. Vakil
Prem Sundar Bose
Marichi
N. Aliyavam

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Notes

Is Lalaji a Coward?

I suppose I share the misfortune of many a public speaker in being often misreported without the reporters ever meaning to misreport me. I remember the late Sir Pherczeshah Mehta, in 1896, telling me on the occasion of my very first public appearance on an Indian platform, that if I wished to be heard and if I wanted to be correctly reported, I should write out my speech. I always thanked him for this wise advice. I know that, if I had not followed his instructions for that particular meeting, it would have proved a fiasco. But I have had cause to recall the advice of the uncrowned king of the Presidency whenever I have been misreported. Somebody is said to have reported me as having described at the Khilafat Conference at Amritsar Lala Lajpat Rai as a coward. Whatever Lalaji may be, he is no coward. The context of my speech would have showed that I was defending Lalaji against the charge of being inimical to the Mussalmans. What I did say at the time was that Lalaji was timid and suspected the motives of Mussalmans but that he was sincerely desirous of Muslim friendship. Let me not conceal my regard for Lalaji. I hold him to be brave, self-sacrificing, generous, truthful and God-fearing. His patriotism is of the purest type. He has few equals in the quantity or the quality of service to the country. And if a man like him may be suspected of base motives, we would have to despair of Hindu-Muslim unity, as we would have to, if we suspected the Ali Brothers of base motives. We have all of us our limitations and prejudices. We, the Hindus and Mussalmans, must be taken as we are and those, with whom Hindu-Muslim unity is a creed, must seek to achieve it with the material we have. It is a bad carpenter who quarrels with his tools. Col. Maddock told me that once he performed a very serious operation with an ordinary pocket knife, because he had no other with him at the time. The only steriliser he had was boiling water. He dared and his patient lived. Let us dare to trust one another and we shall be safe. Trusting one another, however, can never mean trusting with the lip and mistrusting in the heart. That were cowards indeed. And there can be no friendship between cowards, or cowards and brave men.

When is killing justified?

Lala Shankerlal of Delhi tells me I am reported as having said that I advised Hindus to kill Mussalmans on certain occasions, e. g., when they were in the act of killing cows. I have not seen the report in question. But

as the matter is of the utmost importance, I cannot be too precise or definite. I hold that it is no part of Hinduism to defend the cow against the whole world or against Mussalmans. If the Hindu attempted any such thing, he would be guilty of forcible conversion. His duty ends with his tender care of the cow. This duty, let me incidentally observe, he signally fails to discharge. The only way Hindus can convert the whole world to cow protection is by giving an object lesson in cow protection and all it means. But everyone and therefore every Hindu is bound to defend with his life, the honour of his mother, sister, wife or daughter, in fact all those who are under his exclusive or special protection. My dharma teaches me for the sake of others to give my life without even attempting to kill. But my dharma also enables me to say that where choice lies between running away to the neglect of one's charge and killing the would-be ravisher, it is one's duty to kill and be killed, never to desert the post of duty. I have had the humiliation of meeting tall well-built fellows coming to me and innocently telling me they had witnessed the rape of Hindu women by dissolute Mussalmans. In a society of brave men, evidence of completed rape should be almost impossible. Not a man should be alive to report such a crime. A simple Pujari not knowing the meaning of non-violence told me with some glee that when a mob entered his temple to break his idols, he carefully hid himself away. Such a man I hold to be unfit to be a Pujari. He should have died at his post. He would then have sanctified the idol with his blood. He would have been justified in killing the intruders, if he had not the courage to die at his post with a prayer on his lips that God might have pity on the assailants. But it was unmanly for him to have hidden himself to save his perishable skin. The truth is that cowardice itself is violence of a subtle and therefore dangerous type and far more difficult to eradicate than the habit of physical violence. A coward never risks his life. A man who would kill often risks it. A non-violent person's life is always at the disposal of him who would take it. For he knows that the soul within never dies. The encasing body is ever perishing. The more a man gives his life, the more he saves it. Thus non-violence requires more than the courage of the soldier of war. The Gita definition of a soldier is one who does not know what it is to run away from danger.

No-changers again

Pathetic letters from No-changers continue to pour upon me. The writers frankly believe that I have sold the cause of non-cooperation and yet out of affection for me they will not rise in revolt against me. I recognise that those No-changers who write publicly against my having

entered into the agreement with the Swarajists are doing so with the greatest restraint. I feel grateful for all the delicate consideration that is being shown to me. But if the consideration pleases me, it also embarrasses me. Let me assure them that I am in no way take it amiss if they resist me when they consider that I am in the wrong. Neither their affection for me nor my past service should stand in the way of their resisting me. Let the resistance be as gentle, as courteous and as non-violent as they can make it. But let it be none the less firm on that account. Indeed with them non-cooperation is as much a principle of conduct as it is with me. I have stated repeatedly that if it is a sound principle, it must be capable of application in connection with one's dearest relatives or friends. I have stated more than once that I discovered the doctrine from a close observation of domestic life and in the course of regulating it as correctly as I knew how. The No-changers who feel convinced of my error would therefore serve me by non-cooperating with me. But if they have any doubt, I certainly claim the benefit of it. For my part I shall not strive with them any more. As an English friend would say, any further striving would amount to exerting undue influence. I have said all I had to in defence of the agreement. As I do not act hastily and without due deliberation, I am slow to retrace my steps. But the No-changers do not need my assurance that the moment I feel that I 'sold the cause' I should beat a hasty retreat and make ample amends. But till then they would not want me to act against my convictions.

All should come

But whilst I do not wish to strive with the No-changers I want them to continue striving with me. I can recall several occasions when by constant striving with me friends were able to dislodge me from false positions. I would also gladly answer any doubts that they may still have. That being so, I would want all the No-changers who can to attend the Congress. Similarly do I want all the Pro-changers to attend. I want not merely their passive assent to the agreement but their active and enthusiastic cooperation in working the joint programme. I want their guidance and their criticism. Moreover whilst I do not want to divide the house on matters relating to the agreement, there may be important issues on which a division may be inevitable. I would therefore like a full Congress. A delegate is not worthy of the appointment if he does not attend and represent his constituents at the annual session. But this year it is specially incumbent on every delegate to attend. A revolutionary change is sought to be introduced in the franchise. Regulations have to be drawn for its working, if it is accepted by the Congress. There are other important changes too which I propose to submit to the subjects committee. There will be also new conferences, e. g., National Home Rule and Non-Brahman. It is thus necessary from every point of view that delegates attend in full force and help the inauguration of momentous changes.

M. K. G.

South India Flood Relief	Rs. As. Ps.
Total previously acknowledged	... 97,974-8-7
Received since 11-12-24	... 848-2-6
Grand Total	... 98,822-11-1

Parsi Rustomji

(By C. F. Andrews)

The shock which came to me was very great indeed when I heard suddenly of the death of Parsi Rustomji of Durban. To me, the whole mental picture of Durban and Natal seemed to centre in the one figure of genial and generous-hearted Parsi Rustomji. His was the first home of universal hospitality to which I came. He won my love at once. His face would beam with overflowing kindness and his warm embrace, whenever I met him, would make my heart beat faster with the emotion of pure joy and deep affection.

At the back of his merchant's storehouse, in Field Street, his long dining table would be spread for all. The poorest would always find their welcome there. What a delight it was, to sit down with him and all the world together and share his hospitality! He would get up from the table again and again and hurry to and fro, seeing to it as a host that every one of his guests was served. All the miserable divisions of race and religion, which separate mankind, were absent from his board. He was a friend of all races and all creeds. His pure goodness had won over many Europeans, in that land of racial prejudice, to be his close friends. Moslems, Hindus and Christians were all equally welcomed and honoured. His table in Durban was a symbol to me of the unity of races and religions, that is finally destined to come to mankind, in spite of all that is so evil in the world today.

After our meal, which itself was a sacrament of unity, his geniality would know no bounds. We would sit in a circle in a smaller room, which had pictures of all the Indian national leaders upon its walls, and our conversation would often go on up to a late hour in the night. Once I remember him telling me, with a laugh, the memories of his prison days. He made light of it all; but I heard from others how severely he had suffered and how brave he had been. When others, who were as rich as he was, had shrunk back, he had never wavered in his devotion. I can picture another scene, early in January, 1913, when the multitudes of indentured men and women had left the sugar plantations and had come into Durban somewhat unexpectedly. At once, his shop and warehouse and compound were all made freely open to them. Great cooking preparations were carried on with all speed; and before mid-day every one of this great concourse of Indian guests had been satisfied. Then and then only, he broke his own fast. How he served that morning! How he slaved for others! Perspiring, weary, constantly going hither and thither, keeping every one up to the mark, he strenuously and eagerly accomplished his duty of love. I saw him in the afternoon, quite exhausted, and I understood what a strain it had been. Yet the same strain went on, day after day, and he never shrank back from the burden.

Parsi Rustomji's generosity was great. His silent charity towards individuals exceeded even his public benefactions. The library, which he built in Durban, was only one of the many tributes of his love for the whole Indian community. When I was with him in 1920, he was then earnestly seeking for the best means of using the money, which he had saved in business, for the interests of the public. At this time, he went over in his mind many plans with me. He had also determined

to do what he could for the cause of freedom in his motherland, India. Very slowly, his mind was made up; he gave his gifts judiciously and with the greatest care, not recklessly and in a spendthrift manner.

When I was returning to South Africa, after many years' absence, the one person to whom my heart most turned, with the eagerness of long-expected welcome, was Parsi Rustomji. My own dear friend, Willie Pearson, had wished to come out with me again, but he had been prevented. He had a special place of affection in Parsi Rustomji's heart. After speaking of Mahatma Gandhi and asking after his health, it was Willie Pearson's name which came next in his enquiries, when we met. If Willie had been alive today, his grief at the death of Parsi Rustomji would have been no less than my own; for he loved him very deeply in return, and used to speak to me constantly about him.

One great event stood out in Parsi Rustomji's life and made it what it was. This was his devotion to Mahatma Gandhi. He owed to him more than to any one else his powers of sacrifice. For, apart from Mahatma Gandhi, he might indeed have been a generous merchant, but he would hardly have reached the heights of sacrifice and devotion in his country's cause which he actually attained. He was the trusted comrade and friend of Mahatma throughout the whole South African struggle; and it was this friendship that made him rise to heroic deeds. Of all the friends that Mahatma Gandhi had with him during the passive resistance movement, with its imprisonments and hardships innumerable, Parsi Rustomji was among the most faithful and the most true.

Lord Curzon on India

(By C. F. Andrews)

The following message came through Renter more than a month ago from England and was published in all the Indian papers: "In a speech in London, today, Lord Curzon said that the problem of Ireland had not been settled and that of Egypt was unsolved. We were almost on the verge of war with Turkey. The Arabian question was in a great mess and India was far from happy.

"Some of these questions were not ripe for settlement, and in dealing with some, such as Egypt and the Sudan, Mr. MacDonald followed the policy of his predecessors, which they, in turn, would also pursue.

"Lord Curzon said he saw a situation growing up in India which would be a challenge to British rule, and would compel us to decide before long whether we would not have to make a stand for British institutions, British government and British rights."

Since that date, the Conservative Government has come into office and Lord Curzon, along with Lord Birkbeck and others, will have a determining voice in the settlement of foreign affairs. Unquestionably what Lord Curzon said, in the words quoted above, will represent a programme for the future. Let us see what this programme means for India itself. He says, "We shall have to make a stand for British institutions, British government, and British rights in India itself". Here we have a plan of rule in India which is entirely contrary to the true spirit of the country. It is obvious that the imposition upon another country of everything that is foreign can only lead to one effect. It destroys the indigenous life of the country itself.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that the process which Lord Curzon outlined is reversed and that India was to say to Great Britain: "The time is coming, when we shall have to make a stand in Great Britain for Indian institutions, Indian government and Indian rights". The thing would be regarded as absurd. Or suppose the Japanese, who have more military power than India today, were to insist on Japanese institutions, Japanese government and Japanese rights being established throughout Great Britain, would not every Britisher at once be up in arms and regard his whole national destiny as at stake? Would not the British people cry: "Britons never shall be slaves" and resist to the utmost any such imposition of foreign institutions, foreign government and foreign rights?

I am an Englishman myself and I know what my own people feel. There would be such an immediate rally to the British flag, if any such claim were made by any foreign power, that it would be quite irresistible.

But it may be said, "India is a conquered country, and has to submit to these claims and impositions of a foreign power."

If that were truly the case, then it should be said so openly; but we are constantly told that this is not the truth, and that India is free to choose her own destiny and self-government is the end in view.

Does then self-government in India mean "a challenge to British rule"? Ah! That is the whole question in a nutshell. Lord Curzon, at one time, says it does not. But the moment India practises self-government, in the very slightest degree, he is at once up in arms and declares that a situation is growing up in India which is a "challenge to British rule". Again we may ask, "Is the encouragement of Indian institutions and Indian forms of government and Indian rights reprehensible?" Lord Curzon would say at once: "Certainly not. Why! We are all in favour of India governing herself". But the moment Indians begin in practice to form their own institutions, their own government, and to claim their own rights, as human beings, that same moment Lord Curzon is up in arms and says that the situation in India is so grave as "to compel us to decide, whether we shall not have to make a stand for British institutions, British government, and British rights".

A few days ago, a professor from America asked me the question, whether India would prefer to have Swaraj tomorrow, or to wait for it for twenty years, when it might be had with less danger and confusion and disaster in the process. I said to him the real danger was not that of the confusion, which might take place if Swaraj came to India tomorrow, but rather the danger of delay in obtaining Swaraj itself; because every year that Swaraj was not obtained was another year of foreign institutions, foreign government and foreign rights. I showed him this passage of Lord Curzon and asked him, as an American, what he would think if foreign institutions were imposed upon his own country. Would he wish to get rid of them immediately, even if there was some disturbance in the process? Or would he be willing to wait for 20 years, during which those very foreign institutions would become still more hard to get rid of? He replied immediately, "We would never allow foreign institutions to be imposed upon America even for a moment. It would kill our national life." I said to him, "Then you see the whole

Indian situation today at one glance, and you can understand why Indians are impatient, and cannot bear even a single year to be passed under the foreign yoke." He confessed to me, "I have asked Indians from one end of India to the other the same question that I asked you, and they have given me the same answer. They have all said 'We want Swaraj today'"

Young India

18-12-24

The Kohat Tragedy

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Government of India has rung down the curtain upon the Kohat tragedy. In the Viceregal reply to Pandit Malaviyaji the Government had prepared the public for some such resolution as is now before the public. The resolution is a demonstration of the Government's unchallengeable supremacy and disregard of public opinion, as it is also a demonstration of national impotence. To me the Kohat tragedy is not so much a result of Hindu-Muslim tension as of the utter worthlessness and incompetence of the local administration. Had they performed their elementary duty of protecting life and property, the wanton destruction begun and continued in broad daylight could have been easily prevented. But like Nero the authority watched and danced while Rome was burning. The authority cannot plead helplessness. It had ample resources at its disposal. It was at no time overwhelmed except by its own criminal indifference and callousness.

And now the Government of India has become partner in the crime by white-washing the local officials and even converting their neglect or worse into 'coolness and courage.'

One would have expected a full, open and independent inquiry. But nothing beyond a departmental inquiry at which the public was unrepresented took place. Its finding can command no public confidence. The refugees from Rai Bahadur Sardar Makhansingh downward whom my Musalman colleagues and I saw, whilst admitting that a pamphlet containing the highly insulting verses was published by Lala Jiwandas, said that ample amends were made for the publication by the Hindus and that the Hindu firing was in self-defence and after the destruction had been started by the Musalmans. On behalf of the Kohat Musalmans it was contended that sufficient amends were not made with regard to the pamphlet and that the Musalman destruction and firing took place after the Hindus had opened fire and taken Musalman life. Unfortunately the Musalmans of Kohat not having come to Rawalpindi, we were unable to find out the real truth. It is therefore difficult to say that the Government of India's distribution of blame is erroneous. But its finding cannot be accepted as an impartial or acceptable judgment. The Hindus of Kohat cannot be expected to accept and submit to the finding. Nor can such a finding, because it seems to favour the Musalman contention, be any consolation to the Musalmans of Kohat. For it would be wrong for the

Musalman public to applaud the Government of India's finding, because it for the moment seems to support the Musalman contention. Any finding to be satisfactory must be joint and arrived at by Hindus and Musalmans of proved impartiality. The Government of India resolution is therefore a challenge to both the communities. It tells the Hindu refugees to return to Kohat on pain of submission to humiliating conditions. It bribes the Musalmans to impose humiliation on their Hindu brethren. I hope that Hindus will prefer a life of penury outside Kohat but without humiliation, to a life of plenty in Kohat with humiliation. I hope that Musalmans will be manly enough to refuse the bait offered by the Government and decline to be party to imposing humiliation on their Hindu brethren who are in a hopeless minority in Kohat. Whosoever the initial blunder and provocation, the fact stands that the Hindus were practically forced out of Kohat. It is up to the Musalmans therefore to go to Rawalpindi and take the refugees back to Kohat with friendliness and with full guarantee for the safety of their lives and property. The Hindus outside Kohat should make it easy for the Musalmans to make the approach. The Musalmans outside should insist upon those in Kohat recognising their primary obligation to the Hindu minority. On a proper and honorable solution of this delicate problem lies in a large measure the success of the efforts to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity.

The sooner we, both co-operators and non-cooperators, cease to rely upon Government protection against one another, the better it will be for us and the quicker and more lasting will be the solution. Viewed in that light, the indifference of the Kohat officials is to be welcomed. History would have been differently and more honorably written if the Hindus had not sought the protection of officials, had stuck to their homes and without offering any defence, or even in the act of forcibly defending themselves and their property and their dependents had been reduced to cinders. I would welcome a resolution by the Government that no one need look to them for protection in inter-communal quarrels. If we would learn each party to defend itself against encroachment upon its liberty by the other, we would be well on the road to Swaraj. It would be a fine training in self-defence and self-respect (or which is the same thing, Swaraj). There are two ways of defence. The best and the most effective is not to defend at all, but to remain at one's post risking every danger. The next best but equally honourable method is to strike bravely in self-defence and put one's life in the most dangerous positions. A few pitched battles between the two will soon teach them the uselessness of breaking one another's heads. It will teach them that to fight thus is not to serve God but to serve Satan.

I conclude this article by repeating the promise I made to the refugees in Rawalpindi. If they will not return to Kohat till they receive cordial invitation from the Kohat Musalmans, I shall be prepared as soon as the engagements already taken up are finished to go to Rawalpindi in company with M. Shaukat Ali and attempt to smooth the relations between the two or failing that to help them to find suitable occupation in life.

Notice

The next issue of YOUNG INDIA will appear on Friday, 26th December and will contain the Congressional address.

Manager, Y. I.

Patriotism Run Mad

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If it is true that certain Mulshipeta 'Satyagrahis' have wrecked a train taking labourers to Tata's works, injured the engine driver and slashed about labourers including women, it is a crime worthy of the highest condemnation. These offenders against law order and decency are said to have declared themselves at war against Tatas and to have said that by waylaying the poor coolies they expect to stop the works in course of construction. This is terrorism in a cause supposed to be good. But all terrorism is bad whether put up in a good cause or bad. As a matter of fact every cause is good in the estimation of its champion. General Dyer (and he had thousands of Englishmen and women who honestly thought with him) enacted Jallianwala Bagh for a cause which he undoubtedly believed to be good. He thought that by that one act he had saved English lives and the Empire. That it was all a figment of his imagination cannot affect the valuation of the intensity of his conviction. Lords Lytton and Reading honestly believe that the Swaraj party of Bengal is steeped in violence. But their terrorism cannot be justified on the score of the honesty of their motives. The cause that these mad Mulshipeta 'Satyagrahis' hold to be just and good, the Tatas and their supporters genuinely believe to be wicked. They are honestly of opinion that their scheme will benefit the surrounding villages, that they have paid full compensation to the parties dispossessed, that the latter have voluntarily vacated their holdings and that their scheme will be a boon to Bombay and that therefore those who seek to thwart the scheme are enemies of progress. They are as much entitled to this belief as I am to mine that the scheme will not benefit the people in the neighbourhood, that it will spoil the natural beauty of the place, that the poor villagers had no mind of their own and could therefore hardly be said to have voluntarily vacated their holdings, that no compensation is an adequate consideration for vacating a possession which sentiment has hallowed and that it is a debatable question if the scheme will be a boon to Bombay. But immediately I arrogate to myself the exclusive title to being in the right, I usurp the function of the Deity. And there being no absolute and universal standard of right, terrorism must be held to be wrong in every case. In other words pure motives can never justify impure or violent action. I am therefore unable to congratulate the offenders even on their voluntary surrender to the authorities. This surrender is no mitigation of the crime. It may easily be simple bravado. The murderer of a lady the other day in Kirkee could not save himself from the gallows because he surrendered himself after the murder. The assault upon the innocent women who were earning an honest livelihood was an unpardonable wickedness. The self-styled friends of the Mulshi villagers had a perfect right, if they had wished, to go to the labourers and by argument wean them from labouring for the Tatas. But they had no right to take the law into their own hands. They have damaged a good cause by adopting the wrong method of terrorism and alienated what public sympathy they had. Terrorism set up by reformers may be just as bad as Government terrorism and it is often worse because it draws a certain amount of false sympathy. I heard a lady haranguing upon the self-sacrifice of revolutionaries and visibly moving the audience. A little reflection would how-

ever show that self-sacrifice must not be allowed to excuse a crime. Not even self-immolation can be allowed to support a bad or an immoral cause. He would be a wicked father who would permit his child to play with fire because the child is hunger-striking for the permission. The youths who the other day very nearly murdered near Calcutta an innocent taxi-driver deserve no sympathy because they were robbing the driver for helping the cause of the country and because they were risking their lives in the attempt. Those who are betrayed into showing sympathy for such misguided youths are harming the country and doing no service to the youths.

Harry Thuku of Kenya

(By C. F. Andrews)

Tyranny is the same all over the world. The essence of tyranny lies in the repression of the individual, without any trial by his fellowmen and without any evidence being given in public against him. For centuries, the British people struggled amid constant persecution and frequent martyrdom against the secret imprisonment of any citizen however humble and lowly. In the end, the British people won for themselves the rare privilege of freedom from such tyranny. They had practically attained this in the eighteenth century and they have never lost it since, in their own country.

Among the French people, the tyranny of secret imprisonment remained far longer in operation. It was only after the French Revolution that the system, called *Lettres de Cachet*, was abolished and the people of France also won their freedom. Russia has never been entirely emancipated from this pernicious system. Even today, under the Bolshevik rule, the tyranny of secret imprisonment seems to be hardly less vindictive than in the old bad days under the Czar.

It was once the boast of the British power that within the British Empire the Habeas Corpus Act was strictly observed; but since the war, and even before the war, this loudly proclaimed profession of freedom within the empire has not been justified by the facts. The war itself was one of the most terrible blows to freedom that the world has ever seen. In every country Defence of the Realm Acts were passed, which practically deprived hundreds of innocent men of their personal liberty. In America, which was once regarded as the home of freedom, large numbers of people were imprisoned without trial. In India itself innocent persons suffered in the Punjab and in Bengal and elsewhere under the Defence of India Act. Today, the Bengal Ordinance renews the secret imprisonment, which the Defence of India Act had regulated during the war. It is expected that in a few months' time, people numbering hundreds will be put into prison without any open trial; their life and liberty will be at the disposal of the Government, which accepts secret police evidence against them as genuine.

When I was in East Africa, I met one of the brightest lads I had seen in that country. His name was Harry Thuku and he was a Christian. He was one of the few East Africans who knew well how to speak English, and therefore I was able to have many talks with him. At a meeting of the natives of East Africa in Victoria Park, at

Nairobi, which he had organised for me. I spoke to the Africans themselves about Queen Victoria the Good, and the ideals of liberty and racial equality which she had professed in her Proclamation of 1858. The Commissioner of Native Affairs was present and acted as my interpreter. The meeting was very orderly indeed, and it did great credit to Harry Thuku who organised it.

About a year after this experience, I saw one day in the papers that the Africans had been fired on and many killed and wounded, because of excitement in Nairobi, and that Harry Thuku himself had been deported to a place called Kisumayu, without trial. He sent a message to me, through Mr. Manibhai Desai, asking me for help and claiming the right of a British subject to be tried face to face with his accusers, instead of being secretly taken away to a distant place and interned without any trial whatever. I did my very best at the time to make his voice heard in England, but without effect. Again, quite recently, another appeal from him has come to me. Year after year, he is being kept in a wretched condition. His whole life is being ruined, and his family, of which he is the sole support, is suffering from destitution. He himself is not allowed sufficient money to keep himself decently. This is his own story and I publish it just as he gives it. In his petition he writes as follows:—

"In the month of March, 1922, I was arrested under the authority of His Excellency the Governor, Sir Edward Northey and deported to Kisumayu for detention. I was not tried by any tribunal.

"It is quite clear from this, that the British Empire has not been founded on justice, as it is professed to be.

"I have not and will not attempt at any time to take into my mind, that the people of Great Britain are all unjust or wicked. No, I am quite sure that there are a great many good and God fearing people among them.

"The treatment I have been accorded, since this unfounded deportation is practically intolerable. I have been allowed a small indecent pot and kept on starvation allowance, sometimes 50 cents and sometimes one shilling per diem. I had been abused by European settlers for wearing nice clothes etc., etc.!

"My old mother (aged over 70 years) and my widowed sister (with four children) have been forced to pay but taxes; and by this you can well make out, as to how and with what troubles they might have paid, when I am suffering deportation here.

"I brought all these cruel actions, against myself and my family, to the notice of the local Government through the Hon'ble the Chief Native Commissioner, but leaving aside any redress, I have not been lucky enough to receive a reply even. The Almighty alone knows what action they took on my petition.

"The British nation has assumed the trusteeship of the Africans, and myself and my family, as Africans, are also a part of their trust. But they appear to have forgotten this,—absolutely,—shame! I wish to assure you that I am neither a vagabond, nor a thief; nor am I in possession of such arms, ammunitions or force, of which the

Government might be afraid of her settled foot from the colony to be shaken! Why then put such a man at a solitary place, with such harshness and away from his countrymen?

"Is it because of my insisting, that the unmarried African girls should not be forced by Government to work on the plantations of white settlers, as it inevitably resulted in immorality and separation of domestic ties, or because I protested that my country people should not be flogged to death etc. etc. that I have been deported? That the mighty British Government should stoop to deport and unnecessarily harass a poor, innocent and helpless individual like me is really a matter of shame. Release me and help me and my countrymen to wake up and proceed towards civilisation.

"In conclusion, I most humbly say, that I am unaware of any offence of mine, for which I have been deported. And this statement of mine is obviously true, as I was not tried by any Jury or Court. I was simply caught hold of by the Government and deported. The rule applied to me is without doubt 'Might is Right'.

"I therefore pray, sir, that you may be pleased to recommend my release, as I have already suffered a great deal."

It used to be a true and honourable declaration of an Englishman, that under the English law no one was regarded as guilty, until he had been actually proved guilty in an open trial by his peers; and that every man was by law assumed to be innocent, until sufficient proof was offered in public to show to all the world that he was guilty. With Harry Thuku, no proof whatever has been set forward of his guilt. No open evidence has been given against him, subject to cross-examination; no lawyer has been allowed to examine the evidence of Government and to plead for him in an open Court. Already for two years and a half, this tyranny has continued. How long is it going to last? Is this in accord with English law and practices?

Those who have been deported or imprisoned under the new Bengal Ordinance can sympathise with Harry Thuku and others, in different parts of the British Empire, who are suffering the same fate today.

To me, these repeated acts of tyranny are an inexpressible pain. For more than thirty years, I had held unshaken my own faith in British justice; but events like these shake the very foundation of that faith; and now I cannot hold my head up high, as I used to do whenever I used to speak of English freedom.

[Poor Harry Thuku! His appeal to Mr. Andrews and my publication of it in these columns will secure no relief for this victim of lust for power. If however he ever sees these lines, he will perhaps find comfort in the thought that even in distant India many will read the story of his deportation and trials with sympathy. He may also find solace in the fact that many perhaps as innocent as Harry Thuku are today locked up in Bengal without any trial or hope of it in the near future.

M. K. G.]

Eleven Days in Madras

In a declaration made in the press some time ago Dr. Annie Besant said she would "do her bit" in the matter of setting a personal example in hand-spinning, if that was the thing that stood between her and the Congress. Having made this emphatic declaration, any delay on her part was out of the question. It was on the 29th of August that Dr. Besant and my father were holding an important consultation on the political situation in the country. As I happened to be within ear-shot of them, I was summoned in the middle of their consultation with my little spinning implement. I gave just a minute's demonstration of the working of the *takli* or the twirligig as she called it to Dr. Besant. Having thus had one privilege I was easily and naturally booked for the other i. e. giving actual lessons to her in spinning. I was asked to keep myself in readiness to go to any place where I might be called upon to go for the purpose. The expected invitation came from Adyar on the first of December. It seemed to me I was placed in the very awkward position of the man who carried coal to Newcastle I could almost hear my friends laughing at the very thought of my going on a mission of teaching spinning in a place which was the seat of that great art. But a promise was a promise, and this fact gave me heart in my ventures one step.

I went equipped for more work in Adyar than merely helping Dr. Besant to acquire the art of spinning. I had in my armoury besides a few *taklis*, a *charkha* of an easily portable size, specially made, and other accessories essential to spinning. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, himself a master of both the science and the art of spinning, joined me on the very first day to give me a proper start. Dr. Besant saw us immediately on our arrival. She discussed with Mr. Rajagopalachari a few details about her accommodation at Belgaum during the Congress week and asked him where she could obtain a copy of the Congress constitution and the creed which she wished to sign before going to Belgaum, her disagreement with the Congress being not on the question of the creed but on the question of non-cooperation.

Now, from the time I left Ahmedabad, the thought uppermost in my mind was how best to obtain Dr. Besant's consent to give a trial to the *charkha* before taking up the twirligig. I could not get over the idea that the twirligig was more a symbol of the *charkha* than a substitute for it and completely lacked the captivating music of the latter. It was a mute instrument which could not by itself introduce one to the charm of the wheel and was not in any way to be compared with it. Moreover it had been borne in upon my mind that a knowledge of the rather difficult process of spinning on the *takli* was invariably better and more easily acquired after one had practised sufficiently on the spinning wheel. Though I may have been wrong in this latter impression, for the reasons I have mentioned I had determined to do all I could to prevent the calamity of the revered lady beginning with the *takli*. I found instantly that, if I had harboured any apprehension on this score, I had made a mistake. Mr. Rajagopalachari agreeing with me in my request, Dr. Besant, to our agreeable surprise, readily consented to take up the *charkha* first. I felt my task half accomplished.

The first lesson was to be on the morning of the next day.

The day of our arrival was spent in meeting friends and making new ones. By a happy coincidence, while we were talking with Dr. Besant in the magnificent hall of the Adyar library, Mrs. Margaret Cousins entered with a number of hand-woven saris under her arm. The saris were discussed immediately. We had other valuable information also and this incident in fact paved the way for our further work. It was settled that we should meet Dr. Besant and Mrs. Cousins in the evening when we could also discuss several matters connected with spinning and weaving. There was quite a conference at the Cousins' in which numerous friends joined. It was decided there that a demonstration of the spinning wheel be held next morning.

Dr. Besant made a very good beginning. Her success was unusual. She spun yarn, not ropes as most beginners do. Dr. Besant strove with utmost concentration. The hands moved steadily. When the thread broke she wanted me each time to explain to her the reason. The reasons in every case are usually patent and I supplied them readily. She tried hard to avoid repeating a mistake and generally succeeded. After about 20 minutes I asked her if she did not feel tired. 'No' was the decisive reply. She had got a painful knee and the sitting posture had constantly to be changed and adjusted on this account. But this mattered very little to her. She was determined to master the art. When the first 'lesson' was over, I found I had learnt more of concentration, steadfastness, endurance, and patience from the example I had just had the privilege of witnessing than I had taught of spinning. The second lesson was to be given the following morning at 7 A. M.

After the lesson came the demonstration. The European ladies residing in Adyar, some of them gurus and students, others in charge of important branches of educational work under Dr. Besant, for whom it was arranged, were deeply interested in it. A number of them decided on the spot to avail themselves of the earliest chance of learning spinning. When the party broke up, some of us went to a little school opened two years ago in the Theosophical compound for the benefit of the children of the neighbouring villages. For the past two months Madame de Manziarly had introduced hand-spinning in the school. We were shown round by Miss N. W. Barrie and Madame de Manziarly. Everything was perfectly neat and tidy. The children, some no bigger than babies, far from being noisy, were in their own way learning their alphabet and arithmetic from little wooden pieces of pretty colours and shapes. In such an institution the spinning wheel had a natural place. Some of the children were spinning for all they were worth at wheels which admit of considerable improvement.

To know Mrs. Cousins, Miss Barrie and Madame de Manziarly was to get into touch with everything in Adyar that concerned my mission. They were extremely interested to gather all possible knowledge of spinning and the processes incidental to it. Madame de Manziarly took no time to master all the little secrets of spinning and when she tried the *Takli* it seemed to come naturally to her. She is literally mad after hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar and when Mr. Rajagopalachari asked her if she thought khaddar was beautiful enough she said 'I would not be wearing khaddar if I did not think it immensely beautiful'.

On the third day Dr. Besant had her second 'lesson.' She gave me a whole hour. I was passing anxious moments while I noticed Dr. Besant encounter the real difficulties of the beginner-difficulties which appear insurmountable and may ultimately drive one to despair. But I drew comfort from Dr. Besant's steadfastness. I knew further that if there were moments of difficulties always in store for the beginner, there were also moments of exhilaration and that spinning became a perfect recreation both mental and physical, once the initial obstacles were overcome. The perseverance of the second day bore fruit on the third. The difficulties were seen transforming themselves into delights. The thread was more even and was drawn with less effort. The experiences of the days that followed were distinctly encouraging and Mr. Rajagopalachari was easily able to give Dr. Besant a good certificate. Dr. Besant's eyes gave a little trouble and the whole formula of instruction had to be revised. She began to be guided by sounds and the plan worked well. At a later stage she told me she felt perfectly at home with the wheel.

The other learners kept me engaged the rest of the day. Dr. Besant's private secretary, Miss Wilson, was quick to learn spinning. She simply marvelled at the simple yet fascinating process and remarked she liked to get into the cotton *panis* and see what exactly was happening to enable the beautiful and even thread to come out. Miss Barrie learnt good spinning in half an hour. The mystery of her startling success lay in the fact that she had been watching the young children day after day. Lady Emily Lutyens tried the experiment of beginning with the *takli*.

In spite of my pre-occupation at Adyar I found time to go out into the town and attend to other duties. One of the foremost duties was to seek an opportunity of coming into touch with the lady who had been reported by A. I. K. B. to have performed a record of fine spinning which took us back to the days of Dacca muslin. I had seen her yarn of nearly 100 counts. Now I sought an opportunity of seeing her wheel and witnessing with my own eyes its working. I had no difficulty in getting my cherished desire fulfilled. Early during my stay in Madras I had the privilege of making the acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Ramrao. Mr. Ramrao who is studying Law in Madras belongs to a wealthy family in Andhra desh. To the readers of *Young India* his wife is better known as Srimati Kamalamma Gari. Mr. Rajagopalachari and I had the honour of seeing this lady spin her 800 counts. The only way in which her *charkha* materially differed from the common pattern was that it had an unusually large wheel. At the same time it was perfectly light and simple. The first shock of pleasant surprise I had in the matter of handspinning was five years ago when I saw exceedingly fine spinning at Chicagoe. But the present experience was something clearly extraordinary. With my perfect eyesight I could certainly see the fine thread while I was standing by the side of the wheel, but Mr. Rajagopalachari had to kneel down to make sure of what he saw.

Immediately after the first visit to these friends I was due at the Women's Home of Service run under the able superintendence of Mrs. Cousins. I was announced to give a demonstration of spinning and other auxiliary processes besides addressing a few words. There was to be a large gathering of ladies. I asked Mr. and Mrs.

Ramrao if they would kindly accompany me to this function and if Mrs. Ramrao would treat the gathering to the real music of the spinning wheel. The friends very kindly agreed to go and the reader can well imagine the effect produced on the audience at the Women's Home by the demonstration of Srimati Kamalamma's spinning. The entire audience observed a minute's perfect silence as it listened to the exquisite hum of the *charkha* and wondered whether it was the music of a bee or that of the spinning wheel. At the close of the function Srimati Kamalamma was besieged from all sides with women eager to shower their blessings and gratitude upon her.

In these matter of fact days the achievement of Srimati Kamalamma can hardly be said to have received the recognition it deserves. But so far as I am aware certainly no mill can spin so fine a count as this gifted lady.

Much of the outside assistance we had in the work in Adyar was from a small body of earnest young men of the Triplicane Congress Committee. The main function of this group of workers is to afford all kinds of facilities for spinning. To this end they stock cotton and supply slivers or *panis* to all spinners who seek their help. They also stock *charkhas* for sale. They have engaged a whole time carder who I am glad to be able to note belongs to the 'untouchable' class. It was also in Triplicane that I met a number of Brahman priests who spun yarn for their sacred threads on the *takli*. Some of them were kind enough to spin at a competition in the presence of us and enable us to get at a few figures which we needed. The *takli* they used was made of a splinter of bamboo twelve inches long with a betel nut or a round piece of slate stone at one end and a tiny wooden pin thrust in at the other to serve as a hook. The way they spun defies description. It was magic. The best of these spun at the rate per hour of about 148 yards of 30 to 40 counts. But at another such meeting arranged at Mylapore the result was still more astonishing. The first spinner spun 51 counts at the rate of 201 yards per hour and the next did 46 counts at the same rate of speed.

Another event I must not omit to chronicle is the visit I paid in the company of Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. K. Santanam of the Tamil Nadu Khaddar Board to a village named Karikeri to see a carding institution set up by the Board. This is an itinerant institution. It is in charge of a person trained at Sabarmati. The party moves from district to district. The practice is to invite candidates to join the institution for the term of their stay at a particular place and learn carding and spinning. Mr. Santanam would have every one pay more attention than is given to carding. Two men from Adyar have already been sent to Karikeri for training.

Thus gaining experience and knowing more of the vast possibilities of the spinning movement I passed eleven happy days in Madras. After the tenth lesson Dr. Besant felt that she needed no more lessons and kindly gave me leave to return. Would that we the younger generation had the earnestness and the application that the aged lady shows at the age of 82.

Devasdas Gandhi

